

THE
POETICAL WORKS
OF
JOHN MILTON.

WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS;

AND WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MILTON,

DERIVED PRINCIPALLY FROM
ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN HER MAJESTY'S
STATE-PAPER OFFICE.

BY
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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS
ON
PARADISE REGAINED.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

PARADISE REGAINED.*

THAT the *Paradise Regained* has been considerably underrated by the world, seems of late to be an opinion almost generally admitted. But perhaps we shall state the fact more correctly, if we say that it has been *neglected*, rather than *underrated*; that it has been more *unknown*, than *not admired*. This is so much the case, that I apprehend some of the warmest panegyrists of the *Paradise Lost* have never honoured this Poem with a perusal; or only with a casual and most unfair one, under a cloud of prejudices against it.—A critick, whose taste, judgement, and candour are unquestioned, has given it absolutely *no place at all* among the Works of its Author. “If I might venture to place Milton’s Works, according to their degrees of poetick excellence,” says Dr. Joseph Warton, “it should be perhaps in the following order, PARADISE LOST, COMUS, SAMSON AGONISTES, LYCIDAS, L’ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO.” (*See concluding note to the Lycidas, in Warton’s Edition of Milton’s Juvenile Poems!*) I should hope that PARADISE REGAINED *slipped accidentally out of the List*: indeed what the late Mr. Warton has said of the *Comus*, I do not hesitate to apply to the Poem before us, and to hazard freely my unqualified opinion, that “the Author is here inferiour only to his own *Paradise Lost*.”

If we consider the FIRST BOOK, we shall find much to admire, and little to censure.

* I have ventured to form the remarks of the learned editor of *Paradise Regained*, subjoined in his elegant edition of 1795 to the *end of each book*, into a *Preliminary Discourse*; as corresponding, in this modification, with the design of Mr. Addison’s critical essay on *Paradise Lost*; which is, to point out strongly the *particular* beauties of the Poem to the reader’s notice; or, in other words, to tell him the delicious fare which he may expect, and to bid him “sit down, and feed, and welcome at the table.” TOWN.

The Proposition of the Subject is clear and dignified, and is beautifully wound up in the concluding line, "And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness."

The invocation of the Holy Spirit is equally devout and poetical. The Baptism of John carries us with the best effect *in medias res*. Satan's Infernal Council is briefly, but finely, assembled; his speech is admirable; and the effect of it is strongly depicted. This is strikingly contrasted by the succeeding beautiful description of the Deity surrounded by his Angels; his Speech to them; and the triumphant Hymn of the Celestial Choir.—Indeed the whole opening of this Poem is executed in so masterly a manner, that, making allowance for a certain wish to *compress*, which is palpably visible, very few parts of the *Paradise Lost* can in any respect claim a pre-eminence.—The brief description of our Lord's entering "now the bordering desert wild, and with dark shades and rocks environ'd round;" and again, where "looking round on every side he beholds a pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades," are scenes worthy the pencil of Salvator. Our Lord's Soliloquy is a material part of the Poem, and briefly narrates the early part of his life. In the *Paradise Lost*, where the Divine Persons are speakers, Milton has so chastened his pen, that we meet with few poetical images, and chiefly scriptural sentiments; delivered, as near as may be, in scriptural, and almost always in unornamented, language. But the poet seems to consider this circumstance of the Temptation, (if I may venture so to express myself,) as the last, perfect, completion of the *Initiation* of the Man Jesus in the *mystery* of his own divine nature and office: at least he feels himself entitled to make our Saviour while on earth, and "enshrined in fleshly tabernacle," speak in a certain degree, *ανθρωπινως*, or, *after the manner of men*. Accordingly all the speeches of our blessed Lord, in this Poem, are far more elevated than any language that is put into the mouth of the Divine Speakers in any part of the *Paradise Lost*. The ingrafting Mary's Speech into that of her Son, it must be allowed, is not a happy circumstance. It has an awkward effect, loads the rest of the Speech, and might have been avoided, and better managed. The description of the probable manner of our Lord's passing the forty days in the wilderness is very picturesque; and the return of the wild beasts to their *Paradisiacal* mildness is finely touched. The appearance of the Tempter in his assumed character; the deep art of his two first speeches, covered, but not totally concealed, by a semblance of simplicity; his bold avowal and plausible vindication of himself; the subsequent detection of his fallacies, and the pointed reproofs of his im-

puddence and hypocrisy, on the part of our Blessed Lord ;—cannot be too much admired. Indeed, the whole conclusion of this Book abounds so much in closeness of reasoning, grandeur of sentiment, elevation of style, and harmony of numbers, that it may well be questioned whether poetry on such a subject, and especially in the form of dialogue, ever produced any thing superiour to it.

The singular beauty of the brief description of night coming on in the desert, closes the Book with such admirable effect, that it leaves us *con la bocca dolce*.

The opening of the SECOND BOOK is not calculated to engage attention, by any particular beauty of the picturesque or descriptive kind ; but by recurring to what passed at the river Jordan among Jesus's new disciples and followers upon his absence, and by making Mary express her maternal feelings upon it, the poet has given an extent and variety to his subject. It might perhaps be wished, that all which he has put into the mouth of the Virgin, respecting the early life of her Son, had been confined solely to this place, instead of a part being incorporated in our Lord's soliloquy in the first Book. There it seems awkwardly introduced, but here I conceive her speech might have been extended with good effect.—Our Lord, (ver. 110.) is, in a brief but appropriate description, again presented to us in the wilderness. The poet, in the mean time, makes Satan return to his infernal council, to report the bad success of his first attempt, and to demand their counsel and assistance, in an enterprise of so much difficulty. This he does in a brief and energetick speech. Hence arises a debate ; or at least a proposition on the part of Belial, and a rejection of it by Satan, of which I cannot sufficiently express my admiration. The language of Belial is exquisitely descriptive of the power of beauty, without a single word introduced, or even a thought conveyed, that is unbecoming its place in this divine Poem. Satan's reply is eminently fine : his imputing to Belial, as the most dissolute of the fallen Angels, the amours attributed by the poets and mythologists to the Heathen gods, while it is replete with classick beauty, furnishes an excellent moral to those extravagant fictions ; and his description of the little effect which the most powerful enticements can produce on the resolute mind of the virtuous, while it is heightened with many beautiful turns of language, is, in its general tenour, of the most superiour and dignified kind. Indeed all this part of his speech (from ver. 191. to ver. 225.) seems to breathe such a sincere and deep sense of the charms of real goodness, that we almost forget who is the speaker ; at least we readily subscribe to what he had said of himself in the first Book :—

OBSERVATIONS ON PARADISE REGAINED.

“ I have not lost
“ To love, at least contemplate and admire,
“ What I see excellent in good, or fair,
“ Or virtuous.”

After such sentiments so expressed, it might have been thought difficult for the poet to return to his subject, by making the Arch-Fiend resume his attempts against the Divine Person, the commanding majesty of whose invincible virtue he had just been describing with such seemingly heart-felt admiration. This is managed with much address, by Satan's proposing to adopt such modes of temptation as are apt to prevail most, where the propensities are virtuous, and where the disposition is amiable and generous: and, by the immediate return of the Tempter and his associates to the wilderness, the Poem advances towards the height of its argument.—Our Saviour's passing the night is well described. The coming on of morn is a beautiful counterpart of “night coming on in the desert,” which so finely closed the preceding Book. Our Lord's waking—his viewing the country—and the description of the “pleasant grove,” which is to be the scene of the banquet—are all set off with every grace that poetry can give. The appearance of Satan, varied from his first disguise, as he has now quite another part to act, is perfectly well imagined; and his speech, referring to Scripture examples of persons miraculously fed in desert places, is truly artful and in character; as is his second sycophantick address, where, having acknowledged our Lord's right to all created things, he adds,

“ Behold,
“ Nature asham'd, or, better to express,
“ Troubled that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd
“ From all the elements her choicest store,
“ To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord,
“ With honour.”

The banquet (ver. 340.) comprises every thing that Roman luxury, Eastern magnificence, mythological fable, or poetick fancy can supply; and, if compared with similar descriptions in the Italian Poets, will be found much superiour to them. In the concluding part of his invitation the virulence of the Arch-Fiend breaks out, as it were involuntarily, in a sarcastick allusion to the divine prohibition respecting the tree of knowledge; but he immediately resumes his hypocritical servility, which much resembles his language in the *ninth Book* of the *Paradise Lost*, when, in his addresses

to Eve, "persuasive rhetorick sleek'd his tongue." The three last lines are quite in this style ;

" All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,
 " Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
 " Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord."

Our Lord's reply is truly sublime ;

" I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
 " Command a table in the wilderness,
 " And call swift flights of Angels ministrant,
 " Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend."

This part of the Book in particular is so highly finished, that I could wish it had concluded, as it might well have done, with the vanishing of the banquet. The present conclusion, from its subject, required another style of poetry. It has little description, no machinery, and no mythological allusions to elevate and adorn it ; but it is not without a sublimity of another kind. Satan's speech, in which he assails our Lord with the temptation of riches as the means of acquiring greatness, is in a noble tone of dramatick dialogue ; and the reply of our Saviour, where he rejects the offer, contains a series of the finest moral precepts expressed in that plain majestick language which, in many parts of Didactick Poetry, is the most becoming *vestitus orationis*. Still it must be acknowledged, that all this is much lost and obscured by the radiance and enriched descriptions of the preceding three hundred lines. These had been particularly relieved, and their beauty had been rendered more eminently conspicuous, from the studied equality and scriptural plainness of the *exordium* of this Book ; which has the effect described by Cicero to the *subordinate* and *less shining* parts of any writing, "quò magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur," *De Orator.* iii. 101. Ed. Proust.—But the conclusion of this Book, though excellent in its kind, unfortunately, from its loco-position, appears to considerable disadvantage. Writers of Didactick Poetry, to secure the continuance of their reader's attention, must be careful not only to diversify, but as much as possible gradually to elevate, their strain. Accordingly, they generally open their several divisions with their dryer precepts, proceed then to more pleasing illustrations, and are particularly studious to close each Book with some description, or episode, of the most embellished and attractive kind.

Among the various beauties, which adorn this truly divine Poem, the most distinguishable and captivating feature of excellence is

the character of Christ. This is so finely drawn, that we can scarcely forbear applying to it the language of Quintilian, respecting the Olympian Jupiter of the famous sculptor Phidias; “*cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid etiam receptæ religioni videatur, adeò majestas operis Deum æquavit.*” L. xii. C. 10. It is observed by Mr. Hayley, that as in the *Paradise Lost* the poet seems to emulate the sublimity of Moses and the Prophets, it appears to have been his wish in the *Paradise Regained* to copy the sweetness and simplicity of the Evangelists.—The great object of this second Poem seems indeed to be the exemplification of true Evangelical Virtue, in the person and sentiments of our Blessed Lord. From the beginning of the THIRD BOOK to ver. 363. of the next, practical Christianity, thus personified, is contrasted with the boasted pretensions of the Heathen world, in its zenith of power, splendour, civilization, and knowledge; the several claims of which are fully stated, with much ornament of language and poetick decoration. After an exordium of flattering commendation addressed to our Lord, the Tempter opens his progressive display of Heathen excellence with an eulogy on Glory (ver. 25.), which is so intrinsically beautiful, that it may be questioned whether any Roman orator or poet ever so eloquently and concisely defended the ambition of heroism: The judgement of the Author may also be noticed (ver. 31, &c.) in the selection of his heroes, two of whom, Alexander and Scipio, he has before introduced (B. ii. 166. 199.) as examples of continency and self-denial:—In short, the first speech of Satan opens the cause, for which he pleads, with all the art becoming his character.—In our Lord’s reply, the *false* glory of worldly fame is stated with energetick briefness, and is opposed by the *true* glory of obedience to the Divine commands. The usual modes of acquiring glory in the Heathen world, and the intolerable vanity and pride with which it was claimed and enjoyed, are next most forcibly depicted; and are finely contrasted with those means of acquiring honour and reputation, which are innocent and beneficial:

“ But, if there be in glory aught of good,
 “ It may by means far different be obtain’d,
 “ Without ambition, war, or violence;
 “ By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
 “ By patience, temperance.”

These lines are marked with that peculiar species of beauty, which distinguishes Virgil’s description of the amiable heroes of benevolence and peace, whom he places in Elysium, together with his

blameless warriors, the virtuous defenders of their country, *Æn.* vi. 660—665.

In the conclusion of the speech an heroical character of another kind is opposed to the warlike heroes of antiquity;—one who, though a Heathen, surpassed them all in true wisdom and true fortitude. Such indeed was the character of Socrates, such his reliance on Divine Providence and his resignation thereto, that he seems to have imbibed his sentiments from a source “above the famed Castalian spring;” and while his demeanour eminently displays the peaceable, patient, Christian-like virtues, his language often approaches nearer than could be imagined, to that of the holy penmen, “*Εἰ ταυτὴ Θεὸς φίλος,*” says he, “*ταυτὴ γενεσθῶ.*” Epictet. ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒ. L. i. c. 29.—The artful sophistry of the Tempter’s further defence of glory, and our Lord’s majestically plain confutation of his arguments in the clear explanation given of the true ground on which glory and honour are due to the great Creator of all things, and required by him,—are both admirable.—The rest of the dialogue is well supported; and it is wound up, with the best effect, in the concluding speech, where Satan offers a vindictory explanation of his conduct, in which the dignity of the Arch-angel, (for, though “ruined,” the Satan of Milton seldom “appears less than an Arch-angel,”) is happily combined with the insinuating art and “sleeked tongue” of this grand Deceiver. The first nineteen lines are peculiarly illustrative of this double character: The transition that follows to the immediate Temptation then going on, and which paves the way for the ensuing change of scene, is managed with the happiest address.—The poet now quits mere Dialogue for that “union of the narrative and dramattick powers,” which Dr. Johnson, speaking of this Poem, observes “must ever be more pleasing than a dialogue without action.”—The description of the “specular mount,” where our Lord is placed to view at once the whole Parthian empire, at the same time that it is truly poetical, is so accurately given, that we are enabled to ascertain the exact part of Mount Taurus, which the poet had in his mind. The geographical scene, from ver. 268. to 292. is delineated with a precision that brings each place immediately before our eyes, and, as Dr. Newton remarks, far surpasses the prospect of the kingdoms of the world from “the mount of vision,” in the *eleventh Book* of the *Paradise Lost*. The military expedition of the Parthians, from ver. 300. to 336. is a picture in the boldest and most masterly style. It is so perfectly *unique* in its kind, that I know not where in Poetry, ancient or modern, to go for any thing materially resembling it. The *fifteenth Book* of Tasso’s *Jerusalem*, &c. (where the two Christian

Knights, who are sent in search of Rinaldo, see a great part of the habitable world, and are shown a numerous camp of their enemies,) does not appear to have furnished a single idea to our Author, either in his geographical, or his military, scene.——The speech of Satan, (ver. 346.) professing the purpose why he showed all this to Jesus, judiciously reverts to the immediate subject of the Temptation; and, by urging our Lord to avail himself of the Parthian power that he might gain possession of David's throne, and free his countrymen from the Roman yoke, it applies to those patriotick feelings which he had expressed in the *first Book* of this Poem, where he declares that one of his earliest sentiments of virtue, *more than human*, was marked with a wish "To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke." Our Lord's reply is close and pointed, and serves further to unfold the character of our great pattern of every virtue. —The same objection still lies against the conclusion of this Book, as against that of the preceding one;—by coming immediately after a part so highly finished, as the view of the Parthian power in all the splendour of a military expedition, it has not the effect it would otherwise have. It is however a necessary conclusion, and one that materially carries on the business of the Poem. An essential test of its merit is, that, however we might wish it shortened, it would scarcely have been possible to compress the matter it contains.

It has been observed of almost all the great epick poems, that they fall off, and become languid, in the conclusion. The six last books of the *Æneid*, and the twelve last of the *Odyssey*, have been thought inferiour to the preceding parts of those poems. In the *Paradise Lost* the two last books fall short of the majesty and sublimity of the rest: and so, observes Dr. Newton, do the two last books of the *Iliad*. "With the fall of our first parents," says Dr. Blair, "Milton's genius seems to decline;" and though he admits the Angel's showing Adam the fate of his posterity to be happily imagined, "the execution," he adds, is "languid." Addison, in pointing out the particular beauties of the two last books of the *Paradise Lost*, observes that, though *these* were not looked upon as the most shining books of the poem, they ought not to be considered as *unequal parts* of it. —Perhaps the two concluding books of the *Paradise Lost* might be * defended by other arguments, and justified in a more effectual manner, than has been done by Addison; but it is certainly fortunate when the subject and plan of an epick poem are such, that in the conclusion it may rise in dignity and

* [See Mr. Dunster's defence of them in the concluding note on *Par. Lost*.]

sublimity, so as to excite to the very last the attention and admiration of the reader.—This last Book of the *Paradise Regained* is one of the finest conclusions of a poem, that can be produced. The Book of Job, which I have supposed to have been our Author's model, materially resembles it in this respect, and is perhaps the only instance that can be put in competition with it.—It has been remarked that there is not a single simile in the *First Iliad*: neither do we meet with one in the *three first Books of the Paradise Regained*. In the beginning of the FOURTH BOOK the poet introduces an *Homerick* cluster of similes; which seems to mark an intention of bestowing more poetical decoration on the conclusion of the Poem, than on the preceding parts of it.—They who talk of our Author's genius being in the decline when he wrote his second Poem, and who therefore turn from it, as from a dry prosaick composition, are, I will venture to say, no judges of poetry. With a fancy, such as Milton's, it must have been more difficult to forbear poetick decorations, than to furnish them; and a glaring profusion of ornament would, I conceive, have more decidedly betrayed the *poeta senescens*, than a want of it. The *first* book of the *Paradise Lost* abounds in similes, and is, in other respects, as elevated and sublime as any in the whole poem. But here the poet's plan was totally different. Though it may be said of the *Paradise Regained*, as Longinus has said of the *Odyssey*, that it is the *epilogue* of the preceding poem, still the design and conduct of it is as different as that of the *Georgicks* from the *Æneid*. The *Paradise Regained* has something of the *didactick* character: it teaches not merely by the general moral, and by the character and conduct of its hero, but has also many positive precepts every where interspersed. It is written for the most part in a style admirably condensed, and with a studied reserve of ornament: it is nevertheless illuminated with beauties of the most captivating kind. Its leading feature throughout is that "excellence of composition," which, as Lord Monboddo justly observes, so eminently distinguished the writings of the ancients; and in which of all modern authors, Milton most resembles them.

At the commencement of this Book the argument of the Poem is considerably advanced. Satan appears hopeless of success, but still persisting in his enterprise. The desperate folly, and vain pertinacity, of this conduct, are perfectly well exemplified and illustrated by three apposite similes, each successively rising in beauty above the other. The business of the Temptation being thus resumed, the Tempter takes our Lord to the western side of the mountain, and shows to him Italy; the situation of which the poet

marks with singular accuracy, and, having traced the Tiber from its source in the Apennines to Rome, he briefly enumerates the most conspicuous objects that may be supposed at first to strike the eye on a distant view of this celebrated city. Satan now becomes the Speaker, and, in an admirably descriptive speech, points out more particularly the magnificent publick and private buildings of ancient Rome, descanting on the splendour and power of its state, which he particularly exemplifies in the superb pomp with which their provincial magistrates proceed to their respective governments; and in the numerous ambassadours that arrive from every quarter of the habitable globe, to solicit the protection of Rome and the emperour. These are two pictures of the most, highly finished kind: the numerous figures are in motion before us; we absolutely see

“ Prætors, proconsuls, to their provinces
“ Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
“ Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power,
“ Legions and cohorts, &c.”

Having observed that such a power as this of Rome must reasonably be preferred to that of the Parthians, which he had displayed in the preceding Book, and that there were no other powers worth our Lord's attention, the Tempter now begins to apply all this to his purpose: by a strongly-drawn description of the vicious and detestable character of Tiberius, he shows how easy it would be to expel him, to take possession of his throne, and to free the Roman people from that slavery in which they were then held. This he proffers to accomplish for our Lord, whom he incites to accept the offer not only from a principle of ambition, but as the best means of securing to himself his promised inheritance, the throne of David. Our Lord in reply scarcely notices the arguments which Satan had been urging to him; and only takes occasion, from the description which had been given of the splendour and magnificence of Rome, to arraign the superlatively extravagant luxury of the Romans, (possibly not without a glance at the manners of our Court at that time,) and briefly to sum up those vices and misconducts then rapidly advancing to their height, which soon brought on the decline, and in the end effectuated the fall, of the Roman power. — The next object, which our Author had in view in his proposed display of Heathen excellence, was a scene of a different, but no less intoxicating, kind; Athens, in all its pride of literature and philosophy. But he seems to have been well aware that an immediate transition, from the view of Rome to

that of Athens, must have diminished the effect of each. The intermediate space he has finely occupied. Our Lord, unmoved by the splendid scene displayed to captivate him, and having only been led by it to notice the vices and corruptions of the Heathen world, in the conclusion of his speech marks the vanity of all earthly power, by referring to his own future kingdom, as that which by supernatural means should destroy "all monarchies besides throughout the world."

The Fiend hereupon urged by the violence of his desperation to an indiscretion, which he had not before showed, endeavours to enhance the value of his offers by declaring that the only terms, on which he would bestow them, were those of our Lord's falling down and worshipping him. To this our Saviour answers in a speech of marked abhorrence mingled with contempt. This draws from Satan a reply of as much art, and as finely written, as any in the Poem; in which he endeavours, by an artful justification of himself, to repair the indiscretion of his blasphemous proposal, and to soften the effect of it on our Blessed Lord, so far at least as to be enabled to resume the process of his enterprise. The transition, ver. 212., to his new ground of temptation is peculiarly happy: having given up all prospect of working upon our Lord by the incitements of ambition, he now compliments him on his predilection for wisdom, and his early display of superiour knowledge; and recommends it to him, for the purpose of accomplishing his professed design of reforming and converting mankind, to cultivate the literature and philosophy for which the most polished part of the Heathen world, and Greece in particular, was so eminent. This leads to his *View of Athens*; which is given, with singular effect, after the preceding dialogue, where the blasphemous rage of the Tempter, and the art with which he endeavours to recover it, serve, by the variety of the subject and the interesting nature of the circumstance, materially to relieve the preceding and ensuing descriptions. The Tempter, resuming his usual plausibility of language, now becomes the Hierophant of the scene, which he describes, as he shows it, with so much accuracy, that we discern every object distinctly before us. The general view of Athens, with its most celebrated buildings and places of learned resort, is beautiful and original; and the description of its musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers, is given with the hand of a master, and with all the fond affection of an enthusiast in Greek literature. Our Lord's reply is no less admirable; particularly where he displays the fallacy of the Heathen philosophy, and points out the errors of its most admired sects, with the greatest

acuteness of argument, and at the same time in a noble strain of poetry. His contrasting the poetry and policy of the Hebrews with those of the Greeks, on the ground of what had been advanced by some learned men in this respect, is highly consistent with the argument of this Poem ; and is so far from originating in that fanaticism, with which some of his ablest commentators have chosen to brand our Author, that it serves duly to counterbalance his preceding *éloge* on heathen literature. The next speech of the Tempter, ver. 368. is one of those master-pieces of plain composition, for which Milton is so eminent: the sufferings of our Blessed Lord are therein foretold with an energetick brevity, that, on such subjects, has an effect superiour to the most flowery and decorated language. The dialogue here ceases for a short time. The poet, in his own person, now describes, ver. 394, &c. our Lord's being conveyed by Satan back to the wilderness, the storm which the Tempter there raises, the tremendous night which our Lord passes, and the beautiful morning by which it is succeeded : how exquisitely sublime and beautiful is all this!—Yet this is the Poem, from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage, of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry!—The dialogue which ensues, is worthy of this Book, and carries on the subject in the best manner to its concluding Temptation. The last speech of Satan is particularly deserving our notice. The Fiend, now “swoln with rage” at the repeated failure of his attacks, breaks out into a language of gross insult, professing to doubt whether our Lord, whom he had before frequently addressed as the Son of God, is in any way entitled to that appellation. From this wantonly blasphemous obloquy he still recovers himself, and offers, with his usual art, a qualification of what he had last said, and a justification of his persisting in further attempts on the Divine Person, by whom he had been so constantly foiled. These are the masterly discriminating touches, with which the poet has admirably drawn the character of the Tempter: The general colouring is that of plausible hypocrisy, through which, when elicited by the sudden irritation of defeat, his diabolical malignity frequently flashes out, and displays itself with singular effect.—We now come to the catastrophe of the Poem.—The Tempter conveys our Blessed Lord to the temple at Jerusalem ; where the description of the holy city, and of the temple, is pleasingly drawn. Satan has now little to say ; he brings the question to a decisive point, in which any persuasion of rhetorical language on his part can be of no avail ; he therefore speaks in his own undisguised

person and character, and his language accordingly is that of scornful insult. The result of the trial is given with the utmost brevity ; and its consequences are admirably painted. The despair and fall of Satan, with its successive illustrations, ver. 562. to ver. 580., have all the boldness of Salvator Rosa ; while the Angels supporting our Lord, “as on a floating couch, through the blithe air,” is a sweetly pleasing and highly finished picture from the pencil of Guido. The refreshment ministered to our Lord by the Angels is an intended and striking contrast to the luxurious banquet with which he had been tempted in the preceding part of the Poem. The Angelick Hymn, which concludes the Book, is at once poetical and scriptural : We may justly apply to it, and to this whole Poem, an observation which Fuller, in his *Worthies of Essex*, first applied to Quarles, and which the ingenious Mr. Headley, in the *Biographical Sketches* prefixed to his *Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry*, has transferred to the only poet to whom it is truly appropriate : “To mix the waters of Jordan and Helicon in the same cup, was reserved for the hand of Milton ; and for him, and him only, to find the bays of Mount Olivet equally verdant with those of Parnassus.” It may further be observed that Milton is himself an eminent instance of one of his own observations in his *Tractate of Education* ; having practically demonstrated, what he invites the juvenile student in Poetry theoretically to learn, “what religious, what glorious, and magnificent use might be made of Poetry.” DUNSTER.

ORIGIN OF PARADISE REGAINED.

THE origin of this Poem is attributed to the suggestion of Ellwood the quaker. Milton had lent this friend, in 1665, his *Paradise Lost*, then completed in manuscript, at Chalfont St. Giles ; desiring him to peruse it at his leisure, and give his judgement of it. On returning the Poem, Milton asked him what he thought of it : “which I modestly, but freely told him,” says Ellwood in his Life of himself ; “and, after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, ‘Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found* ?’ He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse ; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject.” When Ellwood afterwards waited on him in London, Milton showed him his PARADISE REGAINED ; and, “in a pleasant tone,” said to him, “*This is owing to you*; for you put it

into my head by the question you put me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of."

On this subject the Muses had not been before silent. In our own language, Bale has given us "*A Brefe Comedy, or Enterlude concernynge the Temptacyon of our Lorde and Saver Jesus Christ by Sathan in the Desart, 1538.*" Milton might have noticed this ancient Drama; of which an interesting account has been given by the late Rev. W. Beloe, in the first volume of his valuable *Anecdotes of Literature*, to which the conclusion of the drama is subjoined. Mr. Beloe had been favoured with the use of this scarce book by a most intelligent and learned possessor of literary curiosities, Francis Douce, Esq., to whose kindness I am indebted for the liberty of making further extracts from it; with which I trust to gratify the curious reader. I select part of the soliloquy of Satan, and of the dialogue between our Lord and him, sign. D. i. b. D. ij. a.

" Satan tentator.

" I hearde a great noyse in Jordane now of late,
 " Vpon one Jesus, soundynge from heauen aboue :
 " Thys is myne owne sonne whych hath withdrawne al hate,
 " And he that doth stande most hyghly in my loue.
 " My wyttes the same sounde doth not a lyttle moue :
 " He cometh to redeme the kynde of Man I feare,
 " Hygh tyme is it than for me the cooles to steare.
 " I wyll not leaue hym *tyll I knowe what he ys,*
 " And what he entendeth in thys same border heare.
 " Subtyltie must helpe, els all wyll be amys ;
 " *A godly pretence outwardly must I beare,*
 " *Semyng rehygyouse, deuoute, and sad in my geare.*
 " If he be come now for the redempcyon of Man,
 " As I feare he is, I wyll stoppe hym if I can.

" Hic, simulata religione, Christum aggreditur.

" It is a grat ioye, by my hollydome, to se
 " So vertuose a lyfe in a yonge man as yow be :
 " As here thus to wander in godly contemplacyon,
 " And to lyue alone in the desart solytarye.

Jesus Christus.

" Your pleasure is it to vtter your fantasye.

Satan tentator.

" A brother am I of thys desart wyldernesse,
 " And full glad wolde be to talke with yow of goodnesse,
 " If ye wolde accept my symple companye.

Jesus Christus.

“ I disdayne nothyng, which is of God trulye.”

Satan tentator.

“ Than wyll I be bolde a lyttle with you to walke.”

I have only to observe that Satan here assumes a religious habit, or in other words is a hermit, as he himself relates, sign. D. iij. b.

“ Scriptures I knowe non ; for I am but an hermite, I ;

“ I maye saye to yow, it is no part of our stody :

“ We relygyouse men lyue all in contemplacyon ;

“ Scriptures to stodye, is not our occupacyon.”

Such is the garb in which Milton, and other writers also, array him on this occasion, as we shall presently see. But I proceed to Satan's temptation, in which (as in Milton more diffusely) the *charms of women* and the *pleasures of the table* are proposed, sign. E. i. b. E. ij. a.

“ Lo, how saye ye now, is not here a plesaunt syght ?

“ If ye wyll, ye may haue here all the worldes delygth.

“ Here is to be seene the kyngedome of Arabye,

“ With all the regyons of Affryck, Europe, and Asye,

“ And their whole delyghtes, their pompe, their magnificence,

“ Their ryches, their honour, their welth, their concupyscence.

“ Here is golde and syluer in wonderfull habundaunce,

“ Silkes, veluetes, tissues, *with wynes and spyces of plesaunce.*

“ *Here are fayre women, of countenance amenable,*

“ *With all kyndes of meates to the body dylectable, &c.”*

After the ineffectual attempts of Satan, the angels come and minister to our Saviour, concluding,

“ Our maner is it most hyghlye to reioyee

“ Whan Man hath comfort, whych we now declare in voyce.

“ *Hic dulce canticum coram Christo depromunt.”*

In 1611 Giles Fletcher published *Christ's Victorie and Triumph* : an elegant and impressive poem in four parts, of which the second, entitled *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, describes the Temptation. But to this poem the *Paradise Regained* owes little obligation. Perhaps the Italian Muse might afford a hint. In the following sacred poem, consisting of ten books, “ *La Humanità del Figliuolo di Dio, in ottaua rima, per Theofilo Folengo, Mantoano. Venegia, 1533,*” 4°, the fourth book treats largely of the Temptation : from which I will cite the descriptive scene, after the Devil has tempted

our Lord, and has been rebuked with the reply, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, &c."

"Al suon di tanta, et tal sententia un grido
 "Lascia co 'l puzzo Satanoso, et sgombra,
 "Mà d' Angeletti biondi un stolo fido
 "Ecco à la mensa l' inuitar sott' ombra,
 "Quiui la fame sù l' herboso lido,
 "Che sol l' humanità del figlio ingombra,
 "Distrutta fù dapo 'l digiun sofferto,
 "Per suo non già, ma ben per nostro merto."

There had been published also at Venice, in 1518, "*La Vita et Passione di Christo, &c. composta per Antonio Cornozano. In terza rima.*" The subject of the sixth chapter of the first book is the Temptation: to which is prefixed a wooden cut, wherein Satan is represented as an old man with a long beard, offering bread to our Lord. The Tempter indeed is an *aged man*, like the Tempter of Milton, in Vischer's cuts to the Bible, as noticed by Mr. Thyer; and in Salvator Rosa's fine painting of the Temptation, as noticed by Mr. Dunster. See the Life of Milton in the first volume. The Devil is also represented in a monastick habit by Luca Giordano, in a picture of the Temptation, which made a part of the Dusseldorp collection. But poetry likewise seems to have painted, not seldom, the *gray dissimulation* of the Tempter in similar colours. Giles Fletcher exhibits him disguised, as a hermit, approaching our Saviour:

"At length an aged sire far off he [our Saviour] saw
 "Come slowly footing, &c."

And this description is probably indebted to Spenser's Archimago, whose character and appearance might also be in Milton's remembrance. See *Faer. Qu. i. i. 29.*

"At length they chaunst to meet upon the way
 "An aged sire, in long blacke weeds yclad, &c."

See also *F. Q. i. vi. 35.* Milton draws the Tempter in the habit of an aged Franciscan in his admirable verses *In Quint. Novembris.* In the *Trag. Hist. of Dr. Faustus*, 1616, the magician thus addresses the Devil:

"Goe, and returne an *old Franciscan fryer*;
 "That holy shape becomes a Deuill best!"

There is a poem entitled "*Monachos mentiti Dæmones,*" in Wierus *De Præstigiis Dæmonum*, Basil, 1583, p. 84., in which the assumed disguise is somewhat similar:

“ Ecce per obscuræ tenebrosa crepuscula noctis

“ Obtulit ignoti se noua forma viri.

“ *Atro tectus erat monachum simulante cucullo,*

“ *Vtique solent raso vertice tonsus erat.*”

In Ross's description of the Temptation, *Christiados*, lib. viii. ed. 1638, p. 178., he is also thus painted, by the adaptation of Virgilian phrases :

“ His actis, deserta petit spælæa ferarum :

“ Hîc inter vastas rupes, atque horrida lustra,

“ Vsque quater denis jejunia longa diebus

“ Pertulit, et totidem sine victu noctibus ullo :

“ Hîc ad radices scopuli defessus Iësus

“ Consedit, Stygiis expectans sedibus *hostem* ——

—— “ *interea [Satan] sese transformat in ora*

“ *Terribili squalore senis, cui plurima mento*

“ *Canities inculta jacet, &c.*

“ Sordidus ex humero nodo dependet amictus,

“ Et frontem obscenam rugis arat.”

There is an Italian poem, which I have not seen, entitled *Il Digiuino di Christo nel Deserto* by Giovanni Nizzoli, dated in 1611. And I observe also among the works of P. Antonio Glielmo (who died in 1644), enumerated by Crasso in his “Elogii d' huomini letterati,” *Il Calvario Laureato, Poema* : a kindred subject perhaps with that of *Paradise Regained* ; the mention of which Italian title induces us to acknowledge, with gratitude, the existence of a *Calvary* in our own poetry ; of which the plan is the faultless plan of a *Paradise Regained* ; the spirit is truly Miltonick ; and the language, at the same time, original. By the observation of an eminent Englishman we may indeed be led to suppose that Italy suggested, in some degree, the idea of *Paradise Regained*, as well as of *Paradise Lost** ; for thus the writer speaks, at no great lapse of time from Milton's death, in describing Florence † :

“ *Hinc quoque Miltoni deductum Nobile Carmen,*

“ *Atque Paradisi forma resumpta sui.*” TODD.

* See the reasons for supposing Italy to have excited Milton's design of writing *Paradise Lost*, in the Inquiry into the Origin of that Poem, in the present edition.

† From H. Newton's (the Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Tuscany, at the commencement of the last century,) *Epistolæ, Orationes, et Carmina*, &c. 4to. Luca, 1710. Carm. p. 13. In Mortem Stephani Waller, &c. Elegia, 1707. See this book noticed in the List of Italian translations of Milton's poetry in the present edition.

THE
FIRST BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

THE ARGUMENT.*

The Subject proposed. Invocation of the Holy Spirit.—The Poem opens with John baptizing at the river Jordan. Jesus coming there is baptized; and is attested, by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and by a voice from Heaven, to be the Son of God. Satan, who is present, upon this immediately flies up into the regions of the air: where, summoning his Infernal Council, he acquaints them with his apprehensions that Jesus is that Seed of the Woman, destined to destroy all their power; and points out to them the immediate necessity of bringing the matter to proof, and of attempting, by snares and fraud, to counteract and defeat the person, from whom they have so much to dread. This office he offers himself to undertake; and, his offer being accepted, sets out on his enterprise.—In the mean time God, in the assembly of Holy Angels, declares that he has given up his Son to be tempted by Satan; but foretels that the Tempter shall be completely defeated by him:—upon which the Angels sing a hymn of triumph. Jesus is led up by the Spirit into the wilderness, while he is meditating on the commencement of his great office of Saviour of Mankind. Pursuing his meditations he narrates, in a soliloquy, what divine and philanthropick impulses he had felt from his early youth, and how his mother Mary, on perceiving these dispositions in him, had acquainted him with the circumstances of his birth, and informed him that he was no less a person than the Son of God; to which he adds what his own inquiries and reflections had supplied in confirmation of this great truth, and particularly dwells on the recent attestation of it at the river Jordan. Our Lord passes forty days, fasting, in the wilderness; where the wild beasts become mild and harmless in his presence. Satan now appears under the form of an old peasant; and enters into discourse with our Lord, wondering what could have brought him alone into so dangerous a place, and at the same time professing to recognize him for the person lately acknowledged by John at the river Jordan, to be the Son of God. Jesus briefly replies. Satan rejoins with a description of the difficulty of supporting life in the wilderness; and entreats Jesus, if he be really the Son of God, to manifest his divine power, by changing some of the stones into bread. Jesus reproves him, and at the same time tells him that he knows who he is. Satan instantly avows himself, and offers an artful apology for himself and his conduct. Our Blessed Lord severely reprimands him, and refutes every part of his justification. Satan, with much semblance of humility, still endeavours to justify himself; and, professing his admiration of Jesus and his regard for virtue, requests to be permitted at a future time to hear more of his conversation; but is answered, that this must be as he shall find permission from above. Satan then disappears, and the Book closes with a short description of night coming on in the desert.

* No edition of *Paradise Regained* had ever appeared with Arguments to the Books, before that which was published in 1795 by Mr. Dunster; from which they are adopted in this edition. Peck, indeed, endeavoured to supply the deficiency, in his *Memoirs of Milton*, 1740, p. 70, &c. But the arguments, which he has there given, are too diffuse, and want that conciseness and energy which distinguish Mr. Dunster's. Tonn.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

I, who ere while the happy garden sung
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
By one Man's firm obedience fully tried
Through all temptation, and the Tempter foil'd 5
In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd,
And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

Ver. 1. *I, who ere while the happy garden sung
By one Man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,*] This is plainly an allusion
to the *Ille ego qui quondam*, &c. attributed to Virgil. Thus also Spenser :

"Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,
"As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
"Am now enforc'd, a far unfitter task,
"For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds, &c." NEWTON.

Ver. 2. By one Man's disobedience, &c.] "*For as by ONE MAN'S
DISOBEDIENCE many were made sinners; so by THE OBEDIENCE OF ONE
shall many be made righteous,*" Rom. v. 19. NEWTON.

Ver. 3. *Recover'd Paradise*] It may seem a little odd, that Milton
should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's
life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion, &c.
But the reason no doubt was, that Paradise, *regained* by our Saviour's
resisting the temptations of Satan, might be a better contrast to Paradise,
lost by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing Spirit.
Besides he might, very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive,
that a subject, so extensive as well as sublime, might be too great a burden
for his declining constitution, and a task too long for the short term of years
he could then hope for. Even in his Paradise Lost he expresses his fears,
lest he had begun too late, and lest *an age too late, or cold climate, or years,*
should have damped his intended wing; and surely he had much greater cause
to dread the same now, and to be very cautious of launching out too far. TYLER.

Ver. 7. *And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.*] There is, I think, a
particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it
to the curse brought upon the Paradisiacal earth by the fall of Adam:
"*Cursed is the ground for thy sake: Thorns also and thistles shall it bring
forth to thee.*" TYLER.

Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite
 Into the desart, his victorious field,
 Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
 By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire, 11

In the fourth book of this poem, (ver. 523) we have,

"And follow'd thee still on to this *waste wild*."

Waste, or *wasteful*, is an epithet which our author had annexed to *wilderness*, at an early period of his life. Thus in his *translation* of the cxxxvth *Psalm*, written when he was only fifteen, he has "the *wasteful wilderness*." In that instance, perhaps, he borrowed the whole phrase from his favourite Spenser: *Faer. Qu. i. i. 32*.

"Far hence (quoth he) in *wasteful wilderness*

"His dwelling is" —

But the expression and the application of it, in this place, were evidently taken from a passage in *Isaiah*, li. 3. "The Lord shall comfort Zion, he will comfort all her *waste places*, and he will make her *wilderness like Eden*, and her *desart like the garden of the Lord*." DUNSTER.

I may add that the precise expression here used by Milton, is from Spenser's translation of Virgil's *Culex* :

"I carried am to a *waste wilderness*,

"*Waste wilderness* among Cymmerian shades."

So, also, in the romance of *Palmerin of England*, 4to. vol. 1. s. d. chap. 93. "The places of most renowne in this empire shall be changed to a *waste* and desolate *wildnesse*." TODD.

Ver. 8. *Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite*

Into the desart, &c.] This invocation is so supremely beautiful, that it is hardly possible to give the preference even to that in the opening of the *Paradise Lost*. This has the merit of more conciseness. Diffuseness may be considered as lessening the dignity of invocations on such subjects. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *who ledst this glorious eremite*

Into the desart, —] It is said, *Mat. iv. 1*. "Then was Jesus led up of the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." And from the Greek original ἐρημος the desart, and ἐρημίτης an inhabitant of the desart, is rightly formed the word *eremite*; which was used before by Milton in his *P. L. B. iii. 474*. And by Fairfax, in his translation of Tasso, c. xi. st. iv. And in Italian, as well as Latin, there is *eremita*, which the French, and we after them, contract into *hermite*, *hermit*.

NEWTON.

Heremite, or *eremite*, had been a very common spelling, both in poetry and prose, before Milton's time. TODD.

Ver. 11. ————— *inspire,*

As thou art wont, my prompted song else mute ;] See the very fine opening of the ninth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, and also his invocation of *Urania*, at the beginning of the seventh Book. And in the introduction to the second Book of the *Reason of Church-Government urged against Prelacy*, where he promises to undertake something, he yet knows not what, that may be of use and honour to his country, he adds; "This is not to be obtained but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify whom he pleases." — Here then we see, that Milton's invocations of the Divine

As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute ;
 And bear, through highth or depth of Nature's bounds,
 With prosperous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds
 Above heroick, though in secret done 15

Spirit were not merely *exordia pro formâ*.—Indeed his prose works are not without their invocations. Compare also Tasso, *Il Mondo Creato*, Giorn. prim.

————— “e langue
 “Se non m' ispiri tu, la voce, e 'l suono.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 12. ————— *my prompted song else mute ;*] Milton's third wife, who survived him many years, related of him, that he used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter ; and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness, “he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired him ;” and, being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied, “it was God's grace and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly.” *Newton's Life of Milton*. Mr. Richardson also says, that “Milton would sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a verse could he make ; and on a sudden his poetical fancy would rush upon him with an *impetus* or *æstrum*.” *Johnson's Life of Milton*. *Else mute* might have been suggested by a passage of Horace's most beautiful ode to the Muse, IV. iii.

“O testudinis aurea
 “Dulcem que strepitum, Pieri, temperas !
 “O mutis quoque piscibus
 “Donatura cygni, si libeat, sonum !

Or from Quinctilian ; — “ipsam igitur orandi majestatem, quâ nihil dii immortales melius homini dederunt, et quâ remotâ *muta sunt omnia*, et luce præsentis et memoriâ posteritatis carent, toto animo petamus.” L. xii. 11. DUNSTER.

Ver. 14. *With prosperous wing full summ'd,*] We have the like expression in *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 421. “They *summ'd* their pens ;” and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry. A hawk is said to be *full summ'd*, when all his feathers are grown, when he wants nothing of the *sum* of his feathers, “*cui nihil de summa pennarum deest*,” as Skinner says.

NEWTON.

Milton had perhaps the following passage of Drayton in mind, *Polyolbion*, Song xi.

“The *Muse* from Cambria comes with *pinnions summ'd* and sound.”
 TODD.

Ibid. ————— *to tell of deeds*

Above heroick,] Thus Milton conceived the subject of *Paradise Lost* to be of much greater dignity and difficulty than the argument of Homer and Virgil. See *Par. L.* ix. 13. See also B. i. 13, i. 24, iii. 3, ix. 27, &c. But, as Richardson observes, the poet here confines himself to “Nature's bounds ;” not as in the *Par. Lost*, where he soars “above the visible diurnal sphere.” Compare what our author says of subjects for epick poetry, in his Church Government, *Pr. W.* i. 60. ed. 1698, where a “*Christian hero*” seems to be his choice ; when he was a much younger man, about thirty years old. T. WARTON.

And unrecorded left through many an age ;
 Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.

Now had the great Proclaimer with a voice
 More awful than the sound of trumpet, cried
 Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand 20
 To all baptiz'd : To his great baptism flock'd
 With awe the regions round, and with them came
 From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem'd
 To the flood Jordan ; came, as then obscure,
 Unmark'd, unknown ; but him the Baptist soon 25
 Descried, divinely warn'd, and witness bore
 As to his worthier, and would have resign'd
 To him his heavenly office ; nor was long
 His witness unconfirm'd : On him baptiz'd
 Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a dove 30
 The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
 From Heaven pronounc'd him his beloved Son.

Ver. 18. ————— *with a voice*
More awful than the sound of trumpet,] “ Lift up *thy voice*
like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions.” *Isaiah* lviii. 1.
 And see *Heb.* xii. 18, 19. DUNSTER.

Ver. 24. *To the flood Jordan ; came, &c.*] This line is corruptly pointed
 both by Tickell and Fenton, after Tonson :

“ To the flood Jordan came, as then obscure,”

But as Dr. Newton observes, Milton's own pointing is emphatick, and
 worthy of repetition ; “ *came* with them to the flood Jordan,” and “ *came*,
 as then obscure.” TONN.

Ver. 25. ————— *but him the Baptist soon*
Descried, divinely warn'd,] John the Baptist had notice given
 him before, that he might certainly know the Messiah by the Holy Ghost
 descending and abiding upon him, “ *And I knew him not, but he that sent*
me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see
the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth
with the Holy Ghost,” *John* i. 33. But it appears from *St. Matthew*, that
 the Baptist knew him, and acknowledged him before he was baptized, and
 before the Holy Ghost descended upon him, *Mat.* iii. 14. “ *I have need to*
be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me ?” To account for which we
 must admit with Milton, that another divine revelation was made to him
 at this very time, signifying that this was the person, of whom he had
 such notice before. NEWTON.

Ver. 26. ————— *divinely warn'd,*] To comprehend the propriety of
 this word *divinely*, the reader must have his eye upon the Latin *DIVINITUS*,
from Heaven, since the word *divinely* in our language scarce ever comes
 up to this meaning. Milton uses it in much the same sense in *Paradise*
Lost, B. vii. 500.

“ She heard me thus, and though *divinely* brought.” TYLER.

That heard the Adversary, who, roving still
 About the world, at that assembly fam'd
 Would not be last, and, with the voice divine 35
 Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted Man, to whom
 Such high attest was given, a while survey'd
 With wonder; then, with envy fraught and rage,
 Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
 To council summons all his mighty peers, 40
 Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,
 A gloomy consistory; and them amidst,

Ver. 33. ————— *who roving still*
About the world,] “And the Lord said unto Satan, whence
 comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, *From going to*
and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it.” Job i. 7. See
 also I. *Pet.* v. 8. DUNSTER.

Ver. 36. ————— *the exalted Man, to whom*
Such high attest was given, &c.] The description how Satan
 is affected by this divine attestation of Jesus, is admirable. His involun-
 tary admiration is consistent with his knowledge of what is good and
 amiable; (see ver. 379.) his envy and rage are truly Satanick, and be-
 coming his character of the enemy of all good. DUNSTER.

Ver. 41. *Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,]* Milton, in
 making Satan's residence to be *in mid air, within thick clouds and dark,*
 seems to have St. Austin in his eye, who, speaking of the region of clouds,
 storms, thunder, &c. says—“*ad ista caliginosa, id est, ad hunc aërem,*
tantum ad carcerem, damnatus est diabolus, &c.” *Enarr. in Ps.* 148.
 S. 9. Tom. 5. p. 1677. Edit. Bened. THYER.

Satan's residence *in mid air* is rather in allusion to *Ephes.* ii. 2. where
 he is called “the prince of the power of the air.” TODD.

Ver. 42. *A gloomy consistory;]* This is an imitation of Virgil, *Æn.*
 iii. 677;

“Cernimus astantes nequicquam lumine torvo
 “Ætnæos fratres, cælo capita alta ferentes,
 “*Concilium horrendum.*”

By the word *consistory*, I suppose Milton intends to glance at the
 meeting of the Pope and Cardinals so named, or perhaps at the episcopal
 tribunal, to all which sorts of courts or assemblies he was an avowed
 enemy. The phrase *concilium horrendum* Vida makes use of upon a like
 occasion of assembling the infernal Powers, *Christ.* lib. 1.

“Protinus acciri diros ad regia fratres
 “Limina, *concilium horrendum.*”

And Tasso also, in the very same manner; *Gier. Lib.* c. iv. st. 2.

“Che sia commanda il popol suo raccolto
 “(*Concilio horrendo*) entro la regia soglia.” THYER.

Gloomy consistory is similar to the description of the same infernal
 council in the *Paradise Lost*, where Milton terms them a *dark divan*;

“Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting peers,
 “Rais'd from their *dark divan.*” DUNSTER.

Consistory was the usual word in our elder poetry for an assembly; as

With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake.
O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,

in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, bl. l. 1554, speaking of Venus's court and temple, cap. xxix.

"The temple of her royall *consistory*
"Was walled all about with yvorye."

And in Browne's *Brit. Past.* 1616, B. i. S. i.

"In Heauen's *consistory* 'twas decreed."

However, see *Quodlibets of Religion and State*, 1602, written by W. Watson, a secular priest; who, exposing the designs of the Jesuits in regard to the subjugation of England, says, that "their deepe Jesuiticall court of Parliament began at Styx in Phlegeton," and that "the second act enacted, or statute made, in that high *infernal* consistorie, was concerning the Church and Abbey lands, &c." pp. 92, 93. It is not improbable, that Phineas Fletcher might hence have taken the idea with which he opens his animated poem, entitled *Locustæ vel Pietas Jesuitica*, 4to. Cantab. 1627.

"Panditur Inferni limen, patet intima Ditis
"Janua, concilium magnum, Stygiisque Quirites
"Accitos, Rex ipse nigra in penetralia cogit.
"Olli conveniunt, volitant umbrosa per auras
"Numina, Tartareoque tumet domus alta Senatue.
"Considunt, numeroque omnes subsellia justo
"(Concilium horrendum) insternunt, causamque fluendi
"Intenti expectant: solio tum Lucifer alto
"Insurgens, dictis umbras accendit amaris, &c."

Possibly Milton might now be thinking of this passage. That he had read the poem with attention, is evident. See this point further considered in the first note on Milton's verses *In Quantum Novembris*. Todd.

Ver. 44. *O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world,*] So the devil is called in Scripture *the prince of the power of the air*, Eph. ii. 2; and evil spirits are termed the *rulers of the darkness of this world*, Eph. vi. 12. Satan here summons a council, and opens it as he did in the *Paradise Lost*: but here is not that copiousness and variety which is in the other; here are not different speeches and sentiments adapted to the different characters; it is a council without a debate; Satan is the only speaker. And the author, as if conscious of this defect, has artfully endeavoured to obviate the objection, by saying that their danger

_____ "admits no long debate,
"But must with something sudden be oppos'd.

And afterwards,

_____ "no time was then
"For long indulgence to their fears or grief."

The true reason is, he found it impossible to exceed or equal the speeches in his former council, and therefore has assigned the best reason he could for not making any in this. NEWTON.

The object of this council, it should be recollected, is not to debate, but merely for Satan to communicate to his compeers his apprehensions of their approaching danger, and to receive from them a sort of commission to act, in prevention of it, as circumstances might require, and as he should judge best. This gives the poet an opportunity of laying open the motives and general designs of the great antagonist of his hero. A

(For much more willingly I mention air,
 This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
 Our hated habitation,) well ye know
 How many ages, as the years of men,
 This universe we have possess'd, and rul'd,
 In manner at our will, the affairs of earth, 50
 Since Adam and his facile consort Eve
 Lost Paradise, deceiv'd by me; though since
 With dread attending when that fatal wound
 Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
 Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven 55
 Delay, for longest time to Him is short;
 And now, too soon for us, the circling hours

council, with a debate of equal length to that in the second Book of the *Paradise Lost*, would have been totally disproportionate to this *brief epick*; which, from the nature of its subject, already perhaps abounds too much in speeches. DUNSTER.

They who have been taught to think, by the cant of common criticks, that this poem is unworthy of the great genius of Milton, may read the *two first speeches* in it; *THIS* of Satan, with which the poem judiciously opens; and *THAT* of God at ver. 130 of this Book. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 45. ——— *air*,
This our old conquest,] *Par. Lost. B. x. 188.*

————— “through the *air*,
 “*The realm itself of Satan long usurp'd.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 53. ——— *attending*] That is, *waiting, expecting*; from the French *attendre*. So, in *Par. Lost. B. vii. 407.*

“Or in their pearly shells at ease *attend*
 “Moist nutriment ———”

See also *B. xi. 551.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 55. ——— *Long the decrees of Heaven*
Delay, for longest time to Him is short;] This observation, that “the decrees of Heaven are long delayed,” must be understood as being limited to this particular instance; or to its being *sometimes*, not always so. Why any interval should *ever* occur between the decrees of the Almighty and his execution of them, a reason is immediately subjoined, which forms a peculiarly fine transition to the succeeding sentence. Time is as nothing to the Deity; long and short having, in fact, no existence to a Being with whom all duration is present. Time to human beings has its stated measurement, and by this Satan had just before estimated it;

“How many ages, as the years of men,
 “This universe we have possessed.” ———

Time to guilty beings, human or spiritual, passes so quick, that the hour of punishment, however protracted, always comes too soon;

“And now, *too soon for us*, the circling hours
 “This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
 “Must bide the stroke of that *long-threaten'd* wound.” DUNSTER.

This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
 Must bide the stroke of that long-threaten'd wound,
 (At least if so we can, and by the head 60
 Broken be not intended all our power
 To be infringing'd, our freedom and our being,
 In this fair empire won of earth and air ;))
 For this ill news I bring, the Woman's Seed,
 Destin'd to this, is late of Woman born. 65
 His birth to our just fear gave no small cause :
 But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying
 All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve
 Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
 Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim 70
 His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
 Invites, and in the consecrated stream
 Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them, so
 Purified, to receive him pure, or rather
 To do him honour as their king : All come, 75
 And he himself among them was baptiz'd ;
 Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
 The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
 Thenceforth the nations may not doubt ; I saw
 The Prophet do him reverence ; on him, rising 80
 Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds

Ver. 64. *For this ill news I bring, &c.*] In the fourth Act of the *Adamo* of Andreini, Lucifer similarly announces the Incarnation to the demons. DUNSTON.

Ver. 74. *Purified, to receive him pure,*] I. John iii. 3. "And every man that hath this hope in him, *purifieth himself even as he is pure.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 81. ———— *Heaven above the clouds*
Unfold her crystal doors ;] It is the same idea in the *Ode on the Nativ.* st. 13. "Ring out, ye *crystal spheres.*" And in the Latin Ode, *Præsul. Elien.* ver. 63.

"Donec nitentes ad fores
 "Ventum est Olympi, et regiam crystallinam, &c."

Compare also *Par. L.* vi. 771.

"He on the wings of Seraphs rode sublime
 "On the *crystalline sky.*"

Again, B. i. 741.

————— "Thrown by angry Jove
 "Sheer o'er the *crystal battlements.*"

See also B. vi. 756, 860. Milton's "*crystal battlements*" are in the imagery

Unfold her crystal doors ; thence on his head
 A perfect dove descend, (whate'er it meant,)
 And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,
 " This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd." 85
 His mother then is mortal, but his Sire
 He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven :
 And what will He not do to advance his Son ?
 His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
 When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep : 90
 Who this is we must learn ; for Man he seems

of romance. The "*crystalline sphere*" is from the Ptolemaick or Gothick system of Astronomy, *Par. L.* iii. 482. And so perhaps Spenser, *Tears of the Muses* :

" For hence we mount aloft into the skie,

" And look into the *crystall* firmament." T. WARTON.

Ver. 83. *A perfect dove descend,*] He had expressed it before, ver. 30. *in likeness of a dove*, agreeably to St. Matthew, "*the Spirit of God descending like a dove*," iii. 16. and to St. Mark, "*the Spirit like a dove descending upon him*," i. 10. But as Luke says, that *the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape*, iii. 22. the poet supposes with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it. NEWTON.

Ver. 89. ————— *and sore have felt,*
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep :] In reference to the sublime description, in the *Paradise Lost*, of the Messiah driving the rebel Angels out of Heaven, B. vi. 834, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 91. *Who this is we must learn,*] Our author favours the opinion of those writers, Ignatius and others among the ancients, and Beza and others among the moderns, who believed that the Devil, though he might know Jesus to be some extraordinary person, yet knew him not to be the Messiah, the Son of God. NEWTON.

It was requisite for the poet to assume this opinion, as it is a necessary hinge on which part of the poem turns. DUNSTER.

In all his lineaments, though in his face
 The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.
 Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
 Of hazard, which admits no long debate, 95
 But must with something sudden be oppos'd,
 (Not force, but well-couch'd fraud, well-woven snares,)

Ver. 94. ————— on the utmost edge
Of hazard,] Dr. Newton says, this is borrowed from Shak-
 speare's *All's well that ends well*, A. iii. S. iii.

"We'll strive to bear it, for your worthy sake,

"To the extreme edge of hazard;" ———

It is certainly a strong coincidence of expression. But Milton may be supposed to have had in his mind a passage in Homer: from whom Shakspere might also have borrowed a metaphor so perfectly Grecian, by the means of his friend Chapman's version. See *Il.* x. 173.

Νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἔπι ξίφος ἱστάται ἄκμῃς·

Ἡ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Αἰχαιῶς, ἥ ἐ βιῶναι.

For the very frequent use of *Ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἀκμῇς*, among the Greek writers, see a note of Valckenaer on *Herodotus*, l. vi. c. 11.—And Warton on *Theocritus*, *Idyll.* xxii. 6. Milton has twice used nearly the same expression in his *Paradise Lost*;

'on the perilous edge

"Of battle, when it rag'd," ——— B. i. 276.

"On the rough edge of battle," ——— B. vi. 108.

where I am not a little surprised to find Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin both endeavouring to trace out the phrase, without being at all aware that it was so common an expression among the Greeks, as to be quite proverbial. See Lucian. *Jupit. Tragæd.* tom. ii. p. 605. Ed. Reitz. DUNSTER.

Milton, I observe, uses this proverbial expression literally in English: "We never leave subtilizing and casuisting, till we have straitned and pared that liberal path into a *razor's edge* to walk on, between a precipice of unnecessary mischief on either side." *Prose-W.* vol. i. p. 321. ed. 1698. See also Sir Henry Wotton's *Remains*, 3d edit. 1672, p. 365. "Methinks I see him walking, not like a funambulus upon a cord, but upon the *edge of a razor*." TODD.

Ver. 97. *Not force, but well-couch'd fraud,*] Marino, *Strage de gli Innocenti*, 1633, p. 11. where the Devil also is the speaker:

"Se la forza non val, vaglia la froda." TODD.

Ibid. ————— *well-couch'd fraud,*] So it is said of the Devil, as Mr. Dunster also has observed, that he "was the first

"That practis'd *falsehood* under faintly show,

"Deep malice to conceal, *couch'd* with revenge."

Par. Lost, B. iv. 121.

And in Milton's *Prose-Works*, flattery is called "that deceitful and *close-couch'd* evil." Vol. i. p. 141. ed. 1698. TODD.

Ibid. ————— *well-woven snares,*] Thus Spenser, *Astrophel*, st. 17.

"There his *well-woven* toils, and subtle traines

"He laid, &c." DUNSTER.

Ere in the head of nations he appear,
 Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.
 I, when no other durst, sole undertook 100
 The dismal expedition to find out
 And ruin Adam ; and the exploit perform'd
 Successfully : a calmer voyage now
 Will waft me ; and the way, found prosperous once,
 Induces best to hope of like success. 105

He ended, and his words impression left
 Of much amazement to the infernal crew,
 Distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay
 At these sad tidings ; but no time was then
 For long indulgence to their fears or grief : 110
 Unanimous they all commit the care
 And management of this main enterprise
 To him, their great dictator, whose attempt
 At first against mankind so well had thriv'd
 In Adam's overthrow, and led their march 115
 From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,
 Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea gods,
 Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
 So to the coast of Jordan he directs

Ver. 100. *I, when no other durst, sole undertook*
The dismal expedition &c.] The fear and unwillingness of
 the other fallen Angels to undertake this dismal expedition, is particularly
 described in the *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 420, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 103. ————— *a calmer voyage now*
Will waft me ;] Thus, in *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 1041, where
 Satan begins to emerge out of chaos, it is said the remainder of the jour-
 ney became so much easier,

“ That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
 “ *Wafts on the calmer wave.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 113. *To him, their great dictator,*] Milton applies this title very
 properly to Satan in his present situation ; as the authority he is now
 vested with is quite dictatorial, and the expedition on which he is going
 of the utmost consequence to the fallen Angels. TYLER.

Ver. 117. ————— *yea gods, &c.*] See *Par. Lost*, i.
 373, et seq. TODD.

Ver. 119. — *to the coast of Jordan*] The wilderness, where our
 Saviour underwent his forty days temptation, was on the same bank of
 Jordan where the baptism of John was ; St. Luke witnessing it, that
 Jesus being now baptized, ἐπιστρέψεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, *returned from*
Jordan. NEWTON.

His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles, 120
 Where he might likeliest find this new-declar'd,
 This Man of men, attested Son of God,
 Temptation and all guile on him to try ;
 So to subvert whom he suspected rais'd
 To end his reign on earth, so long enjoy'd : 125
 But, contrary, unweeting he fulfill'd
 The purpos'd counsel, pre-ordain'd and fix'd,
 Of the Most High ; who, in full frequency bright
 Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

Ver. 120. *His easy steps,*] In reference, (as Dr. Newton has observed,) to the calmness or easiness of his present expedition, compared with the danger and difficulty of his former one to ruin mankind. Accordingly Satan in the conclusion of his speech had said,

————— “ a calmer voyage now
 “ Shall waft me.” DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— girded with snaky wiles,] *Girded with snaky wiles* alludes to the habits of sorcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents. NEWTON.

This being *girt about with a girdle of snakes*, puts us in mind, says Warburton, of the instrument of the Fall. Surely this interpretation is a far-sought and groundless refinement ; as is also the remark on ver. 310, of the wild beasts growing mild at our Saviour's appearance as a mark of the returning Paradisiacal state. JOS. WARTON.

Girded here seems used only in a metaphorical sense ; as in Scripture the Christian, properly armed, is described having his “ *loins girt about with truth*,” (Ephes. vi. 14.) “ *Girded with snaky wiles*” is equivalent to the “ *dolis instructus*” of Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 152. Thus also, in the beginning of the third Book of this poem, Satan is described,

“ At length collecting all his serpent wiles.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 128. ————— in full frequency] Thus, in the *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 794 ;

“ A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
 “ Frequent and full.”

And he has the same expression of *full frequency*, in the second Book of this poem, ver. 130. DUNSTER.

Ver. 129. ————— thus to Gabriel smiling spake.] This speech is properly addressed to Gabriel, among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks ; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his Virgin Mother. The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy : accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise : and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular. NEWTON.

Tasso, speaking of Gabriel, who is the messenger of the Deity to Godfrey, in the opening of the *Gierusalemme Liberata*, says,

Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold, 130
 Thou and all Angels conversant on earth
 With man or men's affairs, how I begin
 To verify that solemn message, late
 On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
 In Galilee, that she should bear a son, 135
 Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God ;
 Then told'st her, doubting how these things could be

" E tra Dio questi e l' anime migliori
 " Interprete fedel, nuncio giocondo :
 " Giù i decreti del ciel porta, ed al cielo
 " Riporta dè mortali i preghi, e 'l zelo."

Smiling too is here no casual expletive. It is a word of infinitely fine effect, and is particularly meant to contrast the description of Satan, in the preceding part of the Book, wherein his "gloomy consistory" of infernal Peers, it is said,

" *With looks aghast and sad* he thus bespake."

The *benevolent smile* of the Deity is finely described by Virgil, *Æn.* i. 254.

" Olli *subridens* hominum sator atque Deorum,
 " *Vultu, quo cælum tempestatèsque serenat.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 130. ————— *by proof*] This is an allusion to the old trial by combat. The *duel*, or *trial by combat*, is defined by Fleta, "*Singularis pugna inter duos ad probandam veritatem litis, et qui vicit probasse intelligitur.*" Thus, ver. 11.

—————" and brought'st him thence
 " *By proof* the undoubted Son of God."

And before, in the very opening of the poem :

—————" the Tempter *foil'd*,
 " In all his wiles *defeated* and *repuls'd*:"

And the desert is called "his victorious *field*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 131. *Thou and all Angels conversant on earth*
With man or men's affairs,] This seems to be taken from the verses attributed to Orpheus :

" Ἀγγελοι, ὧσι μέμηλέ βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται. NEWTON.

Ver. 137. *Then told'st her,*] Milton sometimes, from a wish to compress, latinises, so as to obscure and confuse his language considerably. — The sense, which he intends here, is plainly *Thou told'st her*, &c. ; so that *told'st* is used here as equivalent to the Latin *dirixisti*, with its pronominal nominative understood ; but which our language positively requires to be expressed, unless where the verb is connected by a conjunction with some other verb dependent on the same pronoun. He has adopted the same mode of writing in other places ; particularly ver. 221, of this Book,

" Yet held it more humane, &c."

where the passage is perfectly confused for want of the pronoun *I*. See also ver. 85 of this Book. We may in this respect apply to our author what Cicero has said of the ancient orators : "*Grandes erant verbis, crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, et ob eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri.*" Brutus, 29. Ed. Proust. DUNSTER.

To her a virgin, that on her should come
 The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest
 O'ershadow her. This Man, born and now upgrown,
 To show him worthy of his birth divine 141
 And high prediction, henceforth I expose
 To Satan ; let him tempt, and now assay
 His utmost subtlety, because he boasts
 And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng 145
 Of his apostasy : he might have learnt
 Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,
 Whose constant perseverance overcame
 Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.
 He now shall know I can produce a Man, 150
 Of female seed, far abler to resist
 All his solicitations, and at length
 All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell ;
 Winning, by conquest, what the first Man lost,
 By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean 155
 To exercise him in the wilderness ;
 There he shall first lay down the rudiments
 Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth

Ver. 144. ——— because he boasts

*And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
 Of his apostasy :*] This alludes to what Satan had just
 before said to his companions, ver. 100.

" I, when no other durst, sole undertook, &c." THYLER.

Ver. 145. ——— the throng

Of his apostasy :] Thus, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 142 ;

—— " and thinner left the throng

" Of his adorers."

Of his apostasy : i. e. of his apostates. In the twelfth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, there is the same figure of speech, where the Angel describes Abraham passing over the Euphrates, followed by

—— " a cumbrous train

" Of flocks and herds, and numerous *serritude*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 157. ——— the rudiments

Of his great warfare,] Virg. *Æn.* xi. 156.

" *Primitiæ juvenis misera, bellique propinqui*

" Dura rudimenta."

And Statius, *Sylv.* v. ii. 3.

" *Quod si militiæ jam te, puer inclyte, primæ*

" *Clara rudimenta, et castrorum dulce vocaret*

" *Auspicium*" ——— DUNSTER.

To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,
 By humiliation and strong sufferance : 160
 His weakness shall o'ercome Satanick strength,
 And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh,
 That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
 They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
 From what consummate virtue I have chose 165
 This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.
 So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven

Ver. 161. *His weakness shall o'ercome Satanick strength.*] Thus in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, c. i. ver. 27. "*And God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty.*"

But the proper reference here is more probably to the second verse of the eighth Psalm. "*Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength, because of thine enemies; and that thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.*" This Psalm is considered by commentators as a ψαλμὸς ἐπινίκιος: Bp. Patrick supposes it to have been composed by David after his victory over Goliath, "which," he adds, "was a lively emblem of Christ's conquest over our great enemy." DUNSTON.

Ver. 162. *And all the world.*] "I have overcome the world." John xvi. 33. DUNSTON.

Ver. 163. *That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
 They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
 From what consummate virtue I have chose
 This perfect Man, by merit call'd my Son,
 To earn salvation for the sons of men.*] Not a word is here said of the Son of God, but what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous representation: and the Angels are first to learn the mystery of the Incarnation from that important conflict, which is the subject of this poem. They are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the *Man* Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the *God*,

" enshrin'd
 " In fleshly tabernacle and human form."

The Father, speaking to his Eternal Word, *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 308, on his generous undertakings for mankind, saith,

" and hast been found
 " By merit, more than birthright, Son of God." CALTON.

On a frequent perusal and thorough consideration of this passage, I cannot forbear being of Mr. Calton's opinion, that there is not a word here said of the Son of God, but what a Socinian, or at least an Arian, would allow. The same observation may be made on some other remarkable passages of this poem. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 168. *So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven
 Admiring stood a space.*] We cannot but notice the great art of the poet, in setting forth the dignity and importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of Devils is summoned; an assembly of Angels is held. Satan is

Admiring stood a space, then into hymns
 Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd, 170
 Circling the throne and singing, while the hand
 Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

the speaker in the one; the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares his purpose of proving and illustrating his Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surprised with deep dismay; all Heaven stands awhile in admiration. The fiends are silent through fear and grief; the Angels burst forth into singing with joy and the assured hope of success. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader. NEWTON.

Ver. 169. ————— *then into hymns*

Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,

Circling the throne and singing,] Milton, we may suppose,

had here in his mind the ancient chorus. In his original plan of the *Paradise Lost*, under a dramatick form, he proposed to introduce a chorus of Angels. The drama seems to have been his favourite species of poetry, and that which particularly caught and occupied his imagination: so at least we may judge from the numerous plans of tragedies which he left behind him. Indeed he has frequent allusions to dramatick compositions in all his works. DUNSTER.

Milton, perhaps, at this time, had in mind Dante's representation of the Angels formed into choirs, and singing praises to the Eternal Father, in his *Paradiso*, c. xxviii. TODD.

Ver. 171. ————— *while the hand*

Sung with the voice,] We have nearly the same phrase in

Tibullus, iii. iv. 41;

"Sed postquam fuerant *digiti cum voce locuti*,

"Edidit hæc dulci tristia verba modo."

The word *hand* is used again in this poem, B. iv. 254. to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal;

"There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power

"Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit

"By *voice or hand*."

Also in the *Arcades*, v. 77:

"If my inferior *hand or voice* could hit

"Inimitable sounds." CALTON.

So, in Lucretius, iv. 588.

"Chordarúnique sonos fieri, dulcésque querelas,

"Tibia quas fundit *digitis* pulsata *canentum*."

Canu signifies not only to sing, but also to perform on any instrument. Thus, Ovid. *Ex Pont.* l. i. 39.

"Ante deum Martem cornu tibicen adunco

"Cum *canit*." DUNSTER.

This expression occurs in the beautiful version of the cxxxviiith *Psalm* which I notice in the Account of Lawes. See the preliminary illustrations of *Comus*:

"Nor may we our hymns prophane;

"Or tune either *voice or hand*,

"To delight a savage band."

Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
 Now entering his great duel, not of arms,
 But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles ! 175
 The Father knows the Son ; therefore secure
 Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,
 Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
 Allure, or terrify, or undermine.

So, in Carew's elegant Mask, *Coelum Britannicum*, 1634.

" Harmony, that not resides

" In strings or notes, but in the *hand* and *voice*." TODD.

Ver. 174. *Now entering his great duel*,] If it be not a contradiction, it is at least inaccurate in Milton to make an Angel say, in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 386. " Dream not of their fight as of a *duel* ;" and afterwards to make the Angels express it here in the metaphor of a *duel*. NEWTON.

There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of the word *duel*, that makes it unworthy of these speakers, and of this occasion. The Italian *duello*, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this I suppose Milton had in view. THYER.

Milton might rather be supposed to look to the Latin ; where *duellum* is equivalent to *bellum*. See Hor. I. *Epist.* ii. 6. and *Ode* IV. xiv. 18. But *duel* here is used by our author in its most common acceptation of *single combat* ; and *now entering his great duel* means " now entering the lists to prove, in personal combat with his avowed antagonist and appellant, the reality of his own divinity." See note on ver. 130. of this Book. In the opening of this poem we may notice allusions to the *duel* or *trial by combat*. See ver. 5, &c. And ver. 8—11. Indeed the *Paradise Regained* absolutely exhibits the temptation of our blessed Saviour in the light of a duel, or personal contest, between him and the Arch-enemy of mankind ; in which our Lord, by his divine patience, fortitude, and resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, vanquishes the wiles of the Devil. He thereby attests his own superiority over his antagonist, and his ability to restore the lost happiness of mankind, by *regaining Paradise* for them, and by rescuing and redeeming them from that power, which had led them captive. DUNSTER.

Milton might have probably been influenced, in his adoption of the word *duel*, by the title and subject of the following curious and rare book : "*Le Duel et Combat de Jesus Empereur, Roy, et Monarque de tout l'Univers, et Prince de Lumiere, à l'encontre de son ennemy Sathan, Prince des Tenebres, et inique usurpateur de ce monde visible. Composé par F. Guillaume Zoline, Religieux profez d'Abbaye de Madame S. Genevieve, &c.*" 12mo. Paris, 1587. TODD.

Ver. 175. *But to vanquish*] Milton lays the accent on the last syllable in *vanquish*, as elsewhere in *triumph* ; and in many places he imitates the Latin and Greek prosody, and makes a vowel long before two consonants.

The accent upon the last syllable of *triumph* was common in Milton's time ; and the accent upon the last syllable also of *vanquish* may be paralleled by a passage in Shakspeare's *Hen. VI.* Part I. A. iii. S. iii.

" I am *vanquish'd* ; these haughty words of hers

" Have batter'd me like roaring canon-shot." TODD.

Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell, 180
And, devilish machinations, come to nought!

So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd :
Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days
Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,
Musing, and much revolving in his breast, 185
How best the mighty work he might begin
Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
Publish his Godlike office now mature,
One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading
And his deep thoughts, the better to converse 190

Ver. 182. *So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd :
Mean while the Son of God,]* How nearly does the poet
here adhere to the same way of speaking which he had used in *Paradise
Lost*, on the same occasion, B. iii. 416!

" *Thus they in Heaven, above the starry sphere,
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.
Mean while upon the firm opacous globe
Of this round world, &c.*" THYER.

Ibid. ————— vigils tun'd:] This is a very
uncommon expression, and not easy to be understood, unless we suppose,
that by *rigils*, the poet means those songs which they sung while they
kept their watches. Singing of hymns is their manner of keeping their
wakes in Heaven. And I see no reason why their evening service may
not be called *rigils*, as their morning service is called *matins*. NEWTON.

The evening service in the Roman Catholick churches is called *vespers*.
There was formerly a nocturnal service called *rigils*, or *nocturns*, which
was chanted and accompanied with musick. Ducange explains *vigilia*
" *ipsum officium nocturnum quod in vigiliis nocturnis olim decantabatur.*" —
The old writers often speak of the *vigiliarium cantica*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 183. ————— *who yet some days
Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd,]* The poet, I
presume, said this upon the authority of the first chapter of St. John's
gospel, where certain particulars, which happened several days toge-
ther, are related concerning the Son of God, and it is said, ver. 28. "*These
things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing.*"
NEWTON.

Ver. 185. ————— *much revolving in his breast,]* Virg. *Æn.* x. 890.
" *Multa movens animo.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. *One day forth walk'd alone, the Spirit leading
And his deep thoughts,]* In what fine light does Milton here
place that text of Scripture where it is said that *Jesus was led up of the
Spirit into the wilderness!* He adheres strictly to the inspired historian,
and at the same time gives it a turn which is extremely poetical. THYER.

Ver. 190. ————— *the better to converse
With solitude,]* So, in *Comus*, v. 375.

—————"Wisdom's self
" *Oft seeks to sweet retired solitude.*" DUNSTER.

But the poet here perhaps alludes to the sacred text, where it is said of

With solitude, till, far from track of men,
 Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
 He enter'd now the bordering desert wild,
 And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
 His holy meditations thus pursued. 195

O, what a multitude of thoughts at once
 Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider
 What from within I feel myself, and hear

our Saviour, that, "in the morning, rising up a great while before day, he went out and departed *into a solitary place*, and there prayed," *Mark i. 35.*
 TOWN.

Ver. 191. ————— *far from track of men,*] Sophocl.
Philoct. ver. 493. *Χωρίς ανθρώπων στείου.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 193. *He enter'd now the bordering desert wild,
 And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,*] The wilderness, in which John preached the gospel, and where Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan went out to him, and were baptized in Jordan, we are expressly told by St. Matthew, iii. 1. *was the wilderness of Judea*; which extended from the river Jordan all along the western side of the Asphaltick Lake, or *Dead Sea*. The different parts of this wilderness had different names, from the neighbouring cities or mountains; thus, 1. Sam. xxiii. 14., it is called the *wilderness of Ziph*, and, xxiv. 1. the *wilderness of Engaddi*. The word מדרבר in Scripture, which in our version is rendered wilderness or desert, does not mean a country absolutely barren or uninhabited, but only uncultivated. Indeed in the 15th chapter of Joshua, where the cities of Judah are enumerated, we read of six cities in the wilderness. Of these Engaddi stood nearest to the river Jordan, and the northern end of the Dead Sea. The *desert*, where Milton, following what could be collected from Scripture, now places our Lord, we may suppose then to be that part of the wilderness of Judea, in the neighbourhood of Engaddi. The wildernesses, or uncultivated parts of Judea, appear chiefly to have been forests and woods, *locu saltuosa et sylvestra*. (See Reland's *Palestina*, L. 1. c. 56. *de locis incultis et sylvestris Palestine*.) About Engaddi also there were many mountains and rocks. David is described (1 Sam. xxiii. 29.) dwelling in strong holds at Engaddi; and of Saul, when in pursuit of him, (xxiv. 2.) it is said that *he went to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats*. The "bordering desert" then is the rocky uncultivated forest-country nearest to that part of Jordan where John had been baptizing, and our Lord is accordingly, with the greatest accuracy of description, there represented, as entering.

————— "now the bordering desert wild,
 "And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round."

It should be observed, that D'Anville, in the map of Palestine in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. He places it towards the northern end of that part of Jordan, which flows from the lake of Genesareth into the Dead Sea; and on the eastern bank of the river; almost opposite Enon. But it is nearly certain, that it really stood, as Bishop Pearce supposes, (*see his note on John i. 28.*) at the southern end of the river Jordan, on the western bank; and within a little distance of the wilderness, being only a very few miles from the Dead Sea. DUNSTER.

What from without comes often to my ears,
 Ill sorting with my present state compar'd! 200
 When I was yet a child, no childish play
 To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
 Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
 What might be publick good; myself I thought
 Born to that end, born to promote all truth, 205
 All righteous things: therefore, above my years,
 The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
 Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
 To such perfection, that, ere yet my age

Ver. 201. *When I was yet a child, no childish play
 To me was pleasing;*] How finely and consistently, as Mr. Thyer observes, does Milton here imagine the youthful meditations of our Saviour! Dr. Jortin was of opinion, that Milton might here allude to Callimachus's account of Jupiter's infantine disposition, *Hymn in Jov.* v. 56. Dr. Newton produced a similar description of Demophilus by Pindar, *Pyth. Od.* iv. 501. And Mr. Dunster refers to an apposite passage in Plutarch's Life of Cato. But the conclusion, made by Dr. Newton, still applies: "Our author *might* allude to those passages, but he *certainly did* allude to the words of the apostle, *I. Cor.* xiii. 11, only inverting the thought, *When I was a child, I spake as a child, &c.*" TODD.

Ver. 204. ————— *myself I thought
 Born to that end, born to promote all truth,*] Alluding to our Saviour's words, *John* xviii. 37. "To this end *was I born*, and for this cause came I into the world, that I should *bear witness unto the truth.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 206. ————— *therefore, above my years,
 The law of God I read, &c.*] This has some resemblance to Virgil, *Æn.* ix. 311.

"*Ante annos animúmque gerens curámque virilem.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 207. *The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
 Made it my whole delight,*] "How *sweet are thy words* unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!" *Psalms* cxix. 103. "And *his delight is in the law of the Lord*; and in his law doth he meditate day and night." *Psalms* i. 2. DUNSTER.

Ver. 209. ————— *ere yet my age
 Had measur'd twice six years,*] The following verses of Statius bear a resemblance not only to this immediate passage, but also to some of the preceding lines, *Sylv.* v. ii. 12.

—————"Octonos bis jam tibi circuit annos

"*Vita; sed angustis annis robustior annis,*

"*Succumbitque oneri, et mentem sua non capit ætas.*" DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *that, ere yet my age
 Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast
 I went into the temple, there to hear
 The teachers of our law, and to propose
 What might improve my knowledge or their own;*] Though Milton, in one of his early poems, has paid a tribute of respect to the "*trump of*

Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast 210
 I went into the temple, there to hear
 The teachers of our law, and to propose
 What might improve my knowledge or their own ;
 And was admir'd by all : yet this not all
 To which my spirit aspir'd ; victorious deeds 215
 Flam'd in my heart, heroick acts ; one while
 To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke ;
 Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
 Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,
 Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd : 220
 Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
 By winning words to conquer willing hearts,

Cremona," it is but seldom that we can trace him to any part of the *Christiad*. There is however some resemblance here to the description, in that poem, of Jesus at this early age, when at Jerusalem, at the Feast of the Passover, going into the Temple, and *sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions*. Joseph, who is made by Vida to narrate the early part of our Saviour's life, describes himself and Mary, after having missed Jesus on their road, returning to Jerusalem, and finding him in the temple, as he is here described. *Christ*. iii. 947.

" Ecce sacerdotum in medio conspeximus illum,
 " (Prima rudimenta, et virtutis signa futurae,)
 " Alta recensentem vatuum monumenta, patrūque
 " Primores ultro scitantes obscura, docentēque.
 " Illum omnes admirari haud vulgata canentem
 " Supra aciem, captūque hominis, mentēque vigentem,
 " Humāna non vī edoctum, non arte magistrā,
 " Maturūque animi nimium puerilibus annis." DUNSTER.

Ver. 214. *And was admir'd by all :*] " And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers." *Luke* ii. 47. NEWTON.

Ver. 218. *Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
 Brute violence and proud tyrannick power,*] Milton here carries his republican principles to the greatest height, in supposing the overthrow of all monarchy to have been one of the objects of our Lord's early contemplations. We may compare his *Samson Agonistes*, v. 1268, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 221. *Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first*] The true spirit of toleration breathes in these lines, and the sentiment is very fitly put into the mouth of him, who came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. NEWTON.

Ver. 222. *By winning words to conquer willing hearts,*] Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 561.

" victorque volentes
 " Per populos dat jura "

which expression of Virgil seems to be taken from Xenophon, *Oeconomic*.

And make persuasion do the work of fear ;
 At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
 Not wilfully misdoing, but unaware 225
 Misled ; the stubborn only to subdue.
 These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving,
 By words at times cast forth, inly rejoic'd,
 And said to me apart ; " High are thy thoughts,
 " O Son, but nourish them, and let them soar 230
 " To what highth sacred virtue and true worth
 " Can raise them, though above example high ;
 " By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire,

xxi. 12. Οὐ γὰρ πάνι μοι δοκεῖ όλον τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
 θεῖον, τὸ ἐθέλοντων ἀρχεῖν. JORTIN.

Dr. Newton has commended the alliteration of *w's* in this line. Alliteration, not too frequently repeated, undoubtedly gives sometimes force and energy to a line ; but surely several of our late writers carry it to a nauseous and unwarrantable length. Of all writers, Dryden seems to be most happy in the temperate and proper use of alliteration ; but he has scarcely ever more than three words in a line that begins with the same letter. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 226. ——— *the stubborn only to subdue.* In all the editions we read "the stubborn only to *destroy*." And this being good sense, the mistake is not easily detected : but in the first edition the reader is desired, in the table of Errata, for *destroy* to read *subdue* ; and, if we consider it, this is the more proper word, more suitable to the humane and heavenly character of the speaker ; and besides it answers to the *subdue and quell* in ver. 218. "The Son of Man came *not to destroy* men's lives, &c." Luke ix. 56. NEWTON.

In Tonson's 12mo. edit. 1747, it is rightly printed, "The stubborn only to *subdue*." TODD.

Ver. 228. ——— *inly rejoic'd,*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 502.

"Latona tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus." JORTIN.

The reader should recollect, that the occasion of the above verse, which is finely descriptive of maternal delight, was the distinguishing personal grace and divine appearance of Diana on the banks of Eurotas, surrounded by her nymphs ; among whom

————— "i la pharetram

"Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes." DUNSTER.

Ver. 231. ——— *true worth*] Hor. *Od.* III. v.

"Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,

"Curat reponi deterioribus." DUNSTER.

Ver. 233. *By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire,*] Milton, in one place of his *Par. Lost*, uses the verb *to express*, in the same sense as he has done here. It is one of the speeches of the Deity to Adam after his creation.

"Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,

"And find thee knowing, not in beasts alone

"Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thyself,

" For know, thou art no son of mortal man ;
 " Though men esteem thee low of parentage, 235
 " Thy Father is the Eternal King who rules
 " All Heaven and Earth, Angels and sons of men :
 " A messenger from God foretold thy birth
 " Conceiv'd in me a virgin ; he foretold,
 " Thou should'st be great, and sit on David's throne,
 " And of thy kingdom there should be no end. 241
 " At thy nativity, a glorious quire
 " Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
 " To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,
 " And told them the Messiah now was born, 245
 " Where they might see him, and to thee they came,
 " Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,
 " For in the inn was left no better room :
 " A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing,
 " Guided the wise men thither from the east, 250
 " To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;
 " By whose bright course led on they found the place,

" *Expressing well the spirit within thee free,*
 " *My image, not imparted to the brute.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 239. ————— *he foretold,*
Thou should'st be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.] See *Luke i. 32,*

33. DUNSTER.

Ver. 241. ————— *there should be no end.]* Tickell and Fenton,
 after Tonson, corruptly read, "there shall be no end." Dr. Newton re-
 stored the true reading. TODD.

Ver. 242. *At thy nativity, a glorious quire*
Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night, &c.] See *Par.*

Lost, B. xii. 364.

" His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
 " To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night ;
 " They gladly thither haste, and *by a quire*
 " *Of squadron'd angels hear his carol sung.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 249. *A star, not seen before, in heaven appearing,*
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold ;] So in *Par.*

Lost, B. xii. 360.

————— "yet at his birth a star,
 " *Unseen before in Heaven, proclaims him come,*
 " And *guides the Eastern sages, who inquire*
 " His place, to offer *incense, myrrh, and gold.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 252. *By whose bright course]* *Par. Lost, i. 786, where the moon*

" Affirming it thy star, new-graven in Heaven,
 " By which they knew the King of Israel born.
 " Just Simeon and prophetick Anna, warn'd 255
 " By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake,
 " Before the altar and the vested priest,
 " Like things of thee to all that present stood." —
 This having heard, straight I again resolv'd
 The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ 260
 Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
 Known partly, and soon found, of whom they spake
 I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
 Through many a hard assay, even to the death,
 Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain, 265
 Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins'
 Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.
 Yet, neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd,

"wheels her pale course." And so *Judges*, v. 20. "The stars in their courses fought against Sisera." TODD.

Ver. 255. *Just Simeon and prophetick Anna*.] It may not be improper to remark how strictly our author adheres to the Scripture History, not only in the particulars which he relates, but also in the very epithets which he affixes to the persons; as here *just Simeon*, because it is said, *Luke* ii. 36, and *there was one Anna a prophetess*. The like accuracy may be observed in all the rest of this speech. NEWTON.

Ver. 257. ——— *the vested priest*.] The epithet *vested* is singularly proper, because the *vestments* of the Jewish priest were enjoined, and particularly described, by God himself; and, unless habited in them, the ministration of the priest at the altar was illegal, and expressly forbidden under the penalty of "bearing his iniquity." *Exod.* xxviii. 43. HURD.

Ver. 262. ——— *and soon found, of whom they spake I am*.] The Jews thought that the Messiah, when he came, would be without all power and distinction, and *unknown even to himself*, till Elias had anointed and declared him. *Χριστὸς ὃς εἰ καὶ γιγνήσεται, καὶ ἐστὶ πῶν, ἀγνωστος ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πῶς αὐτὸν ἐπίσταται, οὐδὲ ἔχει ἱκανὴν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ Ἡλίας χρίσθαι αὐτόν, καὶ φανερὸν πᾶσι ποιήσῃ.* Just. Mart. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 266. Ed. Col. CALTON.

Ver. 264. *Through many a hard assay, even to the death*.] See note n *Comus*, v. 972. Unto the death, as Mr. Dunster observes, is an expression used in our translation of the Scriptures. See *Acts* xxii. 4. See also *Judges* v. 18, and *Revel.* xii. 11. It is also an old poetical phrase, being used by Chaucer and Shakspeare; and is supposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt to have been originally a mistaken translation of the French *la mort*. TODD.

Ver. 266. ——— *whose sins' Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head*.] *Isaiah* liii. 6. "The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all." NEWTON.

The time prefix'd I waited ; when behold
 The Baptist, (of whose birth I oft had heard, 270
 Not knew by sight,) now come, who was to come
 Before Messiah, and his way prepare !
 I, as all others, to his baptism came,
 Which I believ'd was from above ; but he
 Straight knew me, and with loudest voice proclaim'd
 Me him, (for it was shown him so from Heaven,) 276
 Me him, whose harbinger he was ; and first
 Refus'd on me his baptism to confer,
 As much his greater, and was hardly won :
 But, as I rose out of the laving stream, 280
 Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence
 The Spirit descended on me like a dove ;
 And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,
 Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounced me his,
 Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 285
 He was well pleas'd ; by which I knew the time

Ver. 271. *Not knew by sight,*] Though Jesus and John the Baptist were related, yet they were brought up in different countries, and had no manner of intimacy or acquaintance with each other. John the Baptist says expressly, *John* i. 31, 33. "*And I knew him not.*" He did not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour came to his baptism ; and afterwards it doth not appear that they ever conversed together.
 NEWTON.

Ver. 279. *As much his greater,*] Here Milton uses the word *greater* in the same manner as he had done before, *Paradise Lost*, B. v. 172.

"Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
 "Acknowledge him *thy greater.*"

And this, I think, is a proof that the present reading there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's emendation and mine ought absolutely to be rejected. THYER.

Ver. 280. ———— *out of the laving stream,*] Alluding to the phrase *laver of regeneration*, so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the present condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduced by the poet, to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is opened.
 THYER.

Ver. 281. ———— *eternal doors,*] So in *Psal.* xxiv. 7, 9. *everlasting doors.* And *Paradise Lost*, B. vii. 205.

———— "Heaven open'd wide
 "Her *ever-during gates.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 286. ———— *the time*
Now full,] Alluding to the Scripture phrase, *the fulness of time.* Gal. iv. 4. NEWTON.

Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
 But openly begin, as best becomes,
 The authority which I derived from Heaven.
 And now by some strong motion I am led 290
 Into this wilderness, to what intent
 I learn not yet ; perhaps I need not know,
 For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.
 So spake our Morning-Star, then in his rise,
 And, looking round, on every side beheld 295
 A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades ;

Ver. 293. *For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.*] This whole soliloquy is formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, *that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures and from the first moment of that union, possessed of all the knowledge of the ΛΟΓΟΣ, as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit.* [See Le Blanc's *Elucidatio Status Controversiarum*, &c. Cap. 3.] In his early years he *increased in wisdom*, and in stature. *St. Luke*, ii. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that — “ipsa Οὐότης plenitudo sese, prout et quatenus ipsa libuit, humanitati assumptæ insinuavit : quicquid garriant matæologi, et novi Ubiquitarii Eutyechiani.” Grotius employs the same principle to explain *St. Mark* xiii. 32. — “Videtur mihi, ni meliora docear, hic locus non impie posse exponi hunc in modum, ut dicamus *divinam sapientiam* menti humanæ Christi effectus suos impressisse *pro temporum ratione*. Nam quid aliud est, si verba non torquemus, *προϊκότε σοφία*, *Luc*. ii. 52 ?” And our Tillotson approved the opinion. — “It is not unreasonable to suppose, that the *Divine Wisdom*, which dwelt in our Saviour, did communicate itself to his *human soul* according to his pleasure, and so his *human nature* might at some times not know some things. And if this be not admitted, how can we understand that passage concerning our Saviour, *Luke* ii. 52. that *Jesus grew in wisdom and stature* ?” CALTON.

Ver. 294. *So spake our Morning-Star.*] So our Saviour is called, in the *Revelation*, xxii. 16, *the bright and morning star*. NEWTON.

And thus Spenser, in his *Hymn of Heavenly Love* :

“O blessed well of love ! O flowre of grace !

“O glorious *Morning-star* ! &c.”

Compare also *Luke* i. 78, 2 *Pet.* i. 19. DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. ————— *on every side beheld*

A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades ;] Thus Virgil describes the wood in which Euryalus is taken, in his ninth *Æneid*, 381.

“*Sylva fuit, late dumis atque ilice nigra*

“*Horrida, quam densi complérant undique sentes :*

“*Rara per occultos lucebat semita calles.*”

But *dusk with horrid shades* is more immediately from *Æn.* i. 165.

“*Horrentique atrum nemus imminet umbra.*” DUNSTER.

Probably not without a reference also to Tasso. See my note on *Comus*, ver. 428. TORD.

Ver. 296. *A pathless desert.*] *Æchyl. Prom. Vinc.* ver. 2. ABATON *ερημιαν*. And see Beaumont and Fletcher's *Nice Valour* : —

The way he came not having mark'd, return
 Was difficult, by human steps untrod ;
 And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
 Accompanied of things past and to come 300
 Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
 Such solitude before choicest society.
 Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
 Sometimes, anon on shady vale, each night
 Under the covert of some ancient oak 305
 Or cedar to defend him from the dew,
 Or harbour'd in one cave, is not reveal'd ;
 Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt,
 Till those days ended ; hunger'd then at last
 Among wild beasts : they at his sight grew mild, 310

“ Fountain heads, and *pathless* groves,
 “ Places which pale *Passion* loves.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 298. ————— by human steps *untrod* ;] Compare the beginning of Petrarch's 28th Sonnet :

“ Solo e pensoso i piu deserti campi
 “ Vo misurando a passi tardi e lenti ;
 “ E gli occhi porto per fuggire intenti
 “ Dove *vestigio uman* l'arena stampi.” TODD.

Ver. 299. *And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
 Accompanied of things past and to come
 Lodg'd in his breast, as well might recommend
 Such solitude before choicest society.*] The Poet here resumes
 and continues the description he had given of our blessed Lord, previous
 to his soliloquy, on his first entering the desert, v. 189. DUNSTER.

Ver. 303. *Full forty days he pass'd, whether on hill
 Sometimes, &c.*] Here the Poet of *Paradise Lost* breaks out
 in his meridian splendour. There is something particularly picturesque
 in this description. DUNSTER.

Ver. 306. *Or cedar*] There is great propriety in mentioning this tree,
 as being peculiar to the country where the scene is laid. JOS. WARTON.

Ibid. ————— *to defend him from the dew.*] That the dews of that
 country are very considerable, may be collected from several parts of
 Scripture. The dews of Mount Hermon are particularly noticed in the
 133d Psalm, as producing the most irriuous effects. Maundrell, in his
Travels, when within little more than half a day's journey of this mountain,
 says, “ we were sufficiently instructed by experience what the Holy
 Psalmist means by the *dew of Hermon*, our tents being as wet with it as
 if it had rained all night.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 307. *Or harbour'd in one cave,*] Dr. Jortin wishes to read *some*
cave.—Caves are very frequently spoken of in Scripture, as places of
 retreat for protection or shelter. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Among wild beasts : they at his sight grew mild,*] St. Mark's
 short account of THE TEMPTATION is, that our blessed Lord “ *was in the*

Nor sleeping him nor waking harm'd ; his walk
 The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,
 The lion and fierce tiger glar'd aloof.
 But now an aged man in rural weeds,
 Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray ewe, 315
 Or wither'd sticks to gather, which might serve

wilderness forty days tempted of Satan, and was with the wild beasts, and the angels ministered unto him," Ch. i. 13. Abp. Secker, in his Sermon on the Temptation, says, "During these forty days it is observed by St. Mark, that our blessed Redeemer *was with the wild beasts*, which words must imply, else they are of no significance, that the fiercest animals were awed by his presence, and so far laid aside their savage nature for a time ; thus verifying literally, what Eliphaz in Job saith figuratively, concerning a good man ; "*At destruction and famine shalt thou laugh, neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth, FOR THEY SHALL BE AT PEACE WITH THEE.*" Before the Fall, Milton supposes those beasts, which are now wild, to have been harmless, void of ferocity to each other, and even affectionate towards man. See *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 340, &c. Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of nature, the animals begin to grow savage. See *Par. Lost*, B. x. 707. Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form amongst them, they begin to resume a certain proportion of the Paradisiacal disposition. In Homer's *Hymn to Venus*, where that goddess descends on Mount Ida, to visit Anchises at his folds, her appearance is described as having the same effect, in its fullest extent, ver. 68, &c. Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, 1610, has given a similar but more diffuse description of the effect of our Lord's presence on the wild beasts in the wilderness. DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *The lion and fierce tiger glared aloof.*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 401.

————— "about them round
 "A lion now he stalks with fiery glare :
 "Then as a tiger ———"

Again B. x. 712, it is said that, after the Fall, the wild beasts, ceasing to graze,

"Devour'd each other, nor stood much in awe
 "Of man, but fled him, or with fountenance grim
 "Glar'd on him passing ———"

The latter part of which description is palpably taken from Shakspeare, *Jul. Cæs.* A. i. S. iv.

"Who glar'd upon me, and went surly by,
 "Without annoying me." DUNSTER.

Ver. 314. *But now an aged man*] As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assumed, the Poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy ; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The Poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour, under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerselt. THYER.

See the Preliminary Remarks in this volume, on the Origin of Paradise Regained. TODD.

Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,
 To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,
 He saw approach, who first with curious eye
 Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake. 320

Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place
 So far from path or road of men, who pass
 In troop or caravan? for single none
 Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
 His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth. 325

Ver. 319. ————— *with curious eye*
 Perus'd him,] Thus in *Hamlet*, Ophelia, describing the
 behaviour of Hamlet to her, says,

"He falls to such *perusal* of my face,

"As he would draw it:"

And, in the last scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo, when he has killed
 Paris, says,

—————"Let me *peruse* this face!"

And in the *Paradise Lost*, B. viii, where Adam relates to Raphael his own
 sensations, immediately after his creation, having with infinite beauty
 described the scene that surrounded him, and first attracted and gratified
 his attention, he thus proceeds to speak of his survey of himself:

"Myself I then *perus'd*, and limb by limb

"Survey'd." DUNSTER.

Ver. 323. *In troop or caravan?*] A caravan, as Tavernier says, is a
 great convoy of merchants, who meet at certain times and places, to put
 themselves into a condition of defence from thieves, who ride in troops in
 several desert places upon the road. Hence the safest way of travelling
 in Turkey and Persia is with the caravan. See *Travels into Persia*, in
 Harris, vol. ii. ch. 2. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *for single none*

Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here

His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drouth.] Milton seems
 here to have had in his mind the vast sandy deserts of Africa; which
 Diodorus Siculus describes as a — "desart, full of wild beasts, of a vast
 extent, and from its being devoid of water, and bare of all kind of food,
 not only difficult, but absolutely dangerous to pass over." In Jeremiah,
 the desert is described "a land that no man passed through," Septuag.
 γγ ΑΒΑΤΩ, xi. 6. Compare the opening of Dante's *Inferno*, where, having
 passed through the more dreadful part of the *piaggia deserta*, the poet
 turns himself to regard the dangerous region:

"Così l'animo mio, ch' ancor fuggiva,

"Si volse 'ndietro a rimirar lo passo,

"Che non lasciò giammai persona viva. DUNSTER."

Ver. 325. ————— *pin'd with hunger*] Death, in the tenth Book of
 the *Paradise Lost*, thus describes himself,

—————"me, who *with eternal famine pine*." DUNSTER.

But the expression here was probably suggested by a passage in Drum-
 mond's *Flowers of Sion*; where, having described the returning reason of
 the Prodigal Son, the poet adds,

I ask the rather, and the more admire,
 For that to me thou seem'st the Man, whom late
 Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
 Of Jordan honour'd so, and call'd the Son
 Of God : I saw and heard, for we sometimes 330
 Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
 To town or village nigh, (nighest is far,)
 Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear
 What happens new ; fame also finds us out.
 To whom the Son of God. Who brought me hither,
 Will bring me hence ; no other guide I seek. 336
 By miracle he may, replied the swain ;
 What other way I see not ; for we here
 Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur'd

" This, where an aged oak had spread its arms,
 " Thought the Lost Child, while as the herds he led,
 " And, *pin'd with hunger*, on wild acorns fed." TOWN.

Ver. 330. ——— *I saw and heard, for we sometimes*

*Who dwell this wild, constrain'd by want, come forth
 To town or village nigh.*]

All this is finely in character with the assumed person of the Tempter, and tends at the same time to give more effect to the preceding descriptions. It should be considered also that it was not necessary to confine those descriptions merely to that part of the wilderness of Judea, into which our Lord was just now entering, v. 193, or where at most he had not advanced any great way, v. 299. — That wilderness was of a great length, the most habitable part being northward towards the river Jordan ; southward it extended into vast and uninhabited deserts, which, in the map in Reland's *Palestina*, are termed *vastissimæ solitudines*. To describe these, in such a manner as might impress a deep sense of danger in the mind of him to whom he addressed himself, was perfectly consistent with the Tempter's purpose.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 338. ——— *for we here*

Live on tough roots, and stubs,] This must certainly be a mistake of the printer, and instead of *stubs* it ought to be read *shrubs*. It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and ascetics living in deserts upon roots and shrubs, but I never heard of *stubs* being used for food, nor indeed is it reconcileable to common sense. Some have thought that the *ἀκροῦς*, which the Scripture says were the meat of the Baptist, were the tops of plants or shrubs. THYER.

Yet, in the *Tempest*, Prospero threatens Ferdinand with nearly as hard fare, A. i. S. iii.

————— " thy food shall be
 " The fresh brook mussels, *wither'd roots, and husks*,
 " *Wherein the acorn crull'd.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 339. ——— *to thirst inur'd*

More than the camel,] It is commonly said that camels will go without water three or four days. " *Sitim et quatruiduo tolerant.*"

More than the camel, and to drink go far, 340
 Men to much misery and hardship born :
 But, if thou be the Son of God, command
 That out of these hard stones be made thee bread,
 So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve
 With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste. 345

He ended, and the Son of God replied.
 Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not written,
 (For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,)
 Man lives not by bread only, but each word
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed 350
 Our fathers here with manna? In the mount
 Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank ;
 And forty days Elijah, without food,
 Wander'd this barren waste ; the same I now :
 Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust, 355
 Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art ?

Whom thus answer'd the Arch-Fiend, now undisguis'd.
 'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,

Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. viii. sect. 26. But Tavernier says, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days. NEWTON.

Ver. 348. (*For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,*.)] In the concluding Book of this Poem, our Lord says to the Tempter,

“ desist, *thou art discern'd,*
 “ And toil'st in vain.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 349. *Man lives not by bread only, but each word
 Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
 Our fathers here with manna ?*] The words of St. *Matthew*,

iv. 14, which refer to the eighth chapter of *Deuteronomy*, ver. 3, where the humiliation of the Israelites in the wilderness, and their being there miraculously fed with manna, are recited as arguments for their obedience, “ *and he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know ; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.*” The Poet, who was, beyond a doubt, “ mighty in the Scripture,” has, with much art, availed himself of the original passage in the Old Testament, as it affords him such an immediate and apposite transition to the miraculous feeding the Children of Israel, their great lawgiver, and afterwards Elijah, in the wilderness. DUNSTER.

Ver. 356. *Knowing who I am,*] This is not to be understood of Christ's divine nature. The Tempter knew him to be the person *declared the Son of God* by a voice from Heaven, v. 385, and that was all that he knew of him. CALTON.

Ver. 358. *'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,*] Satan's instantaneous

Who, leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt,
 Kept not my happy station, but was driven 360
 With them from bliss to the bottomless deep,
 Yet to that hideous place not so confin'd
 By rigour unconniving, but that oft,
 Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy
 Large liberty to round this globe of earth, 365
 Or range in the air ; nor from the Heaven of Heavens
 Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
 I came among the sons of God, when he
 Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
 To prove him and illustrate his high worth ; 370
 And, when to all his Angels he propos'd
 To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud

avowal of himself here has a great and fine effect. It is consistent with a certain dignity of character which is given him in general, through the whole of the *Paradise Lost*. — The rest of his speech is artfully submissive. DUNSTER.

Ver. 360. *Kept not my happy station.*] See *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 145, and the note there. TODD.

Ver. 364. ——— *my dolorous prison.*] *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 618.

——— “ through many a dark and dreary vale

“ They pass'd, and many a region *dolorous*,

“ O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp.” DUNSTER.

Again, in his *Hymn on the Nativity*, st. xiv.

“ And *Hell* itself will pass away.

“ And leave her *dolorous* mansions to the peering day.”

Although the adjective *dolorous* be common in our old poetry, Milton, I am inclined to think, did not forget Dante's usage of it, in the *Inferno*, where Satan is called, c. xxxiv.

“ Lo 'mperador del *doloroso* regno.” TODD.

Ver. 365. ——— *to round this globe of earth.*] Milton uses the same phrase in his *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 684. speaking of the sun :

“ Had rounded still the horizon.” THYER.

In Quarles's *Job Militant*, the Devil thus concludes his reply to God's question, Whence comest thou ?

“ The earth is my dominion, hell's my home ;

“ I round the world, and so from thence I come.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 372. *To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud*] This story of Ahab is related, 1 *Kings* xxii. 19, &c. “ I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead ? And one said on this manner, and another on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith ? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all

That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
 I undertook the office, and the tongues
 Of all his flattering prophets glibb'd with lies. 375
 To his destruction, as I had in charge ;
 For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
 Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
 To be belov'd of God, I have not lost
 To love, at least contemplate and admire, 380
 What I see excellent in good, or fair,
 Or virtuous ; I should so have lost all sense :

his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also : go forth, and do so." This symbolical vision of Micaiah, in which heavenly things are spoken of after the manner of man, in condescension to the weakness of their capacities, our author was too good a critic to understand literally, though as a poet he represents it so. NEWTON.

The expression here is copied from the *Par. Lost*, vii. 143.

" He _____ into fraud

" Drew many, whom their place knows here no more." TODD.

Ver. 377. _____ *Though I have lost*

Much lustre of my native brightness,] It is said of Satan, in the first Book of the *Paradise Lost*, v. 591.

" his form had not yet lost

" *All her original brightness.*"

And when Ithuriel and Zephon, in the end of the fourth Book, find him in Paradise, and charge him with being one of the rebel Spirits adjudged to Hell, Satan asks, *if they do not know him ?* To which Zephon replies,

" Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,

" Or undiminish'd *brightness* to be known,

" As when thou stood'st in Heaven upright and pure ;

" That glory then, when thou no more wast good,

" Departed from thee : —"

And in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 97. Satan describes himself "chang'd in outward lustre." DUNSTER.

Ver. 379. _____ *I have not lost*

To love, at least contemplate and admire,

What I see excellent in good, or fair,

Or virtuous ;] In the second Book of the *Paradise Lost*, where the fallen Angels are described doing homage to the publick spirit of their Chief, it is said,

_____ "for neither do the Spirits damn'd

" *Lose all their virtue.*"

And, where Satan first sees Adam and Eve in Paradise, he "contemplates them with admiration." The turn of the words here very much resembles the following passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Fair Maid of the Inn*, A. v. S. 1.

" Though I have lost my fortune, and lost you

" For a worthy father ; yet I will not lose

" My former virtue ; my integrity

" Shall not forsake me." DUNSTER.

What can be then less in me than desire
 To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
 Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent 385
 Thy wisdom, and behold thy Godlike deeds?
 Men generally think me much a foe
 To all mankind: why should I? they to me
 Never did wrong or violence; by them
 I lost not what I lost, rather by them 390
 I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell,
 Copartner in these regions of the world,
 If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,
 Oft my advice by presages and signs,
 And answers, oracles, portents and dreams, 395
 Whereby they may direct their future life.
 Envy they say excites me, thus to gain
 Companions of my misery and woe.
 At first it may be; but, long since with woe
 Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof, 400

Ver. 385. ————— to hear attent

Thy wisdom,] Milton seems to have borrowed this word *attent*, and this emphatical manner of applying it, from Spenser, *Faery Queen*, vi. ix. 26.

"Whilst thus he talk'd, the knight with greedy ear

"Hung still upon his melting mouth *attent*." *THYER*.

Milton's entire expression, to *hear attent*, occurs in the ancient version of the Psalms, attributed to Archbishop Parker, bl. l. 4to. p. 382.

"O Lord, assent; O *heare attent*

"My wofull voyce." *TODD*.

Ver. 393. ————— *lend them oft my aid,*

Oft my advice by presages and signs,

And answers, oracles, portents and dreams,

Whereby they may direct their future life.] The following

passage of Cicero reflects so much light on these lines, as would incline one to think that Milton had it in his mind. "Multa cernunt haruspices; multa augures provident; multa *oraculis* declarantur, multa *valicinationibus*, multa *somniis*, multa *portentis*: quibus cognitæ, multæ sæpe res hominum sententiæ atque utilitate partæ," (or, as *Lambinus* reads, *ex animi sententiæ atque utilitate partæ*.) "multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt." *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 65. *NEWTON*.

Ver. 397. *Envy they say excites me, thus to gain*

Companions of my misery and woe.] "They say" is not here merely expletory, or only of general reference. It relates to what Raphael in express terms *had said* in the conclusion of the sixth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, where he warns Adam of Satan's purposes against him and the motives of them, ver. 900—907. *DUNSTER*.

Ver. 400. *Nearer*] *Never*, in Milton's own edition; but, in the table

That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
 Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load.
 Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd :
 This wounds me most, (what can it less ?) that Man,
 Man fallen shall be restor'd, I never more. 405

To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied.
 Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies
 From the beginning, and in lies wilt end ;
 Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come
 Into the Heaven of Heavens : 'Thou com'st indeed, 410
 As a poor miserable captive thrall
 Comes to the place where he before had sat
 Among the prime in splendour, now depos'd,
 Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,
 A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn, 415
 To all the host of Heaven : 'The happy place

of Errata, it is corrected *Nearer*. Several editions retain the error. Fenton, however, has rectified it, in his edition of 1730. TODD.

Ver. 400. ————— *now I feel, by proof,*
That fellowship in pain divides not smart,] Our author had
 in his eye this line of the poet,

"Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris." THYER.

Or these of Ovid, *Met.* 15. 547.

"Non tamen Egeriæ luctus aliena levare

"Damna valent." DUNSTER.

Ver. 404. *This wounds me most, (what can it less ?) that Man,*
Man fallen shall be restor'd, I never more.] Very artful. As
 he could not acquit himself of envy and mischief, he endeavours to soften
 his crimes, by assigning this cause of them. WARBURTON.

The Poet very judiciously makes the Tempter conclude with these lines
 concerning the restoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to
 say something about the manner of it, to know which was one great part
 of his design, that he might be able, if possible, to counterplot and pre-
 vent it. With no less judgment is our Saviour represented in the follow-
 ing answer, taking no other notice of it than by replying, *Deservedly thou*
griev'st, &c. THYER.

Ver. 411. *As a poor miserable captive thrall.* *Thrall* is an old word for
 slave, frequent in Spenser, as Mr. Dunster has observed. See *Faer. Qu.*
 iv. iv. 34. "Like *captive THRALL.*" Chaucer repeatedly uses it as an ad-
 jective. TODD.

Ver. 414. *Ejected, emptied, gaz'd,]* This passive use of *gaze*, not
 common, occurs in *Par. Lost*, v. 272. "A phoenix *gaz'd* by all." TODD.

Ver. 416. ————— *The happy place*
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy ;
Rather inflames thy torment ; representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,] We find the same
 sentiment also in *Paradise Lost*, B. ix. 467.

Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy ;
 Rather inflames thy torment ; representing
 Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,
 So never more in Hell than when in Heaven. 420
 But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.
 Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
 Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites ?
 What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem
 Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him 425
 With all inflictions ? but his patience won.
 The other service was thy chosen task,
 To be a liar in four hundred mouths ;
 For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
 Yet thou pretend'st to truth ; all oracles 430
 By thee are given, and what confess'd more true
 Among the nations ? that hath been thy craft,
 By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
 But what have been thy answers, what but dark,

“ But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
 “ Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight,
 “ And tortures him now more, the more he sees
 “ Of pleasure, not for him ordain'd.” THYER.

Ver. 417. *Imparts to thee*] In all the editions, till that of Tonson's 1747, it is “*Imports to thee* :” although the error is desired to be corrected in Milton's table of Errata. TODD.

Ver. 423. ———— *or pleasure to do ill excites ?*] Satan, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 159, in his first conference with his infernal compeer, says

“ To do aught good never will be our task ;
 “ But ever to do ill our sole delight.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 426. ———— *but his patience won.*] The verb *won* Dr. Newton thinks is not often used as a verb neuter ; but he finds it so in Spenser's *Faery Queen*, he says ; and he might have added a double proof of it in Milton, *P. L.* vi. 122, 123. It is also common. TODD.

Ver. 428. ———— *in four hundred mouths ;*] “ Then the king of Israel gathered the prophets together. *about four hundred men.*” 1 Kings, xxii. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 432. ———— *that hath been thy craft*

By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.] The following passage from St. Austin may serve to illustrate what Milton here says, “ *Miscet tamen isti [Dæmones] fallacias ; et verum quod nosse potuerint, non docendi magis quam decipiendi fine, prænuntiant.*” *De Div. Dæmon.* Sect. 12. THYER.

Ver. 434. *But what have been thy answers, what but dark,*
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,] The oracles were often so obscure and dubious, that there was need of other oracles to explain them. “ *Sed jam ad te venio,*

Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding, 435
 Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,
 And not well understood as good not known?
 Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
 Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct,
 To fly or follow what concern'd him most, 440
 And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
 For God hath justly given the nations up
 To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
 Idolatrous: but, when his purpose is
 Among them to declare his providence 445
 To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
 But from him, or his Angels president

"Sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides,
 "Unde superstitiosa primum sæva evasit vox fera."

"Tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opinor, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione sæpissime; partim *flexiloquis, et obscuris, et interpretes egeat interprete, et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit; ambiguis, et quæ ad dialecticum deferenda sint.*" Cicero *De Dir.* ii. 56. CALTON.

Milton, in these lines about the Heathen oracles, seems to have had in view what Eusebius says more copiously upon this subject in the fifth Book of his *Preparatio Evangelica*. That learned father reasons in the very same way about them, and gives many instances from history of their delusive and double meanings. **TYLER.**

Probably Milton had here in mind the exclamation also of Macbeth, when he finds that the weird sisters had shuffled him with ambiguous expressions, *Macbeth*, A. and S. ult.

"And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd,
 "That palter with us in a double sense."

But see also Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angels*, fol. 1635, p. 442. where the "doubtfull answers of oracles" are noticed, and rightly described:

"So intricate that none could vnderstand,
 "Or meerely toyes and lies; for their words were,
 "By interpointing, so dispos'd, to beare
 "A double sense." TODD.

Ver. 439. ———— *instruct.*] Thus, B. ii. ver. 399, he writes *suspect* for *suspected*. In the *Paradise Lost* he always writes the participles at length; but in this Poem he has in every respect condensed his style, which may be one reason why it does not please the million. **DUNSTER.**

But he abbreviates the participle also in *Par. Lost*; as he writes *unsuspect* for *unsuspected*, B. ix. 771. And, in his Translation of the 6th Psalm, he writes *deject* for *dejected*. He was preceded by Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. i.

"And I of ladies most *deject*, and wretched." TODD.

Ver. 447. *But from him, or his Angels president*
In every province,] "Utitur etiam eis Deus (Dæmonibus)

In every province, who, themselves disdaining
 To approach thy temples, give thee in command
 What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say 450
 To thy adorers? Thou with trembling fear,
 Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st :
 Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.
 But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd ;
 No more shalt thou by oracling abuse 455
 The Gentiles ; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,

ad veritatis manifestationem per ipsos fiendam, dum divina mysteria eis per Angelos revelantur." The words are quoted from Aquinas (2da 2dæ Quæst. 172. Art. 6.) CALTON.

This notion Milton very probably had from Tertullian and St. Austin. Tertullian, speaking of the gods of the Heathens and their oracles, says— "Dispositiones etiam Dei et tunc prophetis concionantibus exceperunt, et nunc lectionibus resonantibus carpunt. Ita et hinc sumentes quasdam temporum sortes æmulantur divinitatem, dum furantur divinationem. In oraculis autem, quo ingenio ambiguitates temperent in eventus, scient Cæsi, sciunt Pyrrhi." *Apol. C. 22.* St. Austin, more appositely to our present purpose, answering the Heathen boasts of their oracles, says— "tamen nec ista ipsa, quæ ab eis vix raro et clanculo proferuntur, movere nos debent, si cuiquam Dæmonum extortum est id prodere cultoribus suis quod didicerat ex eloquiis prophetarum, vel ex oraculis Angelorum." *Aug. De Div. Dæmonum*, sect. 12. tom. 6. ed. Bened. And again, "Cum enim vult Deus etiam per infimos infernósque spiritus aliquem vera cognoscere, temporalia dumtaxat atque ad istam mortalitatem pertinentia, facile est, et non incongruum, ut omnipotens et justus ad eorum pœnam, quibus ista prædicuntur, ut malum quod eis impendet ante quam veniat prænoscendo patientur, occulto apparatu ministeriorum suorum etiam spiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat, ut quod audiunt ab Angelis prænuntient hominibus." *De Div. Quæst. ad Simpl. l. 2. S. 3.* Tom. 6. **THYER.**

Milton has here followed the Septuagint reading in *Deuteronomy*. "Ὅτι ἐπεμύλειεν ὁ ἑψίστος ἐθνη—ἐστησεν ὅρα ἐθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ." **WARBURTON.**

Ver. 453. *Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.*] The Demons, Lactantius says, could certainly foresee, and truly foretel, many future events, from the knowledge they had of the dispositions of providence before their fall. And then they assumed all the honour to themselves, pretending to be the authors and doers of what they predicted. "Nam cum dispositiones Dei præsentiant, quippe qui ministri ejus fuerunt, interponunt se in his rebus ; ut quæcunque a Deo vel facta sunt vel fiunt ipsi potissimum facere, aut fecisse videantur." *Div. Inst. ii. 16.* **CALTON.**

Ver. 456. ——— *henceforth oracles are ceas'd, &c.*] As Milton had before adopted the ancient opinions of oracles being the operations of the fallen Angels, so here again he follows the same authority, in making them cease at the coming of our Saviour. See the matter fully discussed in Fontenelle's *History of Oracles*, and Father Baltus's answer to him. **THYER.**

Thus Juvenal, *Sat. vi. 554* ;

———— " *Delphis oracula cessant.*"

And thou no more with pomp or sacrifice
 Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere ;
 At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.
 God hath now sent his living oracle 460
 Into the world to teach his final will,
 And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell
 In pious hearts, an inward oracle
 To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour ; but the subtle Fiend, 465
 Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
 Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.

Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
 And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will
 But misery hath wrested from me. Where 470
 Easily canst thou find one miserable,
 And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth,

And in the fifth Book of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, where Appius is desirous to consult the Delphick oracle, but finds it dumb, the priestess tells him ;

——— "*Muto Parnassus, hiatu*

" *Conticuit*, pressitque Deum, seu spiritus istas

" *Destituit* ~~funces~~, mundique in devia versum

" *Duxit* ~~huc~~

——— "*seu sponte Deorum*

" *Cyrrha silet.*"

Thus also Milton, in his *Hymn on the Nativity* ;

" *The oracles are dumb, &c.*"

And before him, Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Victory in Heaven*, st. 82.

" *The Angels caroll'd loud their song of peace,*

" *The cursed oracles were stricken dumb.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 460. ——— *his living oracle*] Christ is styled by the Greek Fathers *αὐτοζωὴ*, *ζῶσα βοῦλή*, *λόγος ζῶν*, *essential life*, *the living counsel*, and *the living word of God*. And St. John says, that "*in him was life, and the life was the light of men*," i. 4. CALTON.

And in *Acts*, vii. 38. where it is said, "*Who received the lively (or living) oracles to give unto us*," instead of *λόγια ζῶντα*, some copies read *λόγον ζῶντα*. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *his living oracle*

Into the world &c.] Dr. Newton says he has here corrected an error, which had prevailed in most of the editions, except Milton's own, "*loving oracle*" instead of "*living oracle*." He notices another error a little afterwards, "*and inward oracle*" instead of "*an inward oracle*." Fenton had also rectified this last mistake. And Tonson's edit. of 1747 had rectified both. TODD.

Ver. 468. *Sharply thou hast &c.*] The smoothness and hypocrisy of this speech of Satan are artful in the extreme, and cannot be passed over unobserved. JOS. WARTON.

If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
 Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?
 But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord; 475
 From thee I can, and must submiss, endure
 Check or reproof, and glad to 'scape so quit.
 (Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
 Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to the ear,
 And tunable as sylvan pipe or song; 480
 What wonder then if I delight to hear
 Her dictates from thy mouth? Most men admire
 Virtue, who follow not her lore: permit me
 To hear thee when I come, (since no man comes,)
 And talk at least, though I despair to attain. 485
 Thy Father, who is holy, wise, and pure,

Ver. 474. *Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?*] Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word *abjure*, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Restoration? **THYER.**

Ver. 478. *Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,*] Thus Silius Italicus, Book xv, where Virtue is the speaker;

"Casta mihi domus, et celso stant colle penates;

"*Ardua saxoso perducit semita clivo;*

"*Asper principio, (nec enim mihi fallere mos est.)*

"*Prosequitur labor. Adnitendum intrare volenti.*"

Simonides places Virtue *ὑψηλὰ τοῖς ἐνὶ πίπραϊς*. **DUNSTER.**

We must not here overpass Milton's *Pref. to his Reason of Church-Government*, &c. B. ii. "Those — who will not so much as look upon Truth herself, unless they see her elegantly dressed; that whereas the paths of honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though they be indeed easy and pleasant, they will then appear to all men both easy and pleasant, though they were rugged and difficult indeed." Compare also *Comus*, ver. 476, et seq. **TODD.**

Ver. 480. — *tunable as sylvan pipe or song;*] So, in *Par. Lost*, v. 149.

"such prompt eloquence

"Flow'd from their lips in prose, or numerous verse,

"*More tunable than needed lute or harp*

"*To add more :*

And Shakspeare, *Mids. N. Dr.* A. i. S. xiv.

"*More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear.*" **DUNSTER.**

Ver. 482. — *Most men admire*

Virtue, who follow not her lore:] Imitated from the well known saying of Medea, Ovid *Met.* viii. 20.

"*Video meliora, proboque ;*

"*Deteriora sequor.*" **NEWTON.**

Night with her sullen wings to double-shade

500

“ these our actors,
 “ As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
 “ Are melted into air, into thin air.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 499. ————— for now began

Night with her sullen wings to double-shade

The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couch'd;

And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.] This

brief description of night coming on in the desert is singularly fine. It is a small but exquisite *sketch*, which so immediately shews the *hand of the master*, that his larger and more finished pieces can hardly be rated higher. The commencement of this description, both in respect of its beginning with an hemistich, and also in the sort of instantaneous coming on of night which it represents, resemble much a passage in Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* c. iii. st. 71.

“ Così diss' egli: — e già la Notte oscura

“ Havea tutti del giorno i raggi spenti.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 500. ————— *her sullen wings]* Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 369.

“ Nox ruit, et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.”

And Tasso describes Night covering the sky *with her wings*, *Gier. Lib.* c. viii. st. 57.

“ Sorgea la Notte in tanto, e sotto l' ali

“ Recopriva del Cielo i campi immensi.”

Compare Spenser also, *Faery Queen.* vi. viii. 54.

————— “ and now the Even-tide

“ His broad black wings had through the Heavens wide

“ By this disspread.”

And see *Allegro*, ver. 6. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— to double-shade

The desert;] i. e. to double the natural shade and darkness of the place. This is more fully expressed in Høegs's translation of this passage.

“ Nam nunc obscuras Nox atra expandere pennas

“ Cæperat, atque nigras nemorum geminare tenebras.”

Thus in *Comus*, v. 335.

“ In double night of darkness and of shades;”

In a note on which last verse, in Mr. Warton's edition of the *Juvenile Poems*, the following line of Pacuvius, cited by Cicero, (*De Divinat.* i. 14.) is exhibited;

“ Tenebræ conduplicantur, noctisque et nimborum occæcat nigror.”

We may also compare Ovid, *Met.* xi. 548;

————— tanta vertigine pontus

“ Fervet, et inductâ piceis a nubibus umbrâ

“ Omne latet cælum, duplicatâque noctis imago est.”

And see *ibid.* 521. DUNSTER.

But the verb *double-shade* might have been suggested by a bold expression in Sylvester's *Du Bartus*, edit. 1621, p. 1177.

“ Double-nighted in dark error.”

THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety: in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son.—Satan again meets his Infernal Council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our Blessed Lord, calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the Heathen gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to avail himself of our Lord's hungering; and, taking a band of chosen Spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise.—Jesus hungers in the desert.—Night comes on; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described.—Morning advances.—Satan again appears to Jesus, and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes.—Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power: This Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

MEAN while the new-baptiz'd, who yet remain'd
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they had so late expressly call'd
Jesus Messiah, Son of God declar'd,

Ver. 1. *Mean while the new-baptized, &c.*] The greatest, and indeed justest, objection to this Poem is the narrowness of its plan, which, being confined to that single scene of our Saviour's life on earth, his Temptation in the Desart, has too much sameness in it, too much of the reasoning, and too little of the descriptive part; a defect most certainly in an epick poem, which ought to consist of a proper and happy mixture of the instructive and the delightful. Milton was himself, no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has therefore very judiciously contrived and introduced all the little digressions that could with any sort of propriety connect with his subject, in order to relieve and refresh the reader's attention. The following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon upon the missing of our Saviour so long, with the Virgin's reflections on the same occasion, and the council of the Devils how best to attack their enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very happily executed in their respective ways. The language of the former is cool and unaffected, corresponding most exactly to the humble pious character of the speakers: that of the latter is full of energy and majesty, and not inferior to their most spirited speeches in the *Paradise Lost*. THTER.

Ver. 4. *Jesus Messiah, Son of God declar'd,*] This is a great mistake in the Poet. All that the people could collect from the declarations of John the Baptist, and the voice from Heaven, was that he was a great prophet, and this was all they did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he was their promised Messiah. WARBURTON.

But surely the declaration, *by the voice from Heaven*, of Jesus being the beloved Son of God, was, as Milton terms it, "high authority" for believing that he was the MESSIAH. — John the Baptist had also, *John*, i. 29, expressly called him "*the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world*," referring, as is generally supposed, to *Isaiah*. liii. 7. And, the day following, John's giving him the same title, "*Behold the Lamb of God!*" (*John*, i. 36.) is the ground of Andrew's conversion, who thereupon followed Jesus, and having passed some time with him, declared to his brother Peter, "*We have found the Messias, which is, being interpreted, the Christ*," *John*, i. 41. DUNSTER.

And on that high authority had believ'd, 5
 And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd; I mean
 Andrew and Simon, famous after known,
 With others though in Holy Writ not nam'd;
 Now missing him, their joy so lately found,
 (So lately found, and so abruptly gone,) 10
 Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
 And, as the days encreas'd, encreas'd their doubt.
 Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,
 And for a time caught up to God, as once
 Moses was in the mount and missing long, 15
 And the great 'Thisbite, who on fiery wheels

Ver. 6. *And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd:*] These particulars are founded, (as Dr. Newton observes,) on what is related in the first chapter of St. John, respecting two of John's disciples, (one of whom was Andrew, and the other probably John the Evangelist himself,) following Jesus to the place where he dwelt, and abiding with him that day.

DUNSTER.

Ibid. _____ I mean

Andrew and Simon.] This sounds very prosaick; but I find a like instance or two in Harrington's translation of the *Orlando Furioso*, c. xxxi. st. 46.

"And calling still upon that noble name,
 "That often had the Pagans overcome,
 "I mean Renaldo's house of Montalbane."

And again, st. 55.

"How she had seen the bridge of the Pagan made,
 "I mean the cruel Pagan Rodomont." NEWTON.

The same form is used by Sylvester, *Du Bart.* edit. 1621, p. 20.

"I mean that Chaos, that self-jarring mass."

See also ib. p. 112. DUNSTER.

Ver. 13. *Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,*] Virg. *Æn.* vi. 870.

"Ostendent terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
 "Esse sinent." NEWTON.

Ver. 16. *And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels*

Rode up to Heaven,] Elijah, snatched up into heaven in a fiery chariot, was a favourite image in Milton's early years, and perfectly coincided with his cast of genius. Thus, in his *Ode on the Passion*, st. VI.

"See, see the chariot, and those rushing wheels,
 "That whirl'd the Prophet up at Chebar flood."

And *In Obit. Præsul. Eliens*, ver. 49.

"Vates ut olim raptus ad cælum senex,
 "Auriga currus ignei."

And I think we may trace it more than once in the *Prose-Works*, either by comparison or allusion. The "*fiery-wheeled throne*," in *Il Penseroso*, has another origin. T. WARTON.

Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come.
Therefore, as those young prophets then with care

Mr. Dunster adds, from the Poet's *In Proditionem Bombardicam*, ver. 5.

"Scilicet hos alti missurus ad atria cœli,
"Sulphureo curru, *flammiuolisque* rotis :
"Qualiter ille, feris caput inviolabile Parcis,
"Liquit Iordanios turbine *raptus* agros."

Milton seems, in his descriptions of the prophet, to have had in mind Sylvester, *Du Bart.* edit. 1621. p. 72. ♦

"Pure Spirit, that *rapt'st* above the firmest sphear,
"In *fiery couch* thy faithful messenger, &c."

See likewise the note *In Obit. Præs. El.* ver. 48. Or, as Mr. Dunster also remarks, Sylvester might have been a prompter in the following lines, *Du Bart.* p. 295.

"O, thou fair Chariot flaming brauely bright,
"Which like a whirl-winde in thy swift career
"Rapt'st vp the *Thesbit*."

Milton, in like manner, writes "vates terræ *Thesbitidis*, Eleg. iv. 97. But Castalio likewise defends this orthography: "*Elias autem Thesbita*, &c." Regum Lib. iii. cap. 17. ed. Basil. 1573. Dr. Newton explains *Thesbite* by adding, Or *Tishbite*, as Elijah is called in the English translation of the Bible; and that Elijah was a native of *Thisbe*, or *Tishbe*, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan. Elijah is called "the *Thesbian* prophet," in Sandys's *Christ's Passion*, ed. 1640, p. 51. Todd.

Ver. 17. ————— yet once again to come:] It hath been the opinion of the Church, that there would be an Elias before Christ's second coming, as well as before his first: and this opinion the learned Mr. Mede supports from the prophecy of Malachi, iv. 5. "*Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord*, &c." and from what our Saviour says, Matt. xvii. 11. "*Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things*." These words our Saviour spake when John Baptist was beheaded, and yet speaks as of a thing future, ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, "*and shall restore all things*." But as it was not Elias in person, but only in spirit, who appeared before our Saviour's first coming, so will it also be before his second. The reader may see the arguments at large, in Mede's *Discourse XXV.* which no doubt Milton had read, not only on account of the fame and excellence of the writer, but as he was also his fellow-collegian. NEWTON.

Though our Saviour used the word ἀποκαταστήσει in the future tense, something must be previously understood to limit the sense of it to what was then passed, to a prophecy already accomplished. Bishop Pearce in his commentary on the passage has, "*was to come* first and restore all things." And Beza, in a note on the place, says, "Hæc autem intelligenda sunt, forma dicendi e medio petita, perinde ac si diceret Christus, *Verum quidem est quod Scribæ dicunt etiam videlicet antegressurum fuisse Messiam, et secutura instauracioni viam aperturum; sed dico vobis Eliam jam venisse*, &c." It was however the general tradition of the elder writers of the Christian Church, from those words of Malachi, that Elias the Tishbite was to come in person before our Lord's second advent; which opinion, the Jesuit De la Cerda, in his Commentary on *Tertullian De Resurrect. Carn.* c. 23. says, all the ancient Fathers have delivered, "*tradit tota Patrum antiquitas*." DUNSTER.

Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these
 Nigh to Bethabara, in Jericho
 The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,

20

Ver. 20. *Nigh to Bethabara.*] It has been observed in a preceding note (B. i. ver. 193.) that M. D'Anville, in the map of Judea in his *Geographie Ancienne*, has laid down Bethabara wrong. Adrichomius, in his *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, places Bethabara on the eastern bank of the river Jordan, at a small distance from the Dead Sea, nearly opposite Jericho. Indeed if we consider it to have been the place where the Israelites passed over Jordan to go into the land of Canaan, on which ever side of the river we place it, it must have been nearly opposite Jericho, as it is expressly said, *Joshua iii. 16. the people passed over right against Jericho.* The Eastern Travellers also show that the place, where the tradition of that country supposes Jesus to have been baptized by John in Jordan, was not more than a day's journey distant from Jerusalem; and that Jericho lay directly in the way to it. (See Pocock's *Travels in the East*, and Maundrell's *Journal*.) Bishop Pearce places Bethabara on the same side of the river with Jericho, that is, on the western bank. This opinion he grounds on what is said, *Judges, vii. 24.* about the inhabitants of mount Ephraim *taking the waters*, (i. e. taking possession of all the springs,) from them *unto Bethabarah and Jordan.* Bethabara indeed (*John, i. 28.*) is described *beyond Jordan*, *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου*; but this Bishop Pearce reconciles by shewing that *πέραν* often signifies in Scripture, *on the side of*, or *on this side of*. For this construction of *πέραν*, he cites many authorities in his note on *Matt. iv. 15.* and likewise refers to Casaubon's note on *John i. 28.* But it should be observed that Beza has the same remark, and that he renders *πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* not *trans Jordanum*, but *secus Jordanum*, "nigh to Jordan," both in *Matt. iv. 15.* and *John i. 28.* St. Jerom. *De Nominibus Hebræis*, speaks of Bethabara as standing partly on the western, and partly on the eastern, bank of the river Jordan. DUNSTER.

Ver. 21. *The city of palms, &c.*] *Jericho* is called *the city of palms*, Deut. xxxiv. 3. And Josephus, Strabo, Pliny, and all other writers describe it as abounding with those trees. *Ænon* is mentioned, *John, iii. 23.* as is likewise *Salim* or *Salem*. But there appears to be no particular reason for our author's calling it *Salem old*, unless he takes it to be the same with the *Shalem* mentioned, *Gen. xxxiii. 18.* or confounds it with the *Salem* where Melchizedek was king. *Macherus* was a castle in the mountainous part of *Peræa* or the country beyond Jordan, which river is well known to run through the lake of *Genezareth*, or the sea of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, as it is otherwise called. So that they searched in each place *on this side* Jordan, or in *Peræa*, *πέραν Ἰορδάνου*, *beyond it*.

NEWTON.

By the expression *on this side the broad lake Genezareth*, I would understand not *on the opposite side of the river to Peræa*, but *below the lake of Genezareth*, or *to the south of it*, between that and the Asphaltick Lake, or the Dead Sea; which is exactly the situation of the places here mentioned, none of which could be properly said to have stood *on this side*, that is on the western side of the lake of Genezareth, though three of them stood on the western side of the river Jordan. Or in *Peræa*, may be only understood to mean *and* in *Peræa*, or *even* in *Peræa*. Such is often the conjunctive sense of *vel*, and sometimes of *aut* in Latin, and of *ἢ* in Greek. It is probable that Milton had the same idea of the situation of Bethabara, with that noticed in the preceding note, as admitted by

Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
 On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
 Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.
 Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek, 25
 Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,

Bishop Pearce, and before suggested by Beza and Casaubon. This he may be supposed to have acquired from Beza, whose translation of the Greek Testament with notes, we may imagine, was in no small degree of repute, at the time when our author visited Geneva. Accordingly the first place where he makes the disciples seek Jesus is Jericho, on the same side of the river as Bethabara, and the nearest place of any consequence to it; then Ænon and Salem, both likewise on the same side, but higher up towards the lake of Genezareth; then he seems to make them cross the river and seek him in all the places in the opposite country of Peræa, down to the town and strong fortress of Machærus, which is mentioned by Josephus, *De Bello Jud.* l. 7. c. 6. Milton had good authority for terming Salem, *Salem old*. St. Jerom shews, that the Salem, *Gen.* xxxiii. 18. was not Jerusalem, "sed oppidum juxta Scythopolim, quod usque hodie appellatur Salem; ubi ostenditur palatium Melchizedec, ex magnitudine ruinarum veteris operis ostendens magnificentiam." See *Hieronym. Epist.* cxxvi. *ad Erag.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 25. — on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,

Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play.] Mr. Dunster observes, that Maundrell, in his *Journey to Jerusalem*, &c. describes the river Jordan as having its banks in some parts covered so thick with bushes and trees, such as tamarisks, oleanders, and willows, that they prevented the water from being seen till any one had made his way through them. In this thicket, he says, several sorts of wild beasts harbour, which are frequently washed out of their covert by the sudden over-flowings of the river. Hence that allusion in *Jeremiah* xlix. 19. "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan." The same critic also notices the reference made to the reedy banks of Jordan, in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death*, st. 2.

"Or whistling reeds that rutty Jordan laves."

Milton, by the distinction which he here makes, had perhaps noticed Sandys's account of Jordan, in his *Travels*; who says, "Passing along, it maketh two lakes; the one in the Upper Galilee, named Samachontis (now Houle), in the summer for the most part dry, overgrown with shrubs and reeds, which afford a shelter for boares and leopards. The other in the Inferior, called the Sea of Galilee, the lake of Genezareth, and of Tyberias, &c." p. 141. edit. 1615. Todd.

Ver. 26. — — — — — whispering play,] The *whispering* of the wind is an image that Milton is particularly fond of, and has introduced in many beautiful passages of his *Paradise Lost*. Thus, in the opening of the fifth Book, where Adam wakens Eve;

— — — — — "then with voice

"Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,

"Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus."

He also applies *whispering* to the flowing of a stream; to the air that plays upon the water, or by the side of it; and to the combined sounds of the breeze and the current. In the fourth Book of this Poem, he terms

Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)
Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and complaints out breath'd.

Alas, from what high hope to what relapse 30
Unlook'd for are we fallen ! our eyes beheld
Messiah certainly now come, so long
Expected of our fathers ; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth ;

the river Ilyssus, a "*whispering stream*." And in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 325, he describes

———— "a tuft of shade that on a green
"Stood *whispering soft by a fresh fountain side*."

In his *Lycidas*, ver. 136. likewise, he addresses the

———— "valleys low, where the *mild whispers use*
"Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks."

See also *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 158, viii. 516. "The *mild whisper* of the refreshing breeze" he had before introduced in his Latin poem, *In Adventum Veris*, ver. 27. which might have been originally suggested to him by Virgil's *Culex*, v. 152.

"At circa passim fessæ cubuere capellæ,
"Excelsisque super dumis ; quos *leniter adflans*
"Aura *susurrantis* possit confundere venti." DUNSTER.

A very pleasing passage may be here adduced from our ancient poetry, with which also we may compare the opening of the fifth Book of *Paradise Lost*, *The Whipping of the Satyre* by W. J. 12mo. 1601.

"There breath'd the spirit of sweete *Zephyrus*
"Among the leaues *whispring with stillest voyce*,
"And cristall springs through siluer pipes did gush,
"Inviting sleepe with gentle *muttering noyse* :
"There sweetly warbled Nature's feather'd quires,
"Embow'd with shady bough-combynding briers."

Compare Milton's *L'Allegro* also, ver. 116. where see the note. But, after all, we may rather apply, to the passage before us, the more ancient strains which were familiar to Milton. See *Orph. Argonaut.* ver. 1131.

ἄνθρωποι τηρούμενοι ποτὶ πῆλιν. TORD.

Ver. 27. Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)] Thus Spenser, in the beginning of his *Shepherd's Calendar*,

"A shepherd's boy, (no better do him call)." NEWTON.

Ver. 30. Alas, from what high hope &c.] So we read in the first edition : In most of the others it is absurdly printed, "Alas, from *that* high hope." The sentiment is from Ter. *Heaut.* A. ii. S. ii. "Vae misero mihi, quanta de spe decidi !" NEWTON.

And the sentiment is repeatedly copied by Milton, as in *P. L.* i. 92. "From what highth fallen ;" and *P. L.* v. 542.

———— "O fall

"From what high state of bliss, into what woe." TORD.

Ver. 34. ————— full of grace and truth ;] "And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth." John i. 14. NEWTON.

Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand, 35
 The kingdom shall to Israel be restor'd ;
 Thus we rejoic'd, but soon our joy is turn'd
 Into perplexity and new amaze :
 For whither is he gone, what accident
 Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire 40
 After appearance, and again prolong
 Our expectation? God of Israël,
 Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come!
 Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress
 Thy chosen ; to what highth their power unjust 45
 They have exalted, and behind them cast
 All fear of thee ; arise, and vindicate
 Thy glory ; free thy people from their yoke !
 But let us wait ; thus far He hath perform'd,
 Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal'd him, 50
 By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown
 In publick, and with him we have convers'd ;
 Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
 Lay on his Providence ; He will not fail,
 Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall, 55

Ver. 40. *Hath rapt him from us?*] *Hath snatch'd him away from us.* See the note on ver. 16, and also Mr. Warton's note on *Il Pens.* ver. 40. Milton is here pronounced, by Mr. Gilb. Wakefield, guilty of an error, in having written, as he says, *wrapt*. See Wakefield's *Pope*, 8vo. 1794, vol. i. p. 53. But Mr. Wakefield unjustly accuses the great poet. For Milton's own edition reads *rapt*. TODD.

Ver. 42. ———— *God of Israël,*
Send thy Messiah forth, &c.] This sudden turn and breaking forth into prayer to God is beautiful. The prayer itself is conceived very much in the spirit of the Psalms, and almost in the words of some of them. NEWTON.

Ver. 44. *Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress*
Thy chosen ;] "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Anointed." *Psalms* ii. 2. It is probable, that an allusion is here intended to the situation of Milton's party at the Restoration. DUNSTER.

Ver. 46. ———— *and behind them cast*
All fear of thee ;] "Nevertheless they were disobedient and rebelled against thee, and cast thy law behind their backs." *Nehemiah* ix. 26. DUNSTER.

Ver. 51. ———— *pointed at and shown]* Should it not rather be "pointed out?" Though perhaps Milton had in his mind *Persius*, *Sat.* i. 28. "*Digito monstrari, et dici hic est.*" DUNSTER.

Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence ;
Soon we shall see our Hope, our Joy, return.

Thus they, out of their complaints, new hope resume
To find whom at the first they found unsought :

But, to his mother Mary, when she saw 60
Others return'd from Baptism, not her Son,
Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais'd
Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.

O, what avails me now that honour high 66
To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute,
“ Hail, highly favour'd, among women blest ! ”
While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,

Ver. 60. *But, to his mother &c.*] Mr. Calton very ingeniously proposed to read, “ But, O his mother Mary, &c.” as the common reading makes an embarrassed sentence. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 65. *Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.*] It is hardly possible not to notice the striking beauty of this line. There is a passage somewhat resembling it in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 620. “ Words, interwove with sighs, found out their way.” In *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 17, the prayers of our first parents are “ clad with incense.” Compare Cicero : “ Sententias reconditis exquisitâsque mollis et pellucens restiebat oratio.” *De Clar. Orator.* 274. ed. Proust. DUNSTER.

Sandys, in his Paraphrase of the 77th Psalm, thus forcibly describes the effort of affliction, edit. 1636. p. 124.

“ Words failè my griefe : sighes only spake,
“ Which from my panting bosome brake.” TODD.

Ver. 66. *O, what avails me now that honour high &c.*] In several parts of this speech Milton appears to have had Vida in his mind. In this opening of it, at verse 77, and from verse 87 to 92, we plainly trace him to Mary's lamentation under the Cross, *Christ*, v. 870.

“ At non certe olim præpes demissus Olympo
“ Nuntius hæc pavidæ dederat promissa puellæ.
“ Sic una ante alias felix ego, sic ego cæli
“ Incedo regina ? mea est hæc gloria magna,
“ Hic meus altus honos. Quo reges munera opima
“ Obtulerunt mihi post partus ? Quo carmina læta
“ Cælestes cecinere chori, si me ista manebat
“ Sors tamen, et vitam, cladem hanc visura, trahebam ?
“ Felices illæ, natos quibus impius hausit
“ Insontes regis furor ipso in limine rita,
“ Dum tibi vana timens funus molitur acerbum :
“ Ut cuperem te diluvio cecidisse sub illo !
“ Hos, hos horribili monitu trepidantia corda
“ Terrificans senior luctus sperare jubebat,
“ Et cecinit fore, cum pectus mihi figeret ensis :
“ Nunc altè mucro, nunc altè vulnus adactum.” DUNSTER.

And fears as eminent, above the lot 70
 Of other women, by the birth I bore ;
 In such a season born, when scarce a shed
 Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
 From the bleak air ; a stable was our warmth,
 A manger his ; yet soon enforc'd to fly 75
 Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
 Were dead, who sought his life, and missing fill'd
 With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem ;
 From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth
 Hath been our dwelling many years ; his life 80
 Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
 Little suspicious to any king ; but now,
 Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
 By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,
 Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice, 85
 I look'd for some great change ; to honour ? no ;
 But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,

Ver. 75. ———— *yet soon enforc'd to fly &c.*] We may compare the following stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victory in Heaven*.

" And yet but newly he was infanted,
 " And yet already he was sought to die ;
 " Yet scarcely born, already banished,
 " Not able yet to go, and *forc'd to fly* ;
 " But scarcely fled away, when by and by
 " The Tyrant's sword with blood is all defil'd, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 79. ———— *in Nazareth*

Hath been our dwelling many years :] She mentions this as part of their distress, because the country of Galilee, whereof Nazareth was a city, was the most despised part of Palestine, despised by the Jews themselves : and therefore Nathaniel asketh Philip, *John i. 46.* " *Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth ?*" NEWTON.

This passage does not strike me exactly in the same light as it does Dr. Newton. All this description of the early private life of our Saviour seems rather design'd to contrast and to give more effect to the expectations of Mary, where she says,

now
 " Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
 " By John the Baptist, and in publick shown,
 " Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,
 " I look'd for some great change." DUNSTER.

Ver. 80. ———— *his life*

*Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
 Little suspicious to any king ;*] Very possibly not without an intended reference to Milton's own way of life after the Restoration.
 DUNSTER.

That to the fall and rising he should be
 Of many in Israël, and to a sign
 Spoken against, that through my very soul 90
 A sword shall pierce : This is my favour'd lot,
 My exaltation to afflictions high ;
 Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest ;
 I will not argue that, nor will repine.
 But where delays he now ? some great intent 95
 Conceals him : When twelve years he scarce had seen,
 I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
 He could not lose himself, but went about
 His Father's business ; what he meant I mus'd,
 Since understand ; much more his absence now 100
 Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
 But I to wait with patience am inur'd ;
 My heart hath been a store-house long of things
 And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Ver. 88. *That to the fall and rising he should be
 Of many in Israël, &c.*] See St. Luke ii. 34, 35. DUNSTER.

Ver. 91. ——— *This is my favour'd lot, &c.*] These are the afflictions that Mary notices ; not the circumstances of dwelling in a disreputable place, but her anxiety about her son, and what she then suffered, and was still to suffer, upon his account. DUNSTER.

Ver. 93. *Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest ;
 I will not argue that, nor will repine.
 But where delays he now ? some great intent
 Conceals him :*] How charmingly does Milton here verify the character he had before given of the blessed Virgin in the lines above !

“ Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,

“ Motherly cares and fears got head.”

We see at one view the piety of the saint, and the tenderness of the mother ; and I think nothing can be conceived more beautiful and moving than the sudden start of fond impatience in the third line, *But where delays he now ?* breaking in so abruptly upon the composed resignation expressed in the two preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her calm and resigned character again in these words — *some great intent conceals him.* THYER.

Ver. 98. *He could not lose himself ;*] A conceit and jingle unworthy of our author. JOS. WARTON.

Ibid. ——— *but went about*

His Father's business ;] “ And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me ? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business ?” Luke ii. 49. DUNSTER.

Ver. 103. *My heart hath been a store-house long of things
 And sayings laid up, portending strange events.*] Alluding to what is said of her, Luke, ii. 19. “ But Mary kept all these things, and

Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind 105
 Recalling what remarkably had pass'd
 Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
 Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling :
 The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,
 Sole, but with holiest meditations fed, 110
 Into himself descended, and at once
 All his great work to come before him set ;
 How to begin, how to accomplish best
 His end of being on earth, and mission high :
 For Satan, with sly preface to return, 115
 Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
 Up to the middle region of thick air,
 Where all his potentates in council sat ;
 There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,
 Solicitous and blank, he thus began. 120
 Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones ;
 Demonian Spirits now, from the element

pondered them in her heart :" and see also ver. 51. So consistent is the part that she acts here with her character in Scripture. NEWTON.

Ver. 107. ————— *with thoughts*

Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling :] This is beautifully expressed.—There is a passage somewhat similar, in *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 596, where Michael, having concluded what he had to show Adam from the mountain, and what he had further to inform him of in narration there, says they must now descend from this "top of speculation;" and, bidding Adam *go waken Ere*, adds,

" Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd
 " Portending good, and *all her spirits compos'd*
 " *To meek submission.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 111. *Into himself descended,*] *Pers. Sat.* iv. 23.

" *Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere !*" NEWTON.

Ver. 119. *There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,*] In contrast to the boasting manner in which Satan had related his success against Man, on his return to Pandæmonium, *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 460. DUNSTER.

Ver. 121. ——— *Heaven's ancient sons, &c.*] *Paradise Lost*, B. v. 863.

— " This our native Heaven, ethereal sons." TODD.

Ver. 122. *Demonian Spirits now, from the element*

Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd

Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath] It was a

notion among the Ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were Demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul : *εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δαιμόνες, οὓς καὶ καλοῖη ἂν τις γεννήτοντες θεοὺς, καθ'*

Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
 Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath !
 (So may we hold our place and these mild seats 125
 Without new trouble,) such an enemy
 Is risen to invade us, who no less
 Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell ;
 I, as I undertook, and with the vote
 Consenting in full frequency was impower'd, 130
 Have found him, view'd him, tasted him ; but find
 Far other labour to be undergone

ἕκαστον τῶν στοιχείων, οἱ μὲν ὁρατοὶ, οἱ δὲ ἀόρατοι, ἐν τῇ αἰθερί, καὶ πύρρ, ἀήρ τε, καὶ ὕδατι, ὡς μὴδὲν κοσμοῦ μέρος ψυχῆς ἀποκρίων εἶναι, as Alcinous in his summary of the Platonick doctrines says, cap. 5.— Michael Psellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed some of his notions of Spirits, speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses : πολλὰ λαμπρόρων γένη, καὶ παντοῖα πᾶσι τὰς ἰδίας καὶ τὰ σώματα ὡς εἶναι πλήρη μὲν τὸν αἶρα, τὸν τε ὑπερθεὶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν περὶ ἡμᾶς· πλήρη δὲ γαῖαν καὶ θαλάτταν, καὶ τοὺς μεγαίστους καὶ βύθιους [βόθρους] τόπους, p. 41 ; and he divides them into six kinds, the fiery, the aery, the earthy, the watery, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous, p. 45. edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. But the Demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them ; as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth. NEWTON.

See the notes on *Il Pens.* ver. 93. *Par. Lost*, B. i. 423, B. ii. 90. and B. vi. 344. And here too we may cite the ancient poem of Sir David Lindsay, *The Monarchie*, into which Milton had no doubt looked ; and perhaps was struck with the description in it of Satan and the fallen angels :

"Innumerabil with him there fell ;
 "Some lightit in the lawest hell ;
 "Some in the sea did make repair ;
 "Some in the earth, some in the air." TODD.

Ver. 130. ——— in full frequency] Milton, in his *History of England*, has said, "The assembly was full and frequent ;" and in *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 797, the council of Devils was frequent and full. Here the adjective is formed into a substantive, as in B. i. 128 ; and Shakspeare uses it in the same manner, *Timon*, A. v. S. iii.

"Tell Athens, in the frequency of degree,
 "From high to low throughout." NEWTON.

Ver. 131. ——— tasted him ;] This is a Græcism. Γεύομαι signifies not only *gusto*, but likewise *experior*, *periculum facio*. DUNSTER. *Taste* is common enough in English for *experience*, *make trial of*, &c. Thus, in Milton's *Tenure of Kings*, &c. "Those that have miserably tasted the event." And in *Sams. Agon.* ver. 1091. "The way to know were not to see but *taste*." In the old English translation of Boccacio's *Decameron*, a physician, visiting his patient, is introduced in these words : "He began to *taste* his pulse," fol. 1620, part 2d. p. 115. TODD.

Than when I dealt with Adam, first of men,
 Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,
 However to this Man inferiour far ; 135
 If he be Man by mother's side, at least
 With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,

Ver. 135. *However to this Man inferiour far ;
 If he be Man by mother's side, at least
 With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
 Perfections absolute, &c. &c.*] I have ventured here to correct the punctuation. The passage in the first editions, and in Dr. Newton's, stands pointed thus :

" However to this Man inferiour far,
 " If he be Man by Mother's side at least,
 " With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd, &c."

On this Mr. Calton observes : " The Tempter had no doubt of Christ's being a *Man by the mother's side* ; but the want of a comma in its due place after *If he be Man*, hath puzzled both the sense and construction. *He is* must be understood at the end of the verse, to support the syntax ;

" If he be Man, by mother's side at least (*he is*)."

Dr. Newton has however preserved the pointing of Milton's own edition, because some, he says, may choose to join the whole together, and understand it thus : Satan had heard Jesus declared from Heaven, and knew him to be the Son of God ; and now, after the trial he had made of him, he questions if he be Man *even* by the mother's side ; " If he be Man by mother's side at least." He further observes, that it is the purport of Satan, in this speech, not to say any thing to the evil Spirits that may lessen, but every thing that may raise, their idea of his antagonist. It seems to me, that there can be no doubt respecting this passage. Dr. Newton certainly sees it in its true light : but I conceive his sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional beauty, and the whole of the sentence is rendered more clear and perfect, by the punctuation which I have adopted ; and which I think most probable to have been intended by Milton. DUNSTER.

Ver. 137. *With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
 Perfections absolute, graces divine,
 And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.*] Many lines of the *Paradise Regained* have been censured as harsh and inharmonious ; but even of these the greater part may be vindicated, (as it has been done in some instances by Mr. Thyer,) by showing that they were very far from being of that kind *quas incuria fudit* ; and that many of them are peculiarly expressive, and were purposely designed as such by the poet. — The three lines above cited seem however secure from every possibility of disapprobation. They are so eminently beautiful, that they must strike every ear that is not quite devoid of feeling and of taste. — Mr. Thyer particularly notices the fine effect of the last line, and the dignity and significance of the expression *amplitude of mind* ; which he also supposes might have been suggested by the following passage in Tully's *Tusc. Disput.* ii. 25. "*Hoc igitur tibi propono, amplitudinem et quasi quandam exaggerationem quam altissimam animi, quæ maxime eminent contemnendis et despiciendis doloribus, unam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam.*"

DUNSTER.

Perfections absolute, graces divine,
 And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.
 Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence 140
 Of my success with Eve in Paradise
 Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
 Of like succeeding here : I summon all
 Rather to be in readiness, with hand
 Or counsel to assist ; lest I, who erst 145
 Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.

So spake the old Serpent, doubting ; and from all
 With clamour was assured their utmost aid
 At his command : when from amidst them rose
 Belial, the dissolutes Spirit that fell, 150
 The sensuallest, and, after Asmodai,
 The fleshliest Incubus ; and thus advis'd.
 Set women in his eye, and in his walk,

Hevwood, in his *Funerall Elegie upon K. James I*, 1625, uses *amplitude* in Milton's sense :

“ He that the Romans with the Greeks compar'd,
 “ And punctually their *amplitudes* declar'd,
 “ And such as were in virtues antecelling.” TODD.

Ver. 150. *Belial, the dissolutes spirit that fell,
 The sensuallest, and after Asmodai,*

The fleshliest Incubus :] I have heard these three lines objected to as harsh and inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true they do not run very smoothly off the tongue, but then they are with much better judgment so contrived, that the reader is obliged to lay a particular emphasis, and to dwell for some time upon the word in each verse, which most strongly expresses the character described, viz. *dissolutes*, *sensuallest*, *fleshliest*. This has a very good effect by impressing the idea more strongly upon the mind, and contributes even in some measure to increase our aversion to the odious character of Belial, by giving an air of detestation to the very tone of voice with which these verses must necessarily be read.

THYER.

Ver. 151. ————— *After Asmodai,*

The fleshliest Incubus :] The character of Belial in the *Paradise Lost*, and the part he sustains there, sufficiently show how properly he is introduced upon the present occasion. He is here said to be the *fleshliest Incubus after Asmodai* ; or *Asmadai*, as it is written, *Paradise Lost*, B. vi. 365 ; or *Asmodeus*, B. iv. 168, the lustful Angel who loved Sarah the daughter of Raguel, and destroyed her seven husbands, as we read in the book of Tobit. NEWTON.

Ver. 153. *Set women in his eye, &c.*] As this temptation is not mentioned in the Gospels, it could not with any propriety have been proposed to our Saviour ; it is much more fitly made the subject of debate among the wicked Spirits themselves. All that can be said in praise of the power of beauty, and all that can be alleged to depreciate it, is here

Among daughters of men the fairest found :
 Many are in each region passing fair 155
 As the noon sky ; more like to goddesses
 Than mortal creatures ; graceful and discreet ;
 Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
 Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach ; 160
 Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw
 Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.

summed up with greater force and elegance, than I ever remember to have seen in any other author. NEWTON.

This temptation is something in the style of Tasso, where Satan suggests to Hedioart sending Armida to tempt and corrupt Godfrey, *Gier. Lib. C. iv.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 155. *Many are in each region &c.*] Milton, with all his philosophical composure, appears to have been no stranger to the strong perceptions of the passion of love. In his first Elegy he speaks feelingly of the power of beauty, ver. 53.

“ Ah ! quoties dignæ stupui miracula formæ, &c.

In the seventh Elegy, written at the age of nineteen, he mentions the first time of his falling in love. He met an unknown fair on some public walks, in or about London ; was suddenly and violently captivated, but had no opportunity of declaring his affection and gaining her acquaintance. He in vain ardently wishes to see her again, and flatters his imagination that her heart is not made of adamant. Five of his Italian Sonnets, and his Canzone, are amatorial ; and were perhaps inspired by Leonora, [Baroni,] a young lady whom he had heard sing at Rome, and whom he celebrates in three Latin Epigrams. But these were among the vanities of his youth. Yet at a much later and cooler period, when he wrote the present poem, we find him deeply impressed with at least a remembrance of the various and irresistible allurements of beauty. These exquisite lines, ver. 155 to ver. 169, were written by no Stoick. It is certain, that no poet has given more graceful and attractive images of beauty than Milton in his various portraits of Eve, each in a new aspect and attitude. T. WARTON.

• Ver. 159. ——— *virgin majesty with mild
 And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,*] Possibly suggested by Claudian, *Cons. Prob. et Ol.* 91.

“ Miscetur decori virtus, pulchêrque severo
 “ *Armatur terrore pulor.*”

See also *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 489, &c. DUNSTER.

Perhaps Milton remembered the description of beauty in *Solomon's Song*, Ch. vi. 4. “ Thou art beautiful, O my Love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners.” TODD.

Ver. 161. *Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw
 Hearts after them*] In the same manner Milton, in his description of Eve, *Paradise Lost*, B. viii. 504.

“ Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,
 “ *The more desirable.*” THYER.

Ver. 162. ——— *tangled in amorous nets.*] Milton, in his first

Such object hath the power to soften and tame
 Severest temper, smooth the rugged'st brow,
 Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve, 165
 Draw out with credulous desire, and lead
 At will the manliest, resolutest breast,
 As the magnetick hardest iron draws.

Elegy, ver. 60, speaks of the "*Aurea quæ fallax retia tendit amor*," as Mr. Dunster observes. See also *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 585. And compare Spenser, *Sonnet xxxvii*. I may add part of Greene's Roundelay, in his *Never too late*, 1616, p. i^a. bl. 1.

— "to gaze upon the gorgeous sight,
 "That *Beautie*, pompous in her highest prime,
 "Presents to *tangle* men with sweete delight."

But Milton's phrase, the *amorous net*, is literally from Ariosto. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 586. And here also the Italian poetry was in Milton's mind: Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. iv.* st. 87.

"*Vsa ogn' arte la Donna, onde sia colto*
 "*Ne la sue rete* alcun nouello amante." TODD.

Ver. 164. — smooth the rugged'st brow,] Thus in the *Penseroso*, 58.

"*Smoothing the rugged brow* of Night." DUNSTER.

Milton adopted these expressions from Spenser's Sonnet to Sir Christopher Hatton, prefixed to the *Faerie Queene*:

"So you, great Lord, that with your counsell sway
 "The burdein of this kingdom mightily.
 "With like delightes sometimes may eke *delay*
 "The *rugged brow* of carefull Policy:"

Where *delay* means *smooth*, as elsewhere in Spenser. Compare also Randolph, *Poems*, edit. 1640, p. 50.

— "*soothing the brow*,
 "And making that look amorous, which but now
 "Stood *wrinkled with his anger*." TODD.

Ver. 166. *Draw out with credulous desire*,] This beautiful expression was formed partly upon Horace's, *Od. IV. i. 30*.

— "*spes animi credula nutui*."

And partly, as Mr. Thyer thinks, from a passage in the *Andria* of Terrence, A. iv. S. i.

— "*non tibi satis esse hoc visum solidum est gaudium*,
 "*Nisi me lactasses amantem, et, falsâ spe produceres?*" NEWTON.

Credulous might have been suggested by an Ode of Horace, which Milton himself has translated.

"*Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurâ,*
 "*Qui semper vacuam, &c.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 168. *As the magnetick, &c.*] It should be the *magnet*, or *magnetick stone*. But Milton often converts the adjective, and uses it as the substantive. NEWTON.

Lucian hath this simile in his *Imagines*, vol. ii. p. 2. ed. Græv. "But if the fair one once look upon you, what is it that can get you from her? She will draw you after her at pleasure, bound hand and foot, *just as the load-*

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build, 170
And made him bow, to the gods of his wives.

To whom quick answer Satan thus return'd.
Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
All others by thyself; because of old
Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring 175
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
Before the Flood thou with thy lusty crew,

stone draws iron." We may observe that Milton, by restraining the comparison to the power of beauty over the wisest men and the most stoical tempers, hath given it a propriety which is lost in a more general application. CALTON.

Claudian, having very poetically described the powers of the magnet, concludes his *Idyllium* in a manner that possibly might have suggested to Milton some of the preceding lines.

— "Quæ duras jungit concordia mentes?
"Flagrat anhela silex, et amicam saucia sentit
"Materiem, placidósque Chalybs cognoscit amores.
"Sic Venus horrificum belli compescere regem,
"Et vultu mollire solet, cum sanguine præceps
"Æstuat, et strictis mucronibus asperat iras.
"Sola feris occurrit equis, solrítque tumorem
"Pectoris, et blando præcordia temperet igni.
"Pax animo tranquilla datur, pugnásque calentes
"Deserit, et rutilas declinat in oscula cristas.
"Quæ tibi, sæve puer, non est permissa potestas?
"Tu magnum superas fulmen, &c." DUNSTER.

I may refer to the poetry of our own country also. See *The Tears of Love*, by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 29. A lady is the speaker:

"For as the adamant doth diamonds drawe,
"Or little jeat extracts the longest strawe:
"Euen so my beauty binds him to obey,
"To seek, to sue, and serue me euery way."

The same simile is well applied by Browne, *Brit. Past.* 1616, B. i. S. i.

"The adamant and beauty we discover
"To be alike; for beauty draws a lover,
"The adamant his iron." TODD.

Ver. 178. *Before the Flood thou with thy lusty crew,*

False tilled sons of God, &c.] It is to be lamented that our author has so often adopted the vulgar notion of the Angels having commerce with women, founded upon that mistaken text of Scripture, *Gen.* vi. 2. "*The sons of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.*" See *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 463, &c. But though he seems to favour that opinion, as we may suppose, to embellish his poetry, yet he shews elsewhere that he understood the text rightly, of the sons of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked Cain, *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 621, 625. NEWTON.

False titled sons of God, roaming the earth
 Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men, 180
 And coupled with them, and begot a race.
 Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
 In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
 In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,
 In valley or green meadow, to way-lay 185
 Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
 Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more

Ver. 180. *Cast wanton eyes &c.*] Compare Hakewill's *Apology of the Power and Providence of God*, edit. 1630, p. 365. "Then shall you have them *cast their wanton eyes vpon mens wiues, &c.*" And Bishop Hall's *Remains*, p. 31. "They begin to *cast wanton eyes* upon their superstitutions." TODD.

Ver. 182. *Have we not seen, or by relation heard.*] This passage is censured by Dr. Warburton, as suiting only the Poet speaking in his own person; but surely there is no impropriety in the Arch-Fiend's being well acquainted with the fables of the Heathen Mythology, and the amours and adventures of their gods, or, (according to Milton's system,) his own infernal compeers.—If we censure this passage, we must still more decisively condemn one in the fourth Book; where, in answer to Satan's speech, describing, while he shows it, the splendour of Imperial Rome, our Lord, taking up the subject, carries on the description to the luxurious way of living among the Romans of that time, with this verse in a parenthesis.

"For I have also *heard*, perhaps *have read*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 184. *In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,
 In valley or green meadow.*] Thus, in Shakspeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Puck, speaking of Oberon and Titania, says

"And now they never meet in *grove, or green,
 By fountain clear, &c.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 185. ————— *to way-lay
 Some beauty rare, &c.*] So, in the beautiful Canzone of Lorenzo de' Medici, entitled *Trionfo di Bacco e Arianno*:

"Questi scaltri Satiretti
 "Delle Ninfe innamorati
 "Per caverne, e per boschetti,
 "Han lor posto cento aguati." TODD.

Ver. 186. ————— *Calisto, Clymene,
 Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
 Or Amymone, Syrinx.*] All these mistresses of the gods might have been furnished from Ovid, our Author's favourite Latin Poet.
 DUNSTER.

Ver. 188. ————— *many more
 Too long;*] A concise way of speaking for *many more too long to mention*. The author had used it before. *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 473. Indeed more would have been *too long*, and it would have been better if he had not enumerated so many of the loves of the gods. These things

Too long : then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd,

are known to every schoolboy, but add no dignity to a divine poem : and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry. NEWTON.

Poetry, as strictly discriminated from Prose, may be defined *elevated and ornamented language*. Among the most allowed modes of elevating and decorating language, independent of metrical arrangement, mythological references and allusions and classical imitations hold a principal place. A poet precluded from these would be miserably circumscribed, and might with equal or better effect relate the fable which he imagines, the historick facts which he records, or the precepts which he lays down, in that species of language which asks no ornaments but purity and perspicuity. A *divine* poem certainly requires to be written in the chastest style, and to be kept perfectly free from the glare of false ornament : but it must still be considered that the great reason of exhibiting any serious truths, and especially the more interesting facts of religious history, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention. Poetry, to please, must continue to be pleasing. In the beauty and propriety of his references and allusions, the Poet shews the perfection of his taste and judgement, as much as in any other circumstance whatever : and Milton has eminently distinguished himself in this respect. How beautifully has he sprinkled his *Paradise Lost* with the flowers of Classick Poetry, and the fictions of Greek and Roman Mythology ! And he has done this with so judicious a hand, with a spirit so reverent, that the most religiously delicate ear cannot but be captivated with it. — I confess my surprise that Dr. Newton does not see the passage before us in this light. It appears to me not only in the highest degree justifiable, but absolutely as one of those *loci laudandi* which the best criticks ever delight to exhibit from the works of the more eminent poets. Milton here admirably avails himself of the fabulous amours of the Heathen Deities. He transfers them to the fallen Angels, and to Belial and “his lusty erew;” and, by the judicious application of these disgraceful tales, he gives them a propriety which they never before possessed. He furnishes even “the school-boy” with a moral to the fable which he has been reading, and recalls to maturer minds the classical beauty of these fabulous descriptions, which at once relieve and adorn his divine Poem.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 189. ———— *thy scapes*] This is a Gallicism, *échappée*, a *prank* or *frolick*. DUNSTER.

Scapes here mean *vicious frolics*, or *acts of lewdness*; and the word is common in our own old poetry. Thus in *Tancred and Gismund*, 1592, A. iii. S. ii.

——— “the subtle *scapes* of men

“Hardned in shame, sear'd vp in the desire

“Of their owne *lustes*.”

Again in *The Tears of Love* by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615, p. 13. Cupid is the speaker :

“Yea, I made Iove to lay aside his shape,

“And (amongst mortalls) commit many a *scape*.”

But more particularly in Marston's *Satyres*, 1598, Sat. 5, where the satirist is ridiculing the exploits of the *heathen deities*, and, after recording the “lewd acts” of Hercules, adds,

“Thus little *scapes* are deeply punished,

“But mighty villanes are for gods adored.” TODD.

Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan, 190
 Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts
 Delight not all; among the sons of men,
 How many have with a smile made small account
 Of Beauty and her lures, easily scorn'd
 All her assaults, on worthier things intent! 195
 Remember that Pellean conquerour,
 A youth, how all the beauties of the East
 He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd;
 How he, surnam'd of Africa, dismiss'd,
 In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid. 200

Ver. 190. *Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan.*] *Calisto, Semele, and Antiopa.* were mistresses to Jupiter; *Clymene* and *Daphne* to *Apollo*; and *Syrinx* to *Pan*. Both here and elsewhere, Milton considers the gods of the Heathens as Demons or Devils. Thus, in the Septuagint version of the Psalms: *ἡρώτα ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἰθρῶν τῶν αἰσώρων.* Psalm xevi. 5. (and likewise in the Vulgate Latin, *Quoniam omnes Dii gentium demonia.*) And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the shape of Heathen gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. p. 10. and 33. edit. Thirlbii. NEWTON.

Ver. 191. ————— *But these haunts*
 Delight not all:] Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 2. "*Non omnes arbusta jurant.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 196. *Remember that Pellean conquerour, &c.*] Alexander the Great was born at *Pella* in Macedonia: his continence and clemency to Darius's queen and daughters, and the other Persian ladies whom he took captive after the battle of Issus, are commended by the historians. "Tum quidem ita se gessit, ut omnes ante eum reges et continentia et clementia vincerentur. Virgines enim regias excellentis forme tam sancte habuit, quam si eodem quo ipse parente genitæ forent: conjugem ejusdem, quam nulla ætatis suæ pulchritudine corporis vicit, adeo ipse non violavit, ut summam adhibuerit curam, ne quis captivo corpori illuderet." *Quint. Curt.* lib. iii. cap. 9. He was then a young conquerour, of about twenty-three years of age, a youth, as Milton expresses it. NEWTON.

See Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 168.

"Unus Pellæo jureni non sufficit orbis." DUNSTER.

And Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, part the third, edit. 1642, p. 32.

"Where's Nimrod now, and dreadful Hannibal?"

"Where's that ambitious pert Pellean lad?" TODD.

Ver. 197. ————— *how all the beauties of the East*
He slightly view'd, and slightly overpass'd;] Alexander, we know from history, did not "slightly overpass all the beauties of the East." DUNSTER.

Ver. 199. *How he, surnam'd of Africa, dismiss'd,*
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.] The continence of Scipio Africanus at the age of twenty-four, and his generosity in restoring a beautiful Spanish lady to her husband and friends, are celebrated by Polybius, Livy, Valerius Maximus, and various other authors. NEWTON.

For Solomon, he liv'd at ease, and full
 Of honour, wealth, high fare, aim'd not beyond
 Higher design than to enjoy his state ;
 Thence to the bait of women lay expos'd :
 But he, whom we attempt, is wiser far 205
 Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
 Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
 Of greatest things. What woman will you find,
 Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
 On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye 210
 Of fond desire? Or should she, confident,
 As sitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne,
 Descend with all her winning charms begirt
 To enamour, as the zone of Venus once

Ver. 204. *Thence to the bait of women &c.*] This remark, applied by Satan to Solomon, the example cited by Belial, induces me to notice the description of Belial by Wierus, *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum*, edit. Basil. 1582, p. 919. "Sunt quidam necromantici, qui asserunt ipsum Salomonem, quodam die astutia cuiusdam mulieris seductum, orando se inclinasse versus simulachrum *Belial* nomine, &c." Wierus doubts this particular circumstance. But see 1 *Kings* xi. 1—8. And *Par. Lost*, B. i. 401, and the present book, ver. 169. TODD.

Ver. 210. *On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye Of fond desire?*] The *eye of fond desire* is very beautifully expressed by Æschylus, whom our author perhaps had in view. *Suppl.* ver. 1011.

Καὶ παρθένων χλαῖνισιν εἰμώφοις ἐπὶ
 Πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὄμματος θελκτήριον
 Τόξεν μ' ἐπεμψεν, ἱμέρον νικώμενος. THYER.

Æschylus has also the immediate expression, the *eye of desire*, in *Prometh.* ver. 655.

Ὡς ἂν εἶον ὄμμα λαώσῃσι ἠὲ ὄου. DUNSTER.

Ver. 211. ——— *Or should she, confident, As sitting queen ador'd on Beauty's throne, Descend with all her winning charms begirt &c.*] This is clearly from the same *pallette* and *pencil* as the following highly coloured passage, *Par. Lost*, B. viii. 59.

"With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
 "Not unattended, for on her as *Queen*
 "A *pomp of winning Graces waited still*,
 "And from about her shot darts of desire
 "Into all eyes to wish her still in sight." DUNSTER.

Ver. 213. ——— *with all her winning charms begirt*] *Begirt* leads us to notice the similar expression in a line, to which the passage before us presents a beautiful contrast. See *Par. Reg.* B. i. 120. "*Girded with snaky wiles.*" TODD.

Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell ; 215
 How would one look from his majestick brow,
 Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,
 Discountenance her despis'd, and put to rout
 All her array ; her female pride deject,
 Or turn to reverent awe ! for Beauty stands 220
 In the admiration only of weak minds
 Led captive ; cease to admire, and all her plumes

Ver. 215. ————— *so fables tell ;*] These words look as if the Poet had forgot himself, and spoke in his own person rather than in the character of Satan. NEWTON.

Ver. 216. ————— *one look from his majestick brow,*
Seated as on the top of Virtue's hill,] Here is the construction that we often meet with in Milton : from his majestick brow, that is, from the majestick brow of *him* seated as on the top of Virtue's hill : and the expression of *Virtue's hill* was probably in allusion to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the Table of Cebes, or the arduous ascent up the hill to which Virtue is represented pointing in the best designs of *the Judgement of Hercules*. NEWTON.

Milton's meaning here is best illustrated by a passage in Shakspeare ; which most probably he had in his mind. Hamlet, in the scene with his mother, pointing to the picture of his father, says,

" See what a *grace* was *seated on that brow* !
 " Hyperion's curls, the *front* of Jove himself ;
 " An eye, like Mars to threaten or command, &c."

See also *Lore's Labour Lost*, A. iii. S. iv. " Greatness, nobleness, authority, and awe," says Bentley, " are by all Greek and Latin poets placed in the *forehead*." See *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 509, ix. 538.

And Spenser's Belphebe,

" Her ivory *forehead full of bounty brave*
 " Like a broad table did itself dispread,
 " All good and honour might therein be read,
 " And there *their dwelling* was." DUNSTER.

Perhaps we may here rather cite the coincident expression of G. Wither, in his *Fidelia*, 1622.

" And *Vertue*, (wheresoeuer she be now)
 " Seem'd then to *sit enthron'd upon thy brow*."

See also Browne's *Brit. Past.* B. i. S. iv.

" Upon her *forehead*, as in glory, *sate*
 " Mercy and *Majesty*." TODD.

Ver. 220. ————— *for Beauty stands*

In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive ;] Among Milton's early Latin Elegies we find one (the seventh) of the amatory kind. But when he published his Latin Poems, eighteen years afterwards, he thought it necessary to add to it ten lines apologising for the puerile weakness, or rather vacancy, of his mind, that could admit such an impression. DUNSTER.

Ver. 222. ————— *cease to admire, and all her plumes*

Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,
At every sudden flighting quite abash'd.] This is a very

Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy, |
 At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.
 Therefore with manlier objects we must try 225
 His constancy ; with such as have more show
 Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise,
 Rocks, whereon greatest men have ofttest wreck'd ;
 Or that which only seems to satisfy
 Lawful desires of nature, not beyond ; 230
 And now I know he hungers, where no food
 Is to be found, in the wide wilderness :
 The rest commit to me ; I shall let pass
 No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.
 He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud acclaim ;
 Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band 236
 Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,
 To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
 If cause were to unfold some active scene
 Of various persons, each to know his part : 240
 Then to the desert takes with these his flight ;

beautiful and apposite allusion to the peacock : speaking of which bird, Pliny notices the circumstance of its spreading its tail under a sense of admiration ; "*Gemmantes laudatus expandit colores, adverso maxime sole, quia sic fulgentius radiant.*" *Nat. Hist.* L. x. C. 20. Tasso compares Armida, in all the pride and vanity of her beauty and ornaments, to a peacock with its tail spread, c. xvi. st. 24. But Milton had here in his mind Ovid, *De Arte Am.* i. 627.

"*Laudatus ostentat avis Junonia pennas ;*

"*Si tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 228. ————— *have ofttest wreck'd ;*] We read according to Milton's own edition *ofttest*, which is better than *often* in others.

NEWTON.

Ver. 232. ————— *the wide wilderness :*] In most of the editions, as Dr. Newton observes, it is falsely printed "*the wild wilderness.*" I must observe however, that what is written in Milton's manuscript of *Comus*, v. 403, "*this wide surrounding waste,*" is, in the printed copies, "*this wild surrounding waste.*" But the expression "*wide wilderness*" is also in *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 224. Compare also Spenser, *Astrophel*, ver. 93. "*Into a forest wide and waste he came.*" TODD.

Ver. 236. ————— *to him takes a chosen band*

Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile.] "Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits *more wicked than himself.*" Matt. xii. 45. DUNSTER.

Ver. 240. *Of various persons, each to know his part :*] As in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 155. "*Which was thy part and person ;*" where see the note. TODD.

Where still from shade to shade, the Son of God
 After forty days fasting had remain'd,
 Now hungering first, and to himself thus said.

Where will this end? four times ten days I've pass'd
 Wandering this woody maze, and human food 246
 Nor tasted, nor had appetite; that fast
 To virtue I impute not, or count part
 Of what I suffer here; if nature need not,

Ver. 244. *Now hungering first.*] There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy in this place. It is plain by the Scripture account, that our Saviour *hungered* before the Devil first tempted him by proposing to him his making stones into bread, and Milton's own account in the first book is consistent with this: is there not therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he *now first hungered*, especially considering the time that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's convening and consulting with his companions? **TYER.**

Milton comprises the principal action of the Poem in four successive days. This is the second day; in which no positive temptation occurs, for Satan *had left* Jesus (as was said, ver. 116. of this Book) *vacant*, i. e. unassailed that day. Previous to the Tempter's appearing at all, it is said (B. i. 303.) that our blessed Lord had "passed full forty days" in the wilderness. All that is here meant is that he was not hungry till the forty days were ended; and accordingly our Saviour himself presently says that, during the time, he

"human food
 "Nor tasted, nor had appetite."

As to the *time necessary* for convening the infernal council, there is the space of twenty-four hours taken for the Devil to go up to the *region of mid air*, where his council was sitting, and where we are told he went *with speed* (ver. 117 of this Book), and for him to debate the matter with his council, and return *with his chosen band of Spirits*: for it was the commencement of night, when he left our Saviour at the end of the first Book, and it is now "the hour of night," (ver. 260) when he is returned. But it must also be considered that spiritual beings are not supposed to require, for their *actions*, the *time* necessary to human ones; otherwise we might proceed to calculate the time requisite for the descent of Michael, or Raphael, to Paradise, and criticise the *Paradise Lost* accordingly. But Raphael, in the eighth Book of that Poem, says to Adam, inquiring concerning celestial motions,

"The swiftness of those circles attribute,
 "Though numberless, to his Omnipotence,
 "That to corporeal substances could add
 "*Speed almost spiritual*; me thou think'st not slow,
 "Who since the morning hour set out from Heaven
 "Where God resides, and ere mid day arriv'd
 "In Eden, distance inexpressible
 "By numbers that have name."

We are also expressly told by St. Luke, when the Devil took our Lord up into a high mountain, that "he shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the world *in a moment of time*," Luke iv. 5. **DUNSTER.**

Or God support nature without repast 250
 Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
 But now I feel I hunger, which declares
 Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
 Can satisfy that need some other way,
 Though hunger still remain: so it remain 255
 Without this body's wasting, I content me,
 And from the sting of famine fear no harm;
 Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
 Me hungering more to do my Father's will.
 It was the hour of night, when thus the Son 260
 Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
 Under the hospitable covert nigh
 Of trees thick interwoven; there he slept,
 And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,
 Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet: 265
 Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,

Ver. 258. ———— *fed with better thoughts.*] See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 37. TODD.

Ver. 259. *Me hungering more to do my Father's will.*] In allusion to our Saviour's words, *John* iv. 34. "*My meat is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work.*" NEWTON.

But with reference also to, "Blessed are they which do *hunger and thirst after righteousness*," *Matt.* v. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down*] Agreeable to what we find in the *Psalms*, iv. 4. "*Commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 262. ———— *the hospitable covert nigh
 Of trees thick interwoven;*] Thus Horace, *Od.* II. iii. 9.

"Qua pinus ingens albæque populus

"*Umbram hospitalem consociare amant*

"*Ramis.*"

And Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 24;

"Obviâque hospitii teneat frondentibus arbos."

Milton also, in *Comus*, ver. 186;

————— "such cooling fruit

"As the kind *hospitable* woods provide." DUNSTER.

The *covert* also here is partly copied from *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 692.

————— "the roof

"Of thickest covert was inwoven shade

"Laurel and myrtle, &c." TODD.

Ver. 266. *Him thought.*] We say now, and more justly, as Doctor Newton has observed, *he thought*; but *him thought* is of the same construction as *me thought*; and is used by our old writers, as by Fairfax, c. 13. st. 40. "*Him thought* he heard the softly whistling wind." See also

And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
Food to Elijah bringing, even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they
brought :

He saw the Prophet also, how he fled 270
Into the desert, and how there he slept
Under a juniper ; then how awak'd
And found his supper on the coals prepar'd,
And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,
And eat the second time after repose, 275
The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days :
Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.
Thus wore out night ; and now the herald lark
Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry 280

Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iv. viii. 4, where some editions have arbitrarily changed "*Him seemed*" into "*He seemed*." The phraseology is very ancient. See the *Liber Festivalis*, printed by Caxton, sign. k. ij. "And whan he [St. George] sawe the araye of that damysel, *Him thought* that it shold be a woman of grete worth." TOWN.

Ver. 266. ————— *he by the brook of Cherith stood, &c.*] Alluding to the account of Elijah, 1 *Kings* xvii. 5, 6, and xix. 4. And Daniel's living upon *pulse and water*, rather than the portion of the king's meat and drink, is celebrated, *Dan.* i. So that, as our dreams are often composed of the matter of our waking thoughts, our Saviour is with great propriety supposed to dream of sacred persons and subjects. *Lucretius*, iv. 960.

"Et quoi quisque ferè studio devinctus adhæret,

"Aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati,

"Atque in qua ratione fuit contenta magis mens,

"In somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire." NEWTON.

Ver. 278. *Or as a guest*] Might we not read, "*or was a guest?*"

SYMPSON.

Ver. 279. ————— *the herald lark*] The lark is called by Shakspeare, *Romeo and Juliet*, A. iii. S. 5.

————— "*the herald of the morn.*" NEWTON.

And by Browne, as Mr. Dunster also observes, in his *Brit. Pastorals*, 1616, B. i. S. iii. "*The mounting lark, day's herald, got on wing.*" TOWN.

Ver. 280. ————— *to descry*

The Morn's approach, and greet her with his song :] This is a beautiful thought which modern wit hath added to the stock of antiquity. We may see it rising, though out of a low hint of Theocritus, like the bird from his *thatch'd pullat*. *Idyll.* x. 50.

"Ἀρχεσθαι ἢ ἀμῶντας ἐγχερομένο καρνῖαλλῶ.

Chaucer leads the way to the English poets, in four of the finest lines in all his works, *Knight's Tale*, 1493.

"The merry lark, messengere of the day,

"*Salewith in her song the morrow gray,*

The Morn's approach, and greet her with his song :
 As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
 Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream ;
 Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.
 Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd, 285
 From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
 If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd ;
 But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw ;
 Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,

" And fry Phebus risith up so bright
 " That all the Orient laugheth at the sight."

In the same manner Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. xi. 51.

———— " when Una did her mark
 " Climb to her charret all with flowers spread,
 " From Heaven high to chase the cheerless dark :
 " *With merry notes her loud salutes the mounting lark.*" CALTON.

Thus, in *Comus*, the early hour of morning is marked by *the lark's rousing from his thatch'd pallet*, ver. 315. And the lark " high-towering and greeting the morn with her song," is thus beautifully described in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. ix. st. 2.

" The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,
 " *With sweet salutes awakes the drowsy light ;* •
 " *The earth she left, and up to heaven is fled ;*
 " There chants her Maker's praises out of sight."

See also Spenser's *Astrophel*, st. vi.

" As summers lark that *with her song doth greet*
 " *The dawning day, &c.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 282. ———— *from his grassy couch*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 600.

———— " for beast and bird,
 " *They to their grassy couch, these to their nests,*
 " *Were slunk.*" THYER.

Milton might perhaps remember Lucretius's expression, "*Herba cubile præbebat*," lib. v. TODD.

Ver. 283. ———— *and found all was but a dream ;*] *Par. Lost*, B. v. 92.

———— " but, O ! how glad I wak'd
 " *To find this but a dream !*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 287. *If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd ;*

But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw ;] This mode of repetition our poet is fond of, and has frequently used with singular effect. See *Comus*, v. 221, &c. Thus also, in *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 640, a delightful description of morning, evening, and night, is beautifully recapitulated. DUNSTER.

Ver. 289. *Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove, &c.*] The Tempter here is the *Magician* of the Italian poets. This " pleasant grove" is a *magical* creation in the desert, designed as a *scene* suited for the ensuing temptation of the Banquet. Thus Tasso lays the scene of the sumptuous banquet, which Armida provides for her lovers, amidst —

With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud : 290
 Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
 To rest at noon ; and enter'd soon the shade
 High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,

“ High trees, sweet meadows, waters pure and good —

“ Under the curtain of the greenwood shade,

“ Beside the brook, upon the velvet grass.”

Fairfax's *Tasso*, c. x. 63, 64.

The whole of Milton's description here is very beautiful ; and I rather wonder that the noble author of the *Anecdotes of Painting* did not subjoin it to his citations, from the *Paradise Lost*, in his *Observations on modern Gardening*. He there ascribes to our author the having foreseen, “ with the prophetick eye of taste,” our modern style of gardening. It may however be questioned, whether his idea of a garden was much, if at all, elevated above that of his contemporaries. In the *Comus*, speaking of the gardens of the Hesperides, he describes *cedarn alleys*, and *crisp'd shades and bowers* ; and in his *Penseroso*, “ retired leisure ” is made to please itself in *trim gardens*. Mr. Warton, in a note on the latter passage, observes that Milton had changed his ideas of a garden when he wrote his *Paradise Lost*. But the *Paradise* which he there describes is not a *Garden*, either ancient or modern. It is in fact a *Country* in its natural, unornamented state, only rendered beautiful, and, (which is more essential to happiness in a hot climate,) at all times perfectly habitable from its abundance of pleasingly-disposed shade and water, and its consequent verdure and fertility. From all such poetical delineations, as from Nature herself, the *Landscape Gardener* may certainly enrich his fancy, and cultivate his taste. The poet in the mean time contributes to the perfection of *Art*, not by laying down rules for it, but by his exquisite descriptions of the more beautiful scenes of *Nature*, which it is the office of *Art* to imitate and to represent. One merit of our modern art of laying out ground, independent of the beauty of its scenery, is its being peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of our climate. A modern English pleasure-ground would not be considered as a *Paradise* on the sultry plains of Assyria, if it could be formed, or exist there : accordingly another mode of gardening has always prevailed in hot countries, which, though it would be the height of absurdity to adopt it in our own island, may be well defended in its proper place by the best of all pleas, necessity. The reader may see this question fully discussed with great taste and judgement, by my learned friend Dr. Falconer, in his *Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and laying out grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 291. ————— determin'd there

[To rest at noon,] The custom of retiring to the shade and reposing, in hot countries, during the extreme heat of the middle part of the day, is frequently alluded to by Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*. See B. iv. 627, B. v. 230, and 300, and B. ix. 401. DUNSTER.

Ver. 293. High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,] Such are also the arched over-shading groves of Spenser, with their walks, alleys, and arbours, *Faer. Qu.* i. i. 7.

“ A shady grove not far away they spied, &c.

“ And all within were paths and allies wide.”

See also *Faer. Qu.* iv. x. 25. *High-roof'd* reminds us of some of Milton's descriptions in the *Paradise Lost*, as in B. ix. 1037 : —

That open'd in the midst a woody scene ;
 Nature's own work it seem'd, Nature-taught Art, 295
 And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
 Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs : he view'd it round.
 When suddenly a man before him stood ;
 Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad,

— " a shady bank
 " Thick overhead with verdant roof imbower'd."

See also B. iv. 692, 772, B. v. 137. The deep shade, produced by great masses of wood, is a favourite object of our poet's description. The epithet *brown* that he applies to it, (as here "*allies brown*") he borrowed from the Italian poets ; as has been justly observed by Mr. Thyer. See his notes on *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 246, and B. ix. 1086. DUNSTER.

Ver. 294. *That open'd in the midst a woody scene ;*

Nature's own work it seem'd,] Here is some resemblance of Homer's description of the Bower of Calypso, *Odyss.* v. 63, 73.

" Ὑλῃ δὲ σπέος ἀμφιπεφύκει τηλεθώωσα,

Κληθρῇ τ', αἰγερὸς τε, καὶ ἐνώδεης κυπάρισσος.

— ἔνθα κ' ἔπειτα καὶ ἀθάνατός περ' ἐπελθὼν

Οἷησάιτο ἰδὼν, καὶ τερφθεῖη φρεσὶν ᾗσιν.

It may be observed, that " a various sylvan scene " was possibly suggested by Milton's " happy rural seat of various view," *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 246. DUNSTER.

Ver. 295. *Nature's own work it seem'd, Nature-taught Art,*] Thus Spenser, in his description of the Gardens of Acrasia, *Faer. Qu.* ii. xii. 58.

" And, that which all fair workes doth most aggrace,
 " The Art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.

59.

" One would have thought, (so cunningly the rude

" And scorned parts were mingled with the fine,)

" That Nature had for wantonness ensue

" Art, and that Art at Nature did repine ;

" So striving each the other to undermine,

" Each did the other's work more beautify : &c."

But here he is not a little indebted to his predecessor Tasso, in his description of the Garden of Armida, *Gier. Lib.* c. xvi. st. 9, 10. See also *Faer. Qu.* ii. v. 29. DUNSTER.

Ver. 296. — the haunt

Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs :] Milton terms " the happy walks and shades " of Paradise " fit haunt of Gods," *Par. L.* B. xi. 271. See also *Par. L.* B. iii. 27, iv. 708. And compare Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* July, ver. 77.

" Here han the holy Faunes recourse,
 " And Sylvanes haunten rathe."

Milton alludes to this passage also, ver. 191. TONN.

Ver. 299. *Not rustick as before, but seemlier clad,*] The Tempter is very properly made to change his appearance and habit with the temptation. In the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger, he appeared as a poor old man in rural weeds ; but now, when he comes to offer a magnificent entertain-

As one in city, or court, or palace bred, 300
And with fair speech these words to him address'd.

With granted leave officious I return,
But much more wonder that the Son of God
In this wild solitude so long should bide,
Of all things destitute ; and, well I know, 305
Not without hunger. Others of some note,
As story tells, have trod this wilderness ;
The fugitive bond-woman, with her son,

ment, he is *seemlier clad*, and appears as a wealthy citizen or a courtier : and here *with fair speech* he addresses his words ; there, it was only *with words thus utter'd spake*. These lesser particulars have a propriety in them, which is well worthy of the reader's observation. NEWTON.

Ver. 302. *With granted leave*] It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion of the former book, had asked leave to come again, but all the answer that our Saviour returned was

“ Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,

“ I bid not or forbid ; do as thou find'st

“ Permission from above.”

But, as the Tempter must needs have been a most impudent being, it was perfectly in character to represent him as taking *permission* for *granted leave*. NEWTON.

The *granted leave* here, is “ permission from above.” In answer to Satan's request, (B. i. 492.)

————— “ disdain not such access to me,”
our Saviour had said,

————— “ do as thou find'st

“ Permission from above.”

Satan therefore here introduces himself with a boast of *that permission* from HIM, who had before given up Job to be tempted by him, B. i. 368. Indeed our author makes the Deity, in his speech to Gabriel, say, speaking of our blessed Lord, B. i. 140.

————— “ this Man, born and now up-grown,

“ To show him worthy of his birth divine

“ And high prediction, henceforth I expose

“ To Satan ; let him tempt and now assay

“ His utmost subtlety.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 308. *The fugitive bond-woman, with her son, &c.*] Hagar, who fled from the face of her mistress, *Gen.* xvi. 6, is therefore called a *fugitive* : her son was not a fugitive, but an *outcast* ; so exact was our author in the use of his epithets. But then what shall we say to the words, *Outcast Nebaioth* ? For Nebaioth was the eldest son of Ishmael, (*Gen.* xxv. 13.) and grandson of Abraham and Hagar. He seems here to be put by mistake for Ishmael ; at least it is not usual to call the father by the name of the son. NEWTON.

There is no immediate instance of a grandson being substituted for a son in scripture : and yet the curse is addressed to Canaan, (*Gen.* ix. 25.) though it was Ham, his father, who had offended Noah : But *Nebaioth* and Canaan both gave names to a people descended from them, viz. the Canaanites, and Nabathœans ; and therefore each of their names might

Out-cast Nebaioth, yet found here relief
 By a providing Angel; all the race 310
 Of Israel here had famish'd, had not God
 Rain'd from Heaven manna; and that Prophet bold,
 Native of Thebez, wandering here was fed

attach to their fathers as the first flock of their respective nations. Ishmael was not born, when Hagar fled from her mistress's face, *Gen. xvi. 6.* But the term *fugitive* here refers to what is said of her, *Gen. xxi.* when she and her son were both *cast out* at the instigation of Sarah, and with the approbation of God; when also, in her distress in the wilderness, she *cast the child from her to die.* This moment of distress is the exact moment of Milton's description. DUNSTER.

Ver. 309. ————— *found here relief*] In Milton's own edition it is "found *he* relief;" perhaps an unnoticed error of the press. The editions, since the folio of 1688 which continues this reading, give "*here* relief." TODD.

Ver. 312. ————— *and that Prophet bold.*] In the character of Elijah, as it stands portrayed in Scripture, we trace a spirit and resolution of the most dignified kind. Hence it is said, *1 Maccab. ii. 58.* that "he was taken up into Heaven for being *ferrent and zealous* for the law." The *twelve* first verses of the 48th chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* are entirely occupied with a panegyrick upon him; in which it is said, that *he stood up like fire*, and that *his words burned like a lamp*; which expressions must be understood to imply a peculiar fervour of zeal and spirit. Milton seems to have been much struck with the character of this "Prophet bold," as he here terms him. He had before, ver. 16. of this Book, called him the "Great Thisbite," and has mentioned him no less than four times in this Poem, and three times in his juvenile Latin Poems. *El. iv. In Prodit. Bombard. and In obit. Præsul. Eliens.* But it may be observed, (and I hope without impropriety,) that possibly he had a *political* predilection for this eminent Prophet, to whose lot it fell to resist the tyranny of wicked kings, and to denounce the judgements of God against them. In this part of his office he particularly manifested his undaunted spirit; on which account he might be a favourite scripture-character with our author. Compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621. p. 480.

—————"Thesbite Elijah—
 "Who, burning *bold* in spirit and speech, cries out
 "In Ahab's ear, and all his Court about,
 "O impious Ahab!" DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. ————— *wandering here was fed*] It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wandered with her son, and where the Israelites were fed with manna, and where Elijah retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same with the wilderness, where our Saviour was tempted. And yet it is certain, that they were very different places; for the wilderness, where Hagar wandered, was *the wilderness of Beersheba*, *Gen. xxi. 14*; and where the Israelites were fed with manna, was *the wilderness of Sin*, *Exod. xvi. 1*; and where Elijah retreated was *in the wilderness, a day's journey from Beersheba*, *1 Kings xix. 4*; and where our Saviour was tempted was *the wilderness near Jordan.* But our author considers all that tract of country as one and the same wilderness, though distinguished by different names from the different places adjoining. NEWTON.

Twice by a voice inviting him to eat :
Of thee these forty days none hath regard, 315
Forty and more deserted here indeed.

To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'st thou hence ?
They all had need ; I, as thou seest, have none.

How hast thou hunger then ? Satan replied.
Tell me, if food were now before thee set, 320
Would'st thou not eat ?— Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus.— Why should that
Cause thy refusal ? said the subtle Fiend.
Hast thou not right to all created things ?
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee 325
Duty and service, nor to stay till bid,
But tender all their power ? Nor mention I
Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd first
To idols, those young Daniel could refuse ;
Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who 330
Would scruple that, with want oppress'd ? Behold,
Nature asham'd, or, better to express,
Troubled, that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd
From all the elements her choicest store,

Ver. 321. *Would'st thou not eat ? — Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus.*] Thus in Comus, when the
Enchanter offers the cup to the Lady, and presses her to drink of it, she
tells him,

“ Were it a draught for Juno when she banquets,
“ I would not taste thy treasonous offer ; none
“ But such as are good men can give good things ; &c.”

DUNSTER.

Ver. 324. *Hast thou not right to all created things ?
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service, &c. &c.*] This part of the Tempter's speech
alludes to the heavenly declaration which he had heard at Jordan, *This is
my beloved Son*, &c. One may observe too, that it is much the same sort
of flattering address with that which he had before made use of to seduce
Eve, *Paradise Lost*, B. ix. 539 ;

“ Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine,
“ By gift, &c.” THYER.

Ver. 333. ————— *hath purvey'd*

From all the elements her choicest store.] The Latin Poets
have similar passages, descriptive of that unbounded luxury, which ran-
sacked all the elements to furnish out the requisite delicacies of their ban-
quets. Thus *Juv. Sat. xi. 14.*

“ *Interca gustus elementa per omnia quærunt.*” DUNSTER.

To treat thee, as beseems, and as her Lord, 335
With honour : only deign to sit and eat.

He spake no dream ; for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld,
In ample space under the broadest shade,
A table richly spread, in regal mode, 340
With dishes pil'd, and meats of noblest sort
And savour ; beasts of chase, or fowl of game,
In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,

Ver. 337. *He spake no dream ;*] This was no dream, as before, ver. 264, but a reality. NEWTON.

Ver. 340. *A table richly spread, &c.*] This temptation is not recorded in Scripture, but is however invented with great consistency, and very aptly fitted to the present condition of our Saviour. This way of embellishing his subject is a privilege which every poet has a just right to, provided he observes harmony and decorum in his hero's character ; and one may further add, that Milton had in this particular place still a stronger claim to an indulgence of this kind, since it was a pretty general opinion among the Fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than those which are mentioned by the Evangelists ; nay, Origen goes so far as to say, that he was every day, whilst he continued in the wilderness, attacked by a fresh one. The beauties of this description are too obvious to escape any reader of taste. It is copious, and yet expressed with a very elegant conciseness. Every proper circumstance is mentioned, and yet it is not at all clogged or incumbered, as is often the case, with too tedious a detail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author's imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his *Paradise Lost*, for which reason he has been the more diffuse, and laboured it with greater care, with the same good judgement that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before described. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly shews the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton's genius was upon the decay when he wrote his *Paradise Regained*. THYER.

The banquet, as Dr. Newton observes, is like that prepared by Armida for her lovers. Tasso, *Gier. Lib. c. x. st. 64*. Temptations of this kind are indeed common in romances. In the third act of an old drama, entitled *The Wisdom of Dr. Dodypoll*, 4to. 1600, there is also a similar scene. See my note on *Comus*, v. 659. TODD.

Ver. 340. — *richly spread, in regal mode,*] *Regal mode* was probably intended to glance at the luxury and expence of the Court at that time : it is however well *covered* by classical authority. Thus Sil. Ital. xi. 272.

“ Instituant de more epulas, festanque per urbem
“ *Regifice exstructis* celebrant convivia mensis.”

And Virgil, *Æn. vi. 604*.

“ epulæque ante ora paratæ
“ *Regifico luxu.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 343. *In pastry built,*] The pastry in the beginning of the last century, was frequently of considerable magnitude and solidity. Of such kind must have been the pye in which Geoffrey Hudson, afterwards King

**Gris-amber-steam'd ; all fish, from sea or shore,
 Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin, 345
 And exquisitest name, for which was drain'd
 Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coast.**

James's Dwarf, when eight years old, was served up to table at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham. We may suppose this pyc was not considerably larger than was usual on such occasions, otherwise the joke would have lost much of its effect from something extraordinary being expected. A species of *mural* pastry seems to have prevailed in some of the preceding centuries, when artificial representations of castles, towers, &c. were very common at all great feasts, and were called *suttilties*, *subtillties*, or *sotilties*. — Leland, in his account of the entertainment at the enthronization of Archbishop Warham in 1504, (*Collectanea*, vol. 6.) mentions "a suttlety of three stages, with vanes and towres embattled," and "a warner with eight towres embattled, and made with flowres;" which possibly meant *made in pastry*. — In the catalogue of the expences at this feast, there is a charge for wax and sugar, *in operatione de le sotilties*. Probably the wax and sugar were employed to render the paste of flour more adhesive and tenacious, the better to support itself when moulded into such a variety of forms. DUNSTER.

Ver. 345. *Freshet or purling brook,*] *Freshet, a stream of fresh water.* So Browne, in his *Brit. Pastorals*, 1613, B. ii. S. iii. of fish, who

"Now love the *freshet*, and then love the sea." TODD.

Ver. 346. *And exquisitest name,*] This alludes to that species of Roman luxury, which gave *exquisite names* to fish of exquisite taste, such as that they called *cerebrum Joris*. They extended this even to a very capacious dish, as that they called *clypeum Minerva*. The modern Italians fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquisite wines by the names of *lucryna Christi* and *lac Virginis*. WARBURTON.

Ibid. ———— *for which was drain'd*

Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Africk coast.] The fish are brought to furnish this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from *Pontus*, or the Euxine Sea, in Asia; from the *Lucrine Bay*, in Italy; and from the *coast of Africa*; all which places are celebrated for different kinds of fish by the authors of antiquity. NEWTON.

Milton had here in his mind the excessive luxury of the Romans in the article of fish; in regard to which it is said by Juvenal that, having exhausted their own seas, they were obliged to be supplied from their distant provinces. DUNSTER.

Ver. 347. *Pontus, &c.*] Pliny observes how quickly all sorts of fish came to perfection in the *Pontus Euxinus*. "Piscium genus omne præcipua celeritate adolescit, maxime in *Ponto*. Causa, multitudo annuum dulces inferentium aquas." L. ix. 15. Horace notices the shell-fish of the Lucrine Lake, *Epod.* ii. 49. "Non me *Lucrina* juverint *conchyliæ*;" and particularly commends its muscles, *Sat.* II. iv. 32. Martial records the excellence of the *Lucrine Oysters*, *Lib.* iii. *Ep.* ix. 3. These were so much in request, that *Lucrina* alone is used by the last-mentioned poet to signify oysters. L. vi. *Ep.* xi. 5. & L. xii. *Ep.* xlviii. 4. Aulus Gellius, in his chapter on Roman Luxury, extracted from the satire of M. Varro περί ἐξαρτων, notices the Lamprey from the Straits of Gibraltar, *Muræna Tartessia*. L. vii. 16. It is related by Athenæus (B. i. p. 7.) that the celebrated Roman glutton Apicius, having been used to eat at Min-

(Alas, how simple, to these *cates compar'd*,
 Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!)
 And at a stately side-board, by the wine
 That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood
 Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue
 Than Ganymed or Hylas; distant more

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ternæ a sort of cray-fish, which exceeded the lobsters of Alexandria in bigness, when he was told there were some of these fish still larger, to be found on the *coast of Africa*, sailed thither immediately, in spite of a great many inconveniences. The fishermen, who were apprized of the object of his voyage, met him with the largest they had taken; but as soon as he found they had none which exceeded those he had been used to eat at Minternæ, he sailed back instantly without going on shore. DUNSTER.

Ver. 349. ————— *that diverted Eve!*] *Diverted* is here used in the Latin signification of *diverto, to turn aside*. NEWTON.

Diverted is often thus employed in Old English poetry. See Nicols's *Cuckow*, 1607, p. 10. And Drayton's *Owle*, 1604. And Spenser, *F. Q.* iii. iii. 62. In Milton's time this usage of the word appears to have been common. Thus, in his *Eiconoclastes*, chap. xi. "Which omen, taken from his own mouth, (God hath not *diverted*." Again, chap. xxii. "He *diverted* his course." TODD.

Ver. 350. *And at a stately side-board, &c.*] As the scene of this entertainment lay in the east, Milton has with great judgement thrown in this and the following particulars to give it an air of eastern grandeur; as in that part of the world, it is well known, a great part of the pomp and splendour of their feasts consists in their having a great number of beautiful slaves of both sexes, to attend and divert the guests with musick and singing. THYER.

Ver. 350. ————— *wine*

That fragrant smell diffus'd,] Thus Homer, *Odys.* ix. 210,

— ὁσμὴ δ' ἠδὲτα ἀπὸ κρητῆρος ὀρώει

ὀσπεσίη.

And Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 301.

"Plenæque odorati Dis ponit pocula Bacchi."

The Ancients prized their wines according to their fragrance. *ὄϊνος ἀνθοσμίας* was the term of supreme commendation among the Greeks.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 353. *Than Ganymed or Hylas;*] These were two most beautiful youths, the one beloved by Jupiter, to whom he was cup-bearer, the other by Hercules, for whom he drew water: they are therefore both properly mentioned upon this occasion. NEWTON.

Milton had mentioned these two boys in his *seventh Elegy*, where he compares the God of Love to them. In which he had most probably an eye to Spenser's description of Fancy in his *Mask of Cupid, Faer.* Qu. iii. xii. 7.

"The first was *Fancy*, like a lovely boy, &c." DUNSTER.

Milton here alludes to the description of the costly tables of the Romans, their *waiters*, &c. given by an author, to whose opinions he was certainly partial: "Seneca describes the order and number of their *waiters* more particularly: They had *waiting on them*, saith he, *puerorum infeliciūm greges*, whole troops of vnfortunate *Ganymedes*, &c." Hakewill's *Apol. of the Power and Providence of God*, fol. ed. 1630, p. 376. TODD.

Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood,
 Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades 355
 With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,
 And ladies of the Hesperides, that seem'd
 Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since
 Of faery damsels, met in forest wide

Ver. 354. ————— *now solemn stood,*] The same idea of graceful attitude is given in a line of *Comus*, where the Enchanter, speaking to the Lady of her Brothers, whom he professes to have seen, says,

“ Their port was *more than human as they stood.*”

Hamlet likewise, in the scene with his mother, thus exemplifies the *gracefulness* of his father's person,

“ A station like the herald Mercury

“ New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill ;”

where station is *attitude*, or *the act of standing*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 355. *Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades*

With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn

And ladies of the Hesperides,] The poet perhaps specifies

these beautiful attendants, as more eminently possessing the power of beguiling the heart: *The Nymphs of Diana's train*, on account of their remarkable beauty; see *Odys.* vi. 110. *The Naiades*, as having been companions of the enchantress, Circe; see *Comus*, ver. 254. And *The ladies of the Hesperides*, by their skill in singing. See notes on *Comus*, v. 981. Compare also P. Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* 1613. C. x. st. 30.

“ Choice *Nymph*, the crown of chaste *Dianu's train*,

“ Thou beautie's lillie, &c.” TODD.

Ibid. ————— Naiades

With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,] The story of *Amalthea's horn*, strictly so called, is given by Ovid, *Fast.* v. 115, &c. But in the beginning of the ninth Book of the *Metamorphoses*, a different history of a *Cornucopia* is given, which seems to be more immediately referred to in this passage of the *Paradise Regained*.

“ Nec satis id fuerat ; rigidum fera dextera cornu

“ Dum tenet infregit ; truncâque a fronte revellit.

“ *Naiades hoc pomis et odoro flore repletum,*

“ *Sacrarunt ;* divésque meo bona Copia cornu est.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 358. *Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since*] Some readers may perhaps, in this passage, think our author a little too fond of showing his great reading; a fault, of which he is indeed sometimes guilty: but those who are conversant in romance-writers, and know how lavish they are in the praises of their beauties, will, I doubt not, discover great propriety in this allusion. THYER.

Whenever Milton takes any images from his favourite romances, he immediately rises, as here, into the most exquisite poetry; and seems to finish his lines with peculiar pleasure and art. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 359. — *faery damsels met in forest wide*

By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,

Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.] Sir *Lancelot*, *Pelleas*,

and *Pellenore*, (the latter by the title of *King Pellenore*,) are *Persons* in the old Romance of *Morte d'Arthur*, or *The Lyf of King Arthur*, of his noble *Knyghtes of the round table*, and in thende the dolorous deth of them

By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.

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all; written originally in French, and translated into English by Sir Thomas Malleory, Knt. printed by William Caxton, 1484. — From this old Romance, Mr. Warton, (*Observations on Spenser*, Sect. 2,) shows that Spenser borrowed much. Sir Lancelot is there called of *Logris*; and Sir Tristram is named of *Lyones*, under which title he appears also in the *Faery Queen*. *Logris* is the same with *Loegria*, (according to the more fabulous historians, and amongst them Milton,) an old name for England. Hollinshed calls it both *Loegria* and *Logiers*. See his *History of England*, B. ii. 4, 5. The same author, in his *Description of Britain*, instead of *Loegria*, or *Logiers*, writes it *Lhoegres*. The Title of his 22d Chapter is, *after what manner the sovereignty of this isle doth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England*. Spenser, in his *Faery Queen*, where he gives the *Chronicle of the early Briton Kings from Brute to Uther's reign*, calls it *Logris*, ii. x. 14.

“And Camber did possess the western quart,

“Which Severn now from *Logris* doth depart.”

Lyones was an old name for *Cornwall*, or at least for a part of that county. Camden, (in his *Britannia*,) speaking of the *Land's End*, says, “the inhabitants are of opinion that this promontory did once reach farther to the West, which the sea-men positively conclude from the rubbish they draw up. The neighbours will tell you too, from a certain old tradition, that the land there drowned by the incursions of the sea was called *Lionesse*.” Sir Tristram of Lyones, or Lionesse, is well known to the readers of the old romances. In the *French* translation of the *Orlando Inamorato* of Boiardo, he is termed *Tristan de Leonnois*, although in the original he is only mentioned by the single name of *Tristan*. In the *Orlando Inamorato* also, among the knights, who defend Angelica in the fortress of Albracca against Agricani, is Sir Hubert of Lyones, *Uberto dal Leone*. — Tristram, in his account of himself in the *Faery Queen*, vi. ii. 28, says,

“And Tristram is my name, the only heire

“Of good king Meliograss, which did rayne

“In *Cornuewale*, 'till that he through lives despire

“Untimely dyde.”

He then relates how his Uncle seized upon the crown, whereupon his Mother, conceiving great fears for her Son's personal safety, determined to send him into “some foreign land,”

“Out of the countrie wherein I was bred,

“The which the fertile *Lionesse* is hight,

“Into the land of *Faerie*.”

These particulars, Mr. Wharton shows, are drawn from the *Morte d'Arthur*, where it is said “there was a knight Meliodas, and he was Lord and King of the county of Lyones, and he wedded King Marke's sister of *Cornuewale*.” The issue of this marriage was Sir Tristram. These Knights, he also observes, are there often represented as meeting beautiful damsels in desolate forests. Sir *Pelleas*, “a very valorous knight of Arthur's round table,” is one of those who pursue the Blatant Beast, when, after having been conquered and chained up by Sir Calidore, it “broke its iron chain” and again “ranged through the world,” *Faery Qu.* vi. xii. 39.

Milton's later thoughts could not, we find, but rove at times where, as he himself told us, “his younger feet wandered,” when he “betook him among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn Cantos

And all the while harmonious airs were heard
 Of chiming strings, or charming pipes; and winds
 Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fann'd
 From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells. 365

the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renowne over all Christendome." *Apol. for Smectym.* p. 177. *Prose Works*, ed. Amst. 1698. DUNSTER.

Ver. 362. *And all the while harmonious airs were heard*
Of chiming strings, or charming pipes;] Thus in *Par. Lost*,
 B. xi. 558,

————— "the sound
 "Of instruments that made melodious chime."

And again, ver. 594, "*charming symphonies*." Spenser, as Mr. Calton observes, thus likewise uses the verb to *charm*, Faer. Qu. v. ix. 13.

"Like as the fowler, on his guilefull *pipe*
 "*Charmes* to the birds full many a pleasant lay."

But Spenser has to *charm* frequently in this sense. Thus, in his *Colin Clout's come home again*, of his shepherd's boy,

"*Charming his oaten pipe* unto his peers."

And again in the conclusion of his *October*,

"Here we our *slender pipes* may safely *charm*." DUNSTER.

Milton uses the expression "*charming pipe*," in his *Prose-Works* also. "The *charming pipe* of him who sounded and proclaimed liberty, &c." vol. i. p. 281. edit. 1698. TODD.

Ver. 363. ————— *and winds*

Of gentlest gales Arabian odours fann'd
From their soft wings,] Mr. Thyer, who supposes this circumstance introduced in compliance with the eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, has noticed the similarity of the following lines, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 156.

————— "now gentle gales,
 "Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
 "Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 "Those balmy spoils."

He might also have cited a beautiful line from our Author's early *Elegy*, *In adventum veris*;

"Cinnaméa Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer alá."

Milton in the same *Elegy* refers to the "Arabian odours;" and in the continuation of the passage from the *Paradise Lost*, exhibited by Mr. Thyer, he speaks of the winds blowing

"Sabæan odours from the *spicy shore*
 "Of *Araby the blest*." DUNSTER.

See likewise *Par. Lost*, B. viii. 515, &c. And compare *Apoll. Rhod. Argon.* i. 1142; and particularly the following passage from Drayton, *Muses Eliz.* 1630, p. 138.

"Where the *soft winds* did mutually embrace,
 "In the cool harbours Nature there had made;
 "Fanning their *sweet breath* gently in his face,
 "Through the calm cincture of his amorous shade."

And see also my notes on *Par. L.* B. v. 6. B. x. 92. TODD.

Such was the splendour ; and the Tempter now
His invitation earnestly renew'd.

What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat ?
These are not fruits forbidden ; no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure ; 370
'Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay 375
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord :
What doubt'st thou, Son of God ? Sit down and eat.

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied.
Said'st thou not that to all things I had right ?
And who withholds my power that right to use ? 380
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command ?
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderness,
And call swift flights of Angels ministrant 385

Ver. 366. *Such was the splendour ;*] Virgil describing the magnificent entertainment prepared by Dido for Æneas, (*Æn.* i. 637,) says,

" At domus interior regali splendida luxu

" Instruitur ;"

on which La Cerda observes, " Apte et signate *splendida*, nam *splendor* de convivii sapē ;" and he cites from Athenæus, B. iii. ΑΑΜΗΠΟΤΑΤΗΝ ἐμπροὺ παρασκευήν. DUNSTER.

Ver. 369. *These are not fruits forbidden ; no interdict*

Defends the touching of these viands pure ;

Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil.] This sarcastical allusion to the Fall of Man, and to that particular command by the transgression of which, being seduced by Satan, he fell, is finely in character of the speaker. Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, terms the forbidden fruit "the tree of *interdicted knowledge*." And, in the eighth Book, where Adam, relating to the Angel what he remembered since his own creation, particularly recites the "rigid *interdiction*," ver. 323—335. DUNSTER.

Ver. 374. *All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs.*] These "Spirits of air, and woods, and springs," remind us of Shakspeare's "Elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves," in the *Tempest*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 384. *Command a table &c.*] From *Psalms* lxxviii. 19. "They said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness ?" RICHARDSON.

Ver. 385. ——— *flights of Angels*] An expression likewise in Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. v. S. vi. "And *flights of Angels* sing thee to thy rest." NEWTON.

Compare St. *Matt.* xxvi. 53. DUNSTER.

Array'd in glory on my cup to attend :
 Why should'st thou then obtrude this diligence,
 In vain, where no acceptance it can find ?
 And with my hunger what hast thou to do ?
 Thy pompous delicacies I condemn, 390
 And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.

To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent.
 That I have also power to give, thou seest ;
 If of that power I bring thee voluntary
 What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd, 395
 And rather opportunely in this place
 Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
 Why should'st thou not accept it ? but I see
 What I can do or offer is suspect ;
 Of these things others quickly will dispose, 400
 Whose pains have earn'd the far-fet spoil. With that

Ver. 391. *And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.*] Not without a resemblance to Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 49.

—— “timeo Danaos et dona ferentes :”

and to a preceding part of the same speech of Laocoon ;

—— “O miseri, quæ tanta insania, cives ?

“Creditis avectos hostes, aut ulla putatis

“*Dona carere dolis Danaum ?*”

Dr. Newton observes, that “*thy gifts no gifts*” is from Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 675.

Ἐχθρῶν αἰῶρα ἑῶρα, κ' οὐκ ὀνήσιμα. DUNSTER.

Compare our author, in his *Apology for Smectymnus*, sect. xi. “Shall we receive our prayers at the bounty of *our more wicked enemies, whose GIFTS ARE NO GIFTS, but the instruments of our bane ?*” TODD.

Ver. 401. ——— *far-fet*] Dr. Newton collects several instances of Chaucer, Spenser, and Johnson, using *fet* ; and accompanies them with an observation “that *fet* is much softer than *fetch'd*,” upon which he grounds another remark that “our old writers had a better ear, and studied the beauties of sound more than the moderns.” I confess, to my ear *far-fetch'd* reads at least as musically as *far-fet*. But “*fet*” is one of those *old* words which Milton sometimes introduces purposely to deviate from the more modernised language of the day. Obvious and ordinary forms of speech, as Addison observes, in his *Critique on the Language of the Paradise Lost*, are so far debased by common use, that they became improper for a poet or an orator. “Old words,” he adds, “make a poem appear the more venerable, by giving it an air of antiquity.” *Fet* is frequently used for *fetched* in our version of the Scriptures. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— With that

Both table and provisions vanish'd quite

With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard :] See the note on *Comus*, ver. 659. TODD.

Both table and provision vanish'd quite
 With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard :
 Only the impórtune Tempter still remain'd,
 And with these words his temptation pursued. 405

By hunger, that each other creature tames,
 Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd ;
 Thy temperance, invincible besides,
 For no allurement yields to appetite ;
 And all thy heart is set on high designs, 410
 High actions : but wherewith to be achiev'd ?
 Great acts require great means of enterprise ;
 Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
 A carpenter thy father known, thyself
 Bred up in poverty and straits at home, 415
 Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit :
 Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
 To greatness ? whence authority deriv'st ?
 What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,
 Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude, 420

Ver. 403. *With sound &c.*] The *sound* of the wings and talons is much finer than if the harpies had been *seen*, because the imagination is left at work, and the surprise is greater than if they had been mentioned before.

T. WARTON.

As this infernally magical banquet vanishes, the attendant spirits (see before, ver. 236) who had appeared in the scene as "tall stripling youths, nymphs of Diana's train, or ladies of the Hesperides," resume their proper infernal shapes. Milton, we may observe, characterises the Furies as *hurpy-footed*, *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 596. DUNSTER.

Ver. 404. ——— impórtune] Spenser and our old poets write *impórtune*, thus accented ; *Faer. Qu.* i. xii. 16.

"An often blame the too *impórtune* fate." NEWTON.

Ver. 416. ——— *hunger-bit* :] This word occurs in *Job*, xviii. 12, as Mr. Dunster has remarked. It is also an old poetical compound. Thus, in a Sonnet by H. C. prefixed to *The Workes of the Rev. M. R. Greenham*, 4to. 2d edit. 1599.

"The thirstie soule, that fainteth in the way ;

"Or *hunger-bit* for heavenly foode doth long."

And, in *Arden of Feversham*, 4to. 1599. Sign. D. 3.

"The *hunger-bitten* wolffe." TODD.

Ver. 420. *Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude*,

Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost ?] The *dizzy multitude* is the *ventosa plebs* of the Roman poet, who speaks of *them*, as to be gained in the same manner. Hor. *Epist.* I. xix. 37.

"Non ego *ventosæ plebis* suffragia venor

"*Impensis cæcurnum.*"

Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?
 Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms :
 What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,
 And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,
 Thy throne, but gold that got him puissant friends?
 Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive, 426
 Get riches first, get wealth and treasure heap,
 Not difficult, if thou hearken to me :
 Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand ;
 They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain, 430
 While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want.
 To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.

See also Shakspeare, *Henry V.* A. iv. S. iii.

"Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost." DUNSTER.

Ver. 422. *Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms :*] Mammon, in the *Faery Queen*, attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences, ii. vii. 11.

"Vain-glorious Elf, said he, dost thou not weet,
 "That money can thy wants at will supply?
 "Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet,
 "It can purvey in twinkling of an eye:
 "And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
 "Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
 "Sometimes to him that low in dust doth lie?
 "And him that reign'd into his room thrust down:
 "And whom, I lust, do heap with glory and renown?" CALTON.

Ver. 423. *What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,*

And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,] This appears to be the fact from history. When Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he speaks of him as abounding with great riches. Φίλος ἔϊ τις Ἰσκαριὸς Ἰδουμαῖος, Ἀντίπατρος λεγόμενος, πολλῶν μὲν ἐμπορῶν χρημάτων, κ.τ.λ. *Antiq.* lib. xiv. cap. ii. And his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favour of Mark Antony, partly for the sake of the money which he promised to give him; τὸ ἔϊ καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ὧν αὐτῷ Ἡρώδης ἐπέσχετο ἰσώσειν εἰ γένοιτο βασιλεὺς. *Ibid.* cap. xxvi. NEWTON.

Ver. 427. *Get riches first,*] *Hor. Epist.* I. i. 53.

—— "quaerenda pecunia primum est." NEWTON.

Ver. 429. *Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand ;*

They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,] This temptation we owe to our author's invention, as Mr. Thyer observes, who adds, that "it is very happily contrived, as it gradually leads the reader on to the stronger ones in the following books." It affords also a fine opportunity of concluding this book with some reflexions, the beauty of which Mr. Thyer has justly noted, on the insufficiency of riches and power to the happiness of mankind. The language here reminds us of Spenser, who puts a similar speech in the mouth of Mammon, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vii. 8.
DUNSTER.

Ver. 432. *To whom thus Jesus patiently replied,*] When our Saviour, a

Yet wealth, without these three, is impotent
 To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.
 Witness those ancient empires of the earth, 435
 In highth of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd :
 But men endued with these have oft attain'd
 In lowest poverty to highest deeds ;
 Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,
 Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat 440
 So many ages, and shall yet regain
 That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
 Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world
 To me is not unknown what hath been done
 Worthy of memorial,) canst thou not remember 445
 Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?

little before, refused to partake of the banquet, to which Satan had invited him, the line ran thus, ver. 378.

“ To whom thus Jesus *temperately* replied,”

but now when Satan has reproached him with his poverty and low circumstances, the word is fitly altered, and the verse runs thus,

“ To whom thus Jesus *patiently* replied.” NEWTON.

Ver. 439. *Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad,*] Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture, and of his own nation, as being the best known to him; but it is with great art that the poet also supposes him not to be unacquainted with Heathen history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself, “ *O my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house,*” Judges, vi. 15. And Jephtha “ *was the son of an harlot,*” and his brethren “ *thrust him out, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman.*” Judges, xi. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheep-hook to a sceptre is very well known. NEWTON.

David is also called the “shepherd lad,” in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, 1633. c. ix. st. 17.

“ Upon his shield was drawn that *shepherd lad*,

“ Who with a sling threw down faint Israel's fears. TODD.

Ver. 446. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?*] *Quintius Cincinnatus* was twice invited from following the plough, to be consul and dictator of Rome; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with publick lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negotiating a peace with the Romans: and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the publick expence, and his daughters' fortunes were paid out of the treasury. *Curius Dentatus* would not accept of the lands which the senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his

For I esteem those names of men so poor,
 Who could do mighty things, and could contemn
 Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings.
 And what in me seems wanting, but that I 450
 May also in this poverty as soon
 Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
 Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,

own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command those who were so. And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadours to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon: but was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation: and, as Mr. Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these (and some other like) examples of ancient virtue; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them: but the greatest honour that poetry ever did them is here, by the praise of the Son of God. NEWTON.

Ver. 447. *For I esteem those names of men so poor,
 Who could do mighty things, &c.*] The author had here plainly Claudian in his mind. *De IV. Cons. Honor.* 412.

"Discitur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit:
 "Pauper erat Curius, cum reges vinceret armis;
 "Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhi cum sperneret aurum;
 "Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator aratra; &c."

And again, *In Rufinum*, i. 200.

"Semper inops, quicumque cupit. Contentus honesto
 "Fabricius parvo spernebat munera regum,
 "Sudabátque gravi Consul Serranus aratro,
 "Et casa pugnaces Curios angusta tegebat.
 "Hæc mihi paupertas opulentior."

It is probable that he remembered here some of his beloved republicans,

—— "those names of men so poor
 "Who could do mighty things;"

and it is possible that he might also think of himself, who

—— "could contemn
 "Riches though offer'd from the hand of kings;"

if that story be true of his having been offered to be Latin secretary to Charles the Second, and of his refusing it. NEWTON.

With the citation of "Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings," compare Plutarch, *Life of Cicero*: *Καὶ ὧρα μὲν οὐκ ἴστων βασιλεῶν ΔΙΔΟΝΤΩΝ ἔλαβε.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 453. *Extol not riches then, &c.*] Milton concludes this book, and our Saviour's reply to Satan, with a series of thoughts as noble and just, and as worthy of the speaker, as can possibly be imagined. I think one may venture to affirm, that, as the *Paradise Regained* is a poem entirely moral and religious, the excellency of which does not consist so much in bold figures and strong images, as in deep and virtuous sentiments expressed

The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare ; more apt
 To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge, 455
 Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.
 What if with like aversion I reject
 Riches and realms ? yet not, for that a crown,
 Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns, 459
 Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,
 To him who wears the regal diadem,
 When on his shoulders each man's burden lies ;
 For therein stands the office of a king,
 His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
 That for the publick all this weight he bears. 465

with a becoming gravity, and a certain decent majesty, this is as true an instance of the sublime, as the battles of the Angels in the *Paradise Lost*.

THYER.

Ver. 453. ————— the toil of fools,

*The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare ; more apt
 To slacken Virtue, and abate her edge,
 Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.]*

Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 297.

"Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores
 "Intulit, et turpi fregerunt sæcula luxu
 "Divitiæ molles."

And see Spenser, *Faery Queen*, ii. vii. 12, 13. DUNSTER.

Ver. 463. *For therein stands the office of a king,*

His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,

That for the publick all this weight he bears.] Milton, in the

height of his political ardour, declared that he was not actuated "by hatred to kings, but only to tyrants." Neither is there any occasion to question the truth of this assertion ; but such was his apprehension of *monarchical* tyranny, that the current of his prejudices certainly ran very strongly in favour of a republican government. Even in one of his latest political publications, *The ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth*, he professes that "though there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, yet this rarely happens in a monarchy not elective ;" and, on this ground, he strongly remonstrates against the *risk* of admitting *Kingship*. The contest however was now completely over ; and our author, having seen the fallacy not only of his hopes, but also of his confidence in those persons, of whose consummate hypocrisy his ardent integrity had been the dupe, seems, in thus sketching out the laborious duties of a good and patriotick prince, to be somewhat more reconciled to kingly government. About this time also, seemingly under the same impression, he had proceeded in his history, and composed the fifth and sixth Books, in which we find no marks of any splenetick dislike to kings : on the contrary, many of the characters of our early monarchs are drawn not merely with an impartial hand, but often with a favourable one. The character of Alfred in particular is given with the most affectionate admiration, and is not without its resemblance to the compressed description of a good king in this place. See his *Hist. of Eng.* B. v. DUNSTER.

Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules
 Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king ;
 Which every wise and virtuous man attains ;
 And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
 Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes, 470
 Subject himself to anarchy within,
 Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.
 But to guide nations in the way of truth
 By saving doctrine, and from error lead
 To know, and knowing worship God aright, 475
 Is yet more kingly ; this attracts the soul,
 Governs the inner man, the nobler part ;
 That other o'er the body only reigns,
 And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,

Ver. 466. *Yet he, who reigns within himself, &c.*] Such sentiments are inculcated not only by the philosophers, but also by the poets ; as Hor. *Od.* II. 2.

“ *Latius regnes avidum domando
 Spiritum, &c.*”

and see *Sat.* II. vii. 83. NEWTON.

“ The *Paradise Regained*,” Mr. Hayley very justly observes, “ is a poem that particularly deserves to be recommended to ardent and ingenious youth, as it is admirably calculated to inspire *that spirit of self-command, which is, as Milton esteemed it, the truest heroism, and the triumph of Christianity.*” Life of Milton, p. 126. DUNSTER.

Ver. 470. *Cities of men,*] As in *P. L.* B. xi. 640. “ *Cities of men with lofty gates, &c.*” Hom. *Il.* σ. 490. *Πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.* TODD.

Ver. 471. *Subject himself to anarchy within,
 Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.*] Palpably alluding to Charles the Second, and his dissolute manners. Compare *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 86, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 473. *But to guide nations in the way of truth
 By saving doctrine, and from error lead
 To know, and knowing worship God aright,
 Is yet more kingly :*] In this speech concerning riches and realms, our poet has culled all the choicest, finest flowers out of the heathen poets and philosophers who have written upon these subjects. It is not so much their words, as their substance sublimed and improved. But here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher, as the life and character of our Blessed Saviour. NEWTON.

Ver. 478. *That other o'er the body only reigns,
 And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,
 So reigning, can be no sincere delight.*] This is perfectly consonant to our Lord's early sentiments, as the poet describes him relating them in the first Book of this Poem, ver. 221, &c. DUNSTER.

So reigning, can be no sincere delight.

480

Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought

Ver. 481. *Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down*

Far more magnanimous, than to assume.] So Hephæstion to those who transferred the kingdom of Sidon from themselves to another. (Quint. Curt. IV. 1.) "Vos quidem macti virtute, inquit, estote, qui primi intellexistis, quanto majus esset, regnum fastidire quam accipere, &c." Dioclesian, Charles V. and others, who have resigned the crown, were perhaps in our author's thought upon this occasion. For, as Seneca says, *Thyest*, III. 529.

"Habere regnum, casus est : virtus, dare." NEWTON.

Possibly Milton had here in his mind the famous Christina queen of Sweden, who, after having reigned twenty-one years, resigned her crown to her cousin Charles Gustavus, when she was still a young woman, being only thirty years old. Our author had before paid her considerable compliments. The verses under Cromwell's picture, sent to Christina, have been generally supposed to be his : though Mr. Warton inclines to think they were written by Andrew Marvel, and adds that he suspects "Milton's habit of facility in elegiack Latinity had long ago ceased." What ground he had for this suspicion he does not specify, nor is it easy to conjecture. I should not willingly persuade myself that our author could soon lose any faculty which he had acquired. Besides, these verses must have been written before the year 1654, when Christina abdicated ; and only nine years before that, when he published a collection of his Latin and English poems in 1645, he had added to his *seventh Elegy* ten lines which sufficiently show that he then perfectly retained his Elegiack Latinity ; and why it should be supposed entirely to cease in eight or nine years more I cannot imagine. As Marvel was not his associate in the secretaryship till the year 1657, Milton has officially the best claim to them. It was also an employment which, we may well suppose, he was fond of, as at this time he certainly thought highly of Christina, and was particularly flattered with the idea that, on reading his *Defensio Populi*, she withdrew all her protection from his antagonist Salmasius, who was then resident at her court, and whom, it was then said, she dismissed with contempt, as a parasite and an advocate of tyranny. Accordingly, in his *Defensio secunda*, Milton honours her with a most splendid panegyrick ; and in appealing to her that he had no determined prejudices against kings, nor any wish wantonly to attack their rights, he particularly congratulates himself upon having a witness of his integrity *tam vere regiam*. The expression is sufficiently obvious and hackneyed in the flattery of royalty, but it is well worth observing, when it comes from one who so seldom sings in that strain. It may also be noticed here, as we trace a resemblance of it in some of the preceding lines, where our author having said that in the laborious and disinterested discharge of magistracy consists the real and proper "office of a king," proceeds to ascribe a superiour degree of royalty, or the most distinguished eminence, to him who is duly practised in the habit of self-command ;

"Yet he who reigns within himself and rules

"Passions, desires, and fears, is *more a king* ;"

and still more to him who conscientiously labours for the well-doing and well-being of mankind at large, by the zealous propagation of truth and pure unadulterated religion ;—

Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
 Far more magnanimous, than to assume.
 Riches are needless then, both for themselves,
 And for thy reason why they should be sought, 485
 To gain a scepter, ofttest better miss'd.

"But to guide nations in the way of truth
 "By saving doctrine, and from error lead
 "To know, and knowing worship God aright,
 "Is yet *more kingly*."

Milton it appears however was rather unfortunate in his selection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time. Mr. Warton, in his note on the Verses to Christina, collects many curious anecdotes of her improprieties and absurdities: and Harte, the English historian of Gustavus Adolphus, terms her "an unaccountable woman: reading much, yet not extremely learned; a collector and critick in the fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and forming conclusions without taste; affecting pomp, and rendering herself a beggar; fond to receive servile dependance, yet divesting herself of the means; paying court to the most serious Christians, and making profession of little less than atheism." But our author saw only the bright side of her character, and considered her as a learned, pious, patriotick, disinterested princess. DUNSTER.

See further information, drawn from indisputable authority, relating to the extraordinary Christina, in my note on the Poet's *Verses to her*.

TODD.

Ver. 482. —————and to lay down

Far more magnanimous, than to assume.] We may rather trace Milton here to Macrobius, than to the passage cited in a preceding note, from Q. Curtius by Dr. Newton. "Quid? quod duas virtutes, quæ inter nobiles quoque unice claræ sunt, in uno video fuisse mancipio, imperium regendi peritiam et *imperium condemnendi magnanimitatem*. Anaxilaus enim Messenius, qui Messanam in Sicilia condidit, fuit Rheginorum tyrannus. Is, cum parvos relinqueret liberos, Micitho servo suo commendasse contentus est. Is tutelam sanete gessit; imperiumque tam clementer obtinuit, ut Rhegini a servo regi non dedignarentur. Perductus deinde in ætatem pueris et bona et imperium tradidit. Ipse parvo viatico sumpto profectus est; et Olympia cum summa tranquillitate consenuit." *Saturnal.* i. 11. DUNSTER.

THE
THIRD BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, in a speech of much flattering commendation, endeavours to awaken in Jesus a passion for glory, by particularising various instances of conquests achieved, and great actions performed, by persons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by showing the vanity of worldly fame, and the improper means by which it is generally attained ; and contrasts with it the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wisdom, as exemplified in the character of Job. Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it from all his creatures. Jesus detects the fallacy of this argument, by showing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator of all things, sinful man can have no right whatever to it. — Satan then urges our Lord respecting his claim to the throne of David : he tells him that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got possession of without much personal exertion on his part, and presses him to lose no time in beginning to reign. Jesus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things ; and, after intimating somewhat respecting his own previous sufferings, asks Satan, why he should be so solicitous for the exaltation of one, whose rising was destined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own desperate state, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear ; and that, as his own punishment was equally doomed, he is not interested in preventing the reign of one, from whose apparent benevolence he might rather hope for some interference in his favour. — Satan still pursues his former incitements ; and supposing that the seeming reluctance of Jesus to be thus advanced might arise from his being unacquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the summit of a high mountain, and from thence shows him most of the kingdoms of Asia, particularly pointing out to his notice some extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to resist the incursions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord, that he showed him this purposely that he might see how necessary military exertions are to retain the possession of kingdoms, as well as to subdue them at first ; and advises him to consider how impossible it was to maintain Judea against two such powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how necessary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the same time he recommends, and engages to secure to him, that of the Parthians ; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from any thing that Rome or Cæsar might attempt against it, and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and especially to accomplish, what was particularly necessary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and restoration of the ten tribes, still in a state of captivity. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts and the weakness of the arm of flesh, says, that when the time comes for ascending his allotted throne he shall not be slack : he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Israelites, to whom he had always showed himself an enemy, and declares their servitude to be the consequence of their idolatry ; but adds, that at a future time it may perhaps please God to recall them, and restore them to their liberty and native land.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK III.

So spake the Son of God ; and Satan stood
A while, as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted, and convinc'd
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift ;
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles, 5
With soothing words renew'd, him thus accosts.

I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do ;
Thy actions to thy words accord ; thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due ; thy heart 10
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.
Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems

Ver. 11. — [*of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.*] Milton, no doubt by the word *shape*, intended to express the meaning of the Greek *ἰδέα*, but in my opinion it does not at all come up to it, and seems rather harsh and inelegant. There are words in all languages which cannot well be translated without losing much of their beauty, and even some of their meaning : of this sort I take the word *idea* to be. Tully renders it by the word *species* with as little success as Milton has done here by his English *shape*. THYER.

I should rather think it expressed from the *perfecta forma honestatis*, and the *forma ipsa honesti* of Cicero. *De Fin.* ii. 15. "Habes undique expletam et *perfectam*, Torquate, *formam honestatis*, &c." *De Off.* i. 5. "*Formam* quidem *ipsam* Marce fili, et tanquam faciem *honesti* vides ; quæ, si oculis cerneretur, &c." And the more, because he renders *forma* by *shape* in the *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 848.

"Virtue in her *shape* how lovely." NEWTON.

Milton was also fond of this phrase. See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 848. TODD.

On Aaron's breast ; or tongue of seers old 15
 Infallible : Or wert thou sought to deeds
 That might require the array of war, thy skill
 Of conduct would be such, that all the world
 Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
 In battle, though against thy few in arms. 20
 These Godlike virtues wherefore dost thou hide,
 Affecting private life, or more obscure
 In savage wilderness ? Wherefore deprive
 All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
 The fame and glory ; glory, the reward 25
 That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
 Of most erected spirits, most temper'd pure

Ver. 15. ——— or tongue of seers old

Infallible :] The poet by mentioning this after *Urim* and *Thummim* seems to allude to the opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first temple by the *prophets*. See Prideaux's *Connect.* Part. i. Book iii. NEWTON.

Ver. 25. ——— glory, the reward] Our Saviour having withstood the allurements of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus connecting these two temptations from Spenser, who in his second Book of the *Faery Queen*, representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches, or *Mammon's delce* as he terms it, and immediately after to the palace of glory, which he describes, in his allegorical manner, under the figure of a beautiful woman called *Philotimé*. TYLER.

Ver. 26. ——— the flame

Of most erected spirits,] Silius Ital. vi. 332.

————— "Fax mentis honestæ

"Gloria." DUNSTER.

Ver. 27. *Of most erected spirits,*] The Author here remembered Cicero, *Pro Archia*. "Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur." *De Off.* i. 8. "In maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plerumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentia, gloriæ cupiditates." NEWTON.

Erected spirits is a classical phrase. "Magno animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbit inimicis, nec fortunæ quidem." Cicero, *Pro Rege Deiotaro*, 13. And Seneca, *Epist.* ix. "Ad hoc enim multis illi rebus opus est, ad illud tantum animo sano, et erecto, et despiciente fortunam."

It occurs likewise in *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 679.

"Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell

"From Heaven." DUNSTER.

Compare Sidney's *Arcadia*, ed. 1655, p. 5. "Having found in him a minde of most excellent composition, a piercing wit quite void of ostentation, high erected thoughts seated in a heart of courtesie, &c." And

Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,
 All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
 And dignities and powers, all but the highest? 30
 Thy years are ripe and over-ripe; the son
 Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
 Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
 At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down
 The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd 35
 The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode.
 Yet years, and to ripe years judgement mature,

compare also the *Lycidas* of our author, with the passage before us, ver. 70, &c. as noted by Mr. Warton. TODD.

Ver. 28. ——— *who all pleasure else despise,
 All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,*] Thus Spenser
 in the conclusion of his *Hymn of Heavenly Love* :

“Thenceforth all world’s desires will in thee die;

“And all earth’s glory on which men do gaze,

“*Seem dirt and dross* in thy pure-sighted eye.”

And Milton again, in his *Verses on Time* :

“Which is no more than what is false and vain,

“And merely mortal *dross*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 31. *Thy years &c.*] Our Saviour’s Temptation was soon after his Baptism; and he was baptized when he was *about thirty years of age*, Luke, iii. 23. Alexander was but twenty years old, when he began to reign; and in a few years he overturned the Persian Empire, which was founded by Cyrus: Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age. Scipio Africanus was no more than twenty-four years old, when he was sent Pro-consul into Spain. He was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine, when, being chosen Consul before the usual time, he transferred the war into Africa. NEWTON.

Ver. 34. *At his dispose;*] Shakspeare writes *dispose* for *disposal*, K. John, A. i. S. iii. “Needs must you lay your heart at his *dispose*.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 35. ——— *young Pompey quell’d
 The Pontick king, and in triumph had rode.*] In this instance our author is not so exact as in the rest; for when Pompey was sent to command the war in Asia against Mithridates king of Pontus, he was above forty, but had signalized himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honour of two triumphs before that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the same year; and the Manilian law, which gave the command in Asia to Pompey, was proposed when Cicero was in the forty-first year of his age. But no wonder that Milton was mistaken in point of time, when several of the Ancients were. Plutarch, speaking of Pompey’s three memorable triumphs over the three parts of the world, his first over Africa, his second over Europe, and this last over Asia, says, that as for his age, those who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the Great, would not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at this time he was near forty. See Plut. *vit. Pompeii*. NEWTON.

Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
 Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
 The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd 40
 With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long
 Inglorious : But thou yet art not too late.

To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied.
 Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
 For empire's sake, nor empire to affect 45
 For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
 For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
 The people's praise, if always praise unmix'd?
 And what the people but a herd confus'd,

Ver. 41. ——— wept that he had liv'd so long

Inglorious :] Alluding to a story related of Julius Caesar, that, one day reading the History of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears, and his friends wondering at the reason of it, Do you not think, said he, I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable? See Plutarch's *Life of Caesar*. Others say, that it was at the sight of an image of Alexander the Great. See Suetonii *Jul. Cæs.* Cap. 7. NEWTON.

"Inglorious" here is Virgil's *inglorius*, i. e. insensible to the charms of glory, *Georg.* ii. 485.

"Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus annes ;

"Flumina anem sylvasque *inglorius*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 44. *Thou neither dost persuade me &c.*] How admirably does Milton in this speech expose the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character, and found true glory upon its only basis, the approbation of the God of truth! There is a remarkable dignity of sentiment runs quite through it, and I think it will be no extravagance to assert, that he has comprised in this short compass the substance and quintessence of a subject which has exercised the pens of the greatest moralists in all ages.

THYER.

Ver. 48. *The people's praise, &c.*] We may compare with this and some of the following lines the 31st stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death* :

"Frail multitude ! whose giddy law is list,
 "And best applause is windy flattering,
 "Most like the breath of which it doth consist,
 "No sooner blown, but as soon vanishing,
 "As much desir'd, as little profiting,
 "That makes the men that have it oft as light
 "As those that give it." DUNSTER.

Ver. 49. *And what the people but a herd confus'd,*

A miscellaneous rabble who extol

Things vulgar, &c.] These lines are certainly no proof of a democratick disposition in our author. DUNSTER.

No. And I think it not improbable that Burke, who loved the poetry of Milton, might have borrowed from this passage the hint of his well

They praise, and they admire, they know not what,
 And know not whom, but as one leads the other ;
 And what delight to be by such extoll'd,
 To live upon their tongues, and be their talk, 55
 Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise ?
 His lot who dares be singularly good.
 The intelligent among them and the wise
 Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.
 This is true glory and renown, when God 60

known expression ; against which less clamour would have been raised, if the *herd confus'd* and the *miscellaneous rabble* of a professed republican had been, as they ought to have been, remembered. TODD.

Ver. 56. *Of whom to be disprais'd*] Tickell and Fenton corruptly read, after Tonson's editions of 1707 and 1711, "*Of whom to be despis'd*." The genuine reading is restored in Tonson's edit. of 1747. The apparent play upon words may be countenanced, as Mr. Dunster also observes, by Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, A. v. S. last.

" And not *dispraising* whom we *prais'd*, began
 " His mistress' picture." TODD.

Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man,] " Ecce spectaculum dignum, ad quod respiciat intentus operi suo Deus ! Ecce par Deo dignum, vir fortis cum mala fortuna compositus, utique si et provocavit ! Non video, inquam, quid habet in terris Jupiter pulchrius, si convertere animum velit, quam ut spectet Catonem, jam partibus non semel fractis stantem, nihilominus inter ruinas publicas rectum." Seneca, *De Providentia*, 2. This celebrated passage of Seneca the amiably affectionate biographer of Milton applies to the principles and the afflictions of our author. Hayley, *Life of Milton*, p. 225. DUNSTER.

Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
 The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
 To all his Angels, who with true applause
 Recount his praises : thus he did to Job,
 When, to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth,
 As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember, 66
 He ask'd thee, " Hast thou seen my servant Job ?"
 Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known ;
 Where glory is false glory, attributed
 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame. 70
 They err, who count it glorious to subdue
 By conquest far and wide, to over-run
 Large countries, and in field great battles win,

Ver. 62. ——— and divulges] *Publishes, makes known.* So, in *Samson Agon.* v. 1248, as Mr. Dunster observes :

" Though Fame *divulge* him father of five sons."

And thus, in Sandys's *Paraphrase upon Job* :

" Now was his ruine by the breath of Fame

" *Divulg'd* through all the East."

Milton, I observe, often uses the word in this sense. " No man could be found fitter than bishop Latimer to *divulge* in his sermon the forged accusations &c." *Of Reform.* B. i. Again, "*Divulging* needless tracts," *Of Prel. Episcopacy.* Again, " Had any one written and *divulged* erroneous things, &c." *Arcopagica.* TOWN.

Ver. 69. *Where glory is false glory, attributed*

To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.] True glory, Tully says, is the praise of good men, the echo of virtue : but that ape of glory, the random injudicious applause of the multitude, is often bestowed upon the worst of actions. " Est enim gloria solida quadam res et expressa, non adumbrata : ea est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox benè judicantium de eccellente virtute : ea virtuti resonat tanquam imago : — illa autem, quæ se ejus imitatricem esse vult, temeraria atque inconsiderata, et plerumque peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popularis, simulatione honestatis formam ejus pulchritudinemque corrumpit. Qua cæcitate homines, cum quadam etiam præclara cuperent, eaque nescirent, nec ubi nec qualia essent, funditus alii everterunt suas civitates, alii ipsi occiderunt." *Tusc. Disp.* iii. 2. When Tully wrote his Tusculan Disputations, Julius Cæsar had overturned the constitution of his country, and was then in the height of his power ; and Pompey had lost his life in the same pursuit of glory. CALTON.

Ver. 71. *They err, who count it glorious to subdue*

By conquest far and wide, &c.] Here might be an allusion intended to LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH, who at this time began to disturb Europe, and whose vanity and ambition were gratified by titles, such as are here mentioned, from his numerous parasites. We may here compare *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 691, &c. And again, ver. 789, &c. of the same Book.

DUNSTER.

Great cities by assault : What do these worthies,
 But rob, and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave 75
 Peaceable nations, neighbouring, or remote,
 Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
 Than those their conquerours, who leave behind
 Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,
 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy ; 80
 Then swell with pride, and must be titled gods,
 Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,
 Worshipt with temple, priest, and sacrifice ?
 One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;
 Till conquerour Death discover them scarce men, 85
 Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,

Ver. 74. ———— *what do these worthies,*
But rob and spoil, &c. &c.] Thus Drummond, in his *Shadow*
of the Judgment ;

“ All live on earth by *spoil* :

“ Who most can ravage, *rob*, ransack, blaspheme,

“ Is held most virtuous, hath a *worthy's* name.”

Milton's description of the ravages of conquerors may have been copied from some of the accounts of the barbarous nations that invaded Rome. Ovid describes the Getae thus *spoiling, robbing, slaying, enslaving, and burning*, Trist. III. *El.* x. 55, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 78. ———— *who leave behind*

Nothing but ruin] Thus, *Joel*, ii. 3. “ The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and *behind them a desolate wilderness.*” And Gray, in his *Burd*, has a similar description finely expressed, where he speaks of the conquests of Edward the Black Prince in France.

————— “ What terrors round him wait !

“ Amazement in his van, with Flight combin'd,

“ And Sorrow's faded form, and Solitude behind.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 81. ———— *and must be titled gods,*

Great benefactors of mankind, deliverers,] The second Antiochus king of Syria was called Antiochus Θεός, or *the god* : and the learned author De Epoch. Syro. Macedonum, p. 109, speaks of a coin of Epiphanes inscribed Θεοῦ Ἐπιφανέως. The Athenians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, the titles of Εὐεργέται, *Benefactors*, and Σωτῆρες, *Deliverers*. CALTON.

Ver. 84. *One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other ;*] Alexander is particularly intended by the one, and Romulus by the other, who, though better than Alexander, founded his empire in the blood of his brother, and for his overgrown tyranny was at last destroyed by his own senate.

NEWTON.

Ver. 86. *Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,*] See *Comus*, ver. 77. “ To roll with pleasure in a *sensual sty*,” and the notes there. *To roll in vice* is a mode of expression frequently used by Cicero, Mr. Dunster observes, as “ cum omnes in omni genere et scelerum et flagitiorum voluntur.” Epist. ad Familiar. ix. 3. And “ non denique in omni dedecore

Violent or shameful death their due reward.
 But if there be in glory aught of good,
 It may by means far different be attain'd,
 Without ambition, war, or violence ; 90
 By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
 By patience, temperance : I mention still
 Him, whom thy wrongs, with saintly patience borne,
 Made famous in a land and times obscure ;
 Who names not now with honour patient Job ? 95
 Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable ?)
 By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing,
 For truth's sake suffering death, unjust, lives now
 Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.
 Yet if for fame and glory aught be done, 100
 Aught suffer'd ; if young African for fame
 His wasted country freed from Punick rage ;

volutatus es ?" Ad Hierem. lv. 19. But Milton's expression bears a stronger resemblance to the following passage in G. Wither's *Spectrum*, or *Considering-Glass*, 1660, p. 69.

————— " without controul
 " They might in *brutish lusts* at pleasure *roul*."

Compare also *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 516.

————— " themselves they *vilified*
 " To serve ungovern'd appetite ; and took
 " His image whom they serv'd, a *brutish vice*, &c." TODD.

Ver. 92. *By patience, temperance :*] In allusion to St. Peter's combination, 2 *Pet.* i. 6. " Add to knowledge temperance, and to *temperance patience*." TODD.

Ver. 96. *Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable ?)*
By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing,
For truth's sake suffering death, unjust, lives now
Equal in fame to proudest conquerours.] Milton here does not scruple, with Erasmus, to place Socrates in the foremost rank of Saints ; an opinion more amiable at least, and agreeable to that spirit of love which breathes in the Gospel, than the severe orthodoxy of those rigid textuaries, who are unwilling to allow salvation to the moral virtues of the Heathen. THYER.

Milton's fine and just encomium may make ample amends to the old Athenian for the illiberal abuse, which Boileau has thought fit to throw on him in his twelfth Satire, ver. 150. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 101. ————— *if young African for fame*
His wasted country freed from Punick rage ;] This shows plainly that he had spoken before of the elder Scipio Africanus ; for he only can be said with propriety to have *freed his wasted country from Punick rage*, by transferring the war into Spain and Africa, after the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the second Punick war. NEWTON.

The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,
 And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
 Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek, 105
 Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his
 Who sent me; and thereby witness whence I am.

To whom the Tempter murmuring thus replied.
 Think not so slight of glory; therein least
 Resembling thy Great Father: He seeks glory, 110
 And for his glory all things made, all things
 Orders and governs; not content in Heaven
 By all his Angels glorified, requires
 Glory from men, from all men, good or bad,
 Wise or unwise, no difference, no exception; 115
 Above all sacrifice or hallow'd gift,
 Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
 Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,
 Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd;
 From us, his foes pronounc'd, glory he exacts. 120

To whom our Saviour fervently replied.
 And reason; since his Word all things produc'd,
 Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
 But to show forth his goodness, and impart
 His good communicable to every soul 125
 Freely; of whom what could he less expect
 Than glory and benediction, that is, thanks,
 The slightest, easiest, readiest recompence

Ver. 109. *Think not slight of glory;*] There is nothing throughout the whole poem more expressive of the true character of the Tempter than this reply. There is in it all the real falsehood of *the father of lies*, and the glozing subtlety of an insidious deceiver. The argument is false and unsound, and yet it is veiled over with a certain plausible air of truth. The poet has also, by introducing this, furnished himself with an opportunity of explaining that great question in divinity, why God created the world, and what is meant by that glory which he expects from his creatures. This may be no improper place to observe to the reader the author's great art in weaving into the body of so short a work so many grand points of the Christian theology and morality. TYLER.

Ver. 118. *Promiscuous from all nations,*] The poet puts here into the mouth of the Devil the absurd notions of the apologists for Paganism. See Themistius, *Orat. xii. de Relig. Valent. Imp.* p. 160. WARBURTON.

Ver. 128. *The slightest, easiest, readiest recompence*] The same sentiment occurs in the *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 46.

From them who could return him nothing else,
 And, not returning that, would likeliest render 130
 Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy ?
 Hard recompence, unsuitable return
 For so much good, so much beneficence !
 But why should man seek glory, who of his own
 Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs, 135
 But condemnation, ignominy, and shame ?
 Who, for so many benefits receiv'd,
 Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,
 And so of all true good himself despoil'd ;
 Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take 140
 That which to God alone of right belongs :
 Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
 That who advance his glory, not their own,
 Them he himself to glory will advance.
 So spake the Son of God ; and here again 145
 Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
 With guilt of his own sin ; for he himself,
 Insatiable of glory, had lost all ;
 Yet of another plea bethought him soon.

" What could be less than to afford him praise,
 " The easiest recompence, and pay him thanks ?
 " How due ! " NEWTON.

Ver. 130. *And, not returning that.*] Here again Tickell and Fenton follow the corrupt reading of Tonson's edit. of 1707 and 1711, " And not returning *what*," which, as Dr. Newton observes, spoils the sense ; and which he and Mr. Thyer corrected in their copies before they had seen the first edition. But the genuine reading had been before restored in Tonson's edit. of 1747, 12mo. TODD.

Ver. 138. ——— *recreant*] See Spenser, *Faerie Queen*, ii. vi. 28. " Thou *recreant* knight," to which Mr. Dunster refers ; where Mr. Warton has observed that "*recreant knight*" is a term of romance ; and cites the following passage from the *Morte d'Arthur*. " Then said the knight to the king, thou art in my daunger whether me lyst to save thee or to sley thee ; and, but thou yield thee as overcome and *recreant*, thou shalt dye. As for death, said king Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh ; but as to yield me to thee as *recreant*, &c." The phrase means not only one who yields himself to his enemy in single combat, but a coward and a traitor. See Du Cange, in *Voc. Recredentia* and *Recreditus*. TODD.

Ver. 138. ——— *ingrate and false,*] Referring perhaps to his *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 97.

——— " *Ingrate*, he had of me
 " All he could have." TODD.

Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem ; 150
 Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.
 But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
 To sit upon thy father David's throne,
 By mother's side thy father ; though thy right
 Be now in powerful hands, that will not part 155
 Easily from possession won with arms :
 Judæa now and all the Promis'd Land,
 Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,
 Obeys Tiberius ; nor is always rul'd
 With temperate sway ; oft have they violated 160
 The temple, oft the law, with foul affronts,
 Abominations rather, as did once
 Antiochus : And think'st thou to regain
 Thy right, by sitting still, or thus retiring ?
 So did not Maccabeus : he indeed 165

Ver. 151. *Worth or not worth the seeking,*] In all the editions which I have seen, except the first, it is printed "Worth or not worth *their* seeking ;" but, not knowing to whom *their* could refer, I imagined it should be "Worth or not worth *thy* seeking ;" but the first edition exhibits this reading, "Worth or not worth *the* seeking," as Mr. Sympson proposed to read by conjecture. NEWTON.

This genuine reading is restored in Tonson's edition of 1747, in 12mo. The correctness of this edition makes it very valuable. TODD.

Ver. 158. *Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,*] Judæa was reduced to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quirinius, or Cyrenius, then governor of Syria ; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was appointed to govern it, under the title of Procurator. NEWTON.

Ver. 159. ——— *nor is always rul'd*
With temperate sway ;] The Roman government indeed was not always the most temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judæa, and, it appears from history, was a most corrupt and flagitious governour. See particularly Philo, *de Legatione ad Caium*.

And Josephus speaks of the murders committed on the Jews by Pilate, *Antiq. Jud. L. xviii. C. v.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 160. ——— *oft have they violated*
The temple, &c.] Pompey, with several of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, except the high-priest alone, once in a year, on the great day of expiation. Antiochus Epiphanes had before been guilty of a similar profanation. See 2 *Maccab. ch. v.* NEWTON.

Ver. 165. *So did not Maccabeus : &c.*] The Tempter had noticed the profanation of the temple by the Romans, as well as that by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria ; and now he would infer, that Jesus was to

Retir'd into the desert, but with arms ;
 And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,
 That by strong hand his family obtain'd,
 Though priests, the crown, and David's throne usurp'd,
 With Modin and her suburbs once content. 170
 If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
 And duty ; zeal and duty are not slow,
 But on occasion's forelock watchful wait :
 They themselves rather are occasion best ;
 Zeal of thy father's house, duty to free 175
 Thy country from her Heathen servitude.
 So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify
 The Prophets old, who sung thy endless reign ;
 The happier reign, the sooner it begins :
 Reign then ; what canst thou better do the while ? 180
 To whom our Saviour answer thus return'd.
 All things are best fulfill'd in their due time ;
 And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.

blame for not vindicating his country against the one, as *Judas Maccabeus* had done against the other. He fled indeed into the wilderness from the persecutions of Antiochus, but there he took up arms against him, and obtained so many victories over his forces, that he recovered the city and sanctuary out of their hands, and his family was in his brother Jonathan advanced to the high priesthood, and in his brother Simeon to the principality, and so they continued for several descents sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation till the time of Herod the Great : though their father Mattathias, (the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asmoneus, from whom the family had the name of Asmoneans,) was no more than a priest of the course of Joarib, and dwelt at Modin, which is famous for nothing so much as being the country of the Maccabees. See 1 *Maccab.* Josephus, Prideaux, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 171. *If kingdom move thee not.*] *Kingdom* here, like *regnum* in Latin, signifies *kingly state*, the *circumstances of regal power* ; or, as our author in his political works writes, *kingship*. DUNSTEE.

Ver. 173. *But on occasion's forelock watchful wait :*] Spenser personifies Occasion, as an old hag, with a grey forelock, *Facr. Qu. ii. iv. 4.* Spenser likewise, *Sonnet 70*, gives Time the same forelock. Shakspeare, in his *Othello*, has "To take the safest occasion by the front." The Greek and Latin poets also describe occasion, i. e. *time* or *opportunity*, "with a forelock." DUNSTEE.

Ver. 175. *Zeal of thy father's house.*] *Psalms* lxxix. 9. "For the zeal of thine house hath eaten me up ;" which passage is applied in the New Testament (*John*, ii. 17.) to the zeal of our Lord for the honour of his Father's house, when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the temple.

DUNSTEE.

Ver. 183. *And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.*] "To every

If of my reign Prophetick Writ hath told,
 That it shall never end, so, when begin, 185
 The Father in his purpose hath decreed ;
 He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
 What if he hath decreed that I shall first
 Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,
 By tribulations, injuries, insults, 190
 Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
 Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting,
 Without distrust or doubt, that he may know
 What I can suffer, how obey ? Who best
 Can suffer, best can do ; best reign, who first 195
 Well hath obey'd ; just trial, ere I merit
 My exaltation without change or end.
 But what concerns it thee, when I begin
 My everlasting kingdom ? Why art thou
 Solicitous ? What moves thy inquisition ? 200
 Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
 And my promotion will be thy destruction ?
 'To whom the Tempter, inly rack'd, replied.
 Let that come when it comes ; all hope is lost
 Of my reception into grace : what worse ? 205
 For where no hope is left, is left no fear :

thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the Heaven." *Eccles.* iii. 1. NEWTON.

Ver. 187. *He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.*] "It is not for you to know the *times and the seasons*, which the Father hath put in his own power." *Acts* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 189. *Be tried in humble state, and things adverse.*] *Sil. Ital.* iv. 605. "*Explorant adversa viros.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 195. ——— *best reign, who first Well hath obey'd ;*] Here probably the author remembered Cicero. "Qui bene imperat, paruerit aliquando necesse est ; et qui modestè paret, videtur, qui aliquando imperet, dignus esse." *De Leg.* iii. 2. The same sentiment occurs in Aristotle, *Polit.* iii. 4, vii. 14 ; and in Plato, *De Leg.* vi. as Ursinus and Davies have noted. NEWTON.

Ver. 201. *Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,*] Alluding to the rising and setting of opposite stars. Milton, in the first Book of this Poem, terms our Lord "our Morning-star, then in his rise." DUNSTER.

Ver. 206. *For where no hope is left, is left no fear :*] Milton here, and in some of the following verses, plainly alludes to part of Satan's fine soliloquy, in the beginning of the fourth Book of the *Paradise Lost* ;

If there be worse, the expectation more
 Of worse torments me than the feeling can.
 I would be at the worst : worst is my port,
 My harbour, and my ultimate repose : 210
 The end I would attain, my final good.
 My errour was my errour, and my crime
 My crime ; whatever, for itself condemn'd ;
 And will alike be punish'd, whether thou
 Reign, or reign not ; though to that gentle brow 215
 Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,
 From that placid aspect and meek regard,
 Rather than aggravate my evil state,
 Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,
 (Whose ire I dread more than the fire of hell,) 220
 A shelter, and a kind of shading cool

“ So farewell hope, and, with hope, farewell fear !

“ Farewell remorse ! All good to me is lost :

“ Evil, be thou my good ! ” THYER.

And he alludes also to the speech of Edgar, in Shakspeare's *Lear*,
 A. iv. S. i.

“ To be worst,
 “ The lowest, and most dejected thing of fortune,
 “ Stands still in esperance, lives not in fear :
 “ The lamentable change is from the best,
 “ The worst returns to laughter.” TODD.

Ver. 217. *From that placid aspect*] Spenser, Shakspeare, and the poets of that time, I believe, uniformly wrote *aspect* thus accented on the second syllable ; as Milton has likewise always done in his *Paradise Lost*. I cannot forbear citing one instance on account of the exquisite beauty of the passage. It is a similar description of the same Divine Person, who had just been offering himself a ransom for man, B. iii. 266.

“ His words here ended, but his meek aspect

“ Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love

“ To mortal men.”

And Vida makes Mary, in her Lamentation at the foot of the cross, particularly refer to our Lord's *placid*, or *meek*, aspect, *Christ*. v. 680.

“ Heu ! quem te, nate, aspicio ? Tuane illa serena

“ *Luce magis facies aspectu grati ?* ” DUNSTER.

Ver. 219. *Would stand between me and thy Father's ire,*] Milton in his Ode *On the death of a fair infant*, has a similar expression, st. x.
 “ To stand 'twixt us and our deserved smart ? ” DUNSTER.

In both instances the poet alludes to the Sacred Writings. See *Numb.* xvi. 48, *Psal.* cvi. 23, *Wisdom of Sol.* xviii. 23. TODD.

Ver. 221. ——— a kind of shading cool

Interposition, as a summer's cloud.] In the 25th chapter of Isaiah, as Mr. Dunster also observes, the prophet, addressing God, terms him “ a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy from his distress, a

Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
 If I then to the worst that can be haste,
 Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,
 Happiest, both to thyself and all the world, 225
 That thou, who worthiest art, should'st be their king?
 Perhaps thou linger'st, in deep thoughts detain'd
 Of the enterprise so hazardous and high;
 No wonder; for, though in thee be united
 What of perfection can in man be found, 230
 Or human nature can receive, consider,
 Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
 At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,
 And once a year Jerusalem, few days' 234
 Short sojourn; and what thence could'st thou observe?
 The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
 Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,
 Best school of best experience, quickest insight
 In all things that to greatest actions lead.
 The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever 240
 Timorous and loth, with novice modesty,
 (As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom,)
 Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous:
 But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
 Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes 245
 The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and state;
 Sufficient introduction to inform
 Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,

refuge from the storm, *a shadow from the heat*." And, in the next verse, the interposition of God is illustrated by the simile which the poet uses. "Thou shalt bring down the noise of strangers, as the heat in a dry place; even the heat *with the shadow of a cloud*." TODD.

Ver. 234. *And once a year Jerusalem,*] At the feast of the passover. *Luke*, ii. 41. NEWTON.

Ver. 238. ————— *quickest insight*] In all the editions, and indeed in Milton's own it is printed "*quickest in sight*:" but we cannot but think it an error of the writer or printer, and prefer the emendation which Mr. Theobald, Mr. Meadowcourt, and Mr. Thyer, have, unknown to each other, proposed, viz. "*quickest insight*." NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 had already made the emendation of "*quickest insight*." TODD.

Ver. 242. (*As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom,*)] Saul. See *1 Sam.* ix. 20, 21. NEWTON.

Ver. 253. *It was a mountain &c.*] The length of Mr. Dunster's important note on this passage, obliges me to transfer it to the end of the book. Tonn.

Ver. 256. *The one winding, the other straight.*] Dr. Newton and Mr. Dunster observe, that Strabo describes the Euphrates passing through the country with a *winding stream*, ΣΚΟΛΙΩ ΤΩ ΠΕΙΟΡΩ, lib. xi. p. 521; and hence it is called "*ragus Euphrates*" by Statius, and *flexuosus* by Martianus Capella. With the same accuracy the Tigris is here termed *straight*, being described as swift in its course, as an arrow; "Unde concitatur à celeritate, *Tigris* incipit vocari: *Ita appellant Medi sagittam*," Plin. *Nat. Hist.* lib. vi. c. 27. And Dionysius calls it ποταμῶν ὠκιστος ἀπ' αὐτῶν, *Perieg.* v. 804. Tonn.

Ver. 257. ——— *with less rivers intervein'd.*] Quintus Curtius, having spoken of the great fertility of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, adds, "Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque anime manat, toto fere solo propter *venas aquarum* resudante." L. v. c. 1.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 258. *Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea.*] Strabo describes these two rivers, after having encircled Mesopotamia joining their streams near Babylon, and flowing into the Persian Gulph, L. xi. p. 521.

DUNSTER.

Milton here adorns his geographical exactness with a phrase from his beloved poetry, *Gier. Lib.* c. xv. st. 16.

"Poi Damiata scopre: e come *porte*

"*Al mar tributo di celesti humori*

"Per sette il Nilo sue famose *porte*." Tonn.

Ver. 259. *Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;*] See *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 18, and Ovid, *Amor.* II. xvi. 19. Dr. Newton, conceiving this description of the fertility of the country to refer only or principally to Mesopotamia, cites the following passage from Dionysius, as copied here by Milton. The geographical poet had been speaking of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Οὐ μέν τοι κίνηε γε νομούς ἀνόσαστο βούτης,

οὐδ' ὅστις σύριγγι κερώνυχᾳ Πᾶνα γεραίρων,

μήλοισι ἀγραύλοισιν ἐφίσπειται οὐδ' ἔμιν ἔλην

Παντοῖον ζῆτοεργὸς ἀνὴρ ἀθερίσαστο κάρπων.

Quintus Curtius likewise notices the peculiar fertility of the "*suir champain*," between the two rivers. "*Inter Tigrim et Euphratem ja-*

With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills;
 Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might seem
 The seats of mightiest monarchs; and so large
 The prospect was, that here and there was room
 For barren desart, fountainless and dry.
 To this high mountain top the Tempter brought 265
 Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,
 Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,
 Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold'st

centia tam uberi et pingui solo sunt, ut a pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat," L. v. 1. And Strabo terms Mesopotamia *εὐκτορος χώρα, καὶ ἐπερνής, a country abounding in pastures and rich vegetation*, L. xvi. p. 747. But the greater part of this "large prospect," at least of those countries which lay east of Mesopotamia as far as India, is well entitled to this description of fertility, either considered figurative, or literal; as both ancient and modern accounts combine to show.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 261. *Huge cities and high-tower'd.*] So also in the *Allegro*, v. 117. "*Tower'd cities please us then.*" *Turritæ urbes* is very common amongst the Latin poets. THYER.

Εἰσπεργος πόλις is no less common with the Greek authors. Thus Hesiod, *Scut. Herc.* v. 270.

————— *Ἡπὰρ δ' ΕΥΗΥΠΤΟΣ πόλις ἀνέφερ.*

Whence, *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 640.

"*Cities of men, with lofty gates and towers.*"

Virgil has "*turrigeræque urbes*," *Æn.* x. 253; and Ovid "*turritis mœnibus*," *Amor.* III. viii. 48, and "*turriti muri*," *Epist. ex Pont.* III. vi. 40. But I do not know where to point out the exact epithet *turritæ* as joined with *urbes*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 267. ————— *o'er hill and dale, &c.*] Milton, for the most part, is fond of the singular number in combination. He does not say *hills and dales*, &c. On this account I reject Meadowcourt's alteration of a passage in *Samson Agonistes*, ver. 146.

————— "on his shoulders bore

"The gates of Azza, *post*, and massy bar:"

He proposes *posts*, because it is said that Samson "took the doors of the gate of the city, and the two *posts*, &c." *Judg.* xvi. 3. For the same reason I disapprove Upton's proposed reading of "*seas to shores*," *Sams. Agon.* ver. 962. See his notes on Spenser, p. 609. col. 2. To say nothing of the beauty of the phrase being varied from that in the preceding line, it may be moreover observed that, in the *Paradise Lost*, we have "*sea without shore*." On the same principle, at least on the principle of Milton's preference of singulars where others might perhaps have used plurals, Bentley is wrong when, instead of "*flowers of all hue*," he would read *hues*, *Par. L.* B. iv. 256. Innumerable instances might be produced in support of this reasoning. T. WARTON.

Ver. 269. ————— *here thou behold'st*

Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,] The situation of

Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds, 270
 Araxes and the Caspian lake ; thence on
 As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
 And oft beyond : to south the Persian bay,
 And, inaccessible, the Arabian drouth :
 Here Nineveh, of length within her wall 275

Mount Niphates, it has been already observed, was particularly adapted for this view. The poet here traces accurately the bounds of the Assyrian empire in its greatest extent ; *the river Araxes and the Caspian Lake* to the north ; *the river Indus* to the east ; *the river Euphrates* to the west, and *oft beyond* as far as the Mediterranean ; and *the Persian Bay and the Desarts of Arabia* to the south. DUNSTER.

Ver. 274. — *inaccessible,*] Solinus describes in a similar manner the most desert parts of Africa. Speaking of the boundaries of the province of Cyrene, he says, "A tergo barbarorum varix nationes, et solitudo inaccessa." C. 30. DUNSTER.

Ibid. — *the Arabian drouth :*] This figure of speech is equally bold and of fine effect. We might suppose it suggested by Virgil's "*Hinc deserta sili regio.*" Æn. iv. 42. Or by Lucan's "*calidas Libyæ sitientis arenas.*" Or still more by a description of the wilderness of Barca in Silius Italicus, who terms it "*Barce sitientibus arida renis.*" But, by adopting the reading of the elder editions of Silius Italicus, we find the very phrase in a passage of that poet, xiv. 74.

"Hic, contra *Libycamque sitim* Caurósque furentes,
 "Cernit devexas *Lilybaon nobile Chelas.*"

I cannot forbear inserting here a citation from a poet of our own country, contemporary with Milton, where a description of the "sandy desert" is given in the same bold style. I cite the passage more at large than is necessary, from an opinion that the whole of it must be acceptable to the reader of taste. It is taken from the *Address to the Deity*, which concludes the poems of *George Sandys*, printed in 1638, under the title of *A Paraphrase on Divine Poems*.

"O, who hath tasted of thy clemency
 "In greater measure, or more oft than I?
 "My grateful verse thy goodness shall display,
 "O thou that went'st alone in all my way,
 "To where the morning with perfumed wings
 "From the high mountains of Panchaea springs ;
 "To that new-found-out world, where sober night
 "Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight ;
 "To those dark seas, where horrid winter reigns
 "And binds the stubborn floods in icy chains ;
 "To Libyan wastes, whose thirst no showers assuage
 "And where swoln Nilus cools the lion's rage."

Sandys was the translator of Ovid. Part of this volume of poems consists of a *Paraphrase of the Psalm* ; which Mr. Warton justly terms admirable. There is also a *Paraphrase of the Book of Job*, in so masterly a style, that it may be well doubted if any poet of the succeeding century has surpassed it in a similar attempt. DUNSTER.

Ver. 275. *Here Nineveh, &c.*] This city was situated on the Tigris ; of length, i. e. of circuit, *within her wall several days' journey* ; according

Several days' journey, built by Ninus old,
 Of that first golden monarchy the seat,
 And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
 Israel in long captivity still mourns ;
 There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues, 280
 As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
 Judah and all thy father David's house
 Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,
 Till Cyrus set them free ; Persepolis,
 His city, there thou seest, and Bactra there ; 285
 Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,

to Diodorus Siculus, lib. ii. its circuit was sixty of our miles, and in Jonah, ii. 3. it is said to be *an exceeding great city of three days' journey*, twenty miles being the common computation of a day's journey for a foot-traveller : *built by Ninus old*, after whom the city is said to be called *Nineveh* ; *of that first golden monarchy the seat*, a capital city of the Assyrian empire, which the poet styles *golden monarchy*, probably in allusion to the *golden head* of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the four empires ; *and seat of Salmanassar*, who in the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria seven hundred and twenty-one years before Christ, so that it might now be properly called *a long captivity*. NEWTON.

Ver. 277. — *that first golden monarchy*] *Golden* is here generally descriptive of the splendour of monarchy. It may refer to what is said in history of the magnificence of the kings of Persia, their *golden palaces*, *golden thrones*, *golden beds*, &c. See *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 4. Æschylus gives to Babylon the epithet *Πολύχρυσος*, *Pers.* 59. *Golden* might also have a political reference to Milton's apprehensions of the great exences of monarchy ; with respect to which, in justifying his republican principles, he had said that "the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth." DUNSTER.

Ver. 280. *There Babylon, &c.*] As Nineveh was situated on the river Tigris, so was Babylon on the Euphrates ; *the wonder of all tongues*, for it is reckoned among the seven wonders of the world ; *as ancient* as Nineveh, for some say it was built by Belus, and others by Semiramis, the one the father, and the other the wife, of Ninus, who built Nineveh ; *but rebuilt by him*, i. e. whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged, and beautified, and made one of the wonders of the world by Nebuchadnezzar, (*Is not this great Babylon that I have built*, &c. Dan. iv. 30. ;) *who twice Judah led captive*, in the reign of Jehoiakim, 2 Kings, xxiv., and eleven years after in the reign of Zedekiah, *and laid waste Jerusalem*, 2 Kings, xxv. ; in which desolate condition it lay many years, *till Cyrus set them free*, and restored the Jews to their country again. *Ezra*, i. and ii. NEWTON.

Ver. 284. — *Persepolis*
His city, &c.] The city of Cyrus ; if not built by him, yet by him made the capital city of the Persian empire ; and *Bactra* there, the chief city of Bactriana a province of Persia, famous for its fruitfulness ; mentioned by Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 136. NEWTON.

Ver. 286. *Ecbatana her structure vast there shows*,] Ancient historians speak of *Ecbatana*, the metropolis of Media, as a very large city. Hero-

And Hecatompylos her hundred gates ;
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,
The drink of none but kings ; of later fame,

dotus compares it to Athens, L. i. C. 98. ; Strabo calls it a great city, L. ii. ; and Polybius, L. 10. says it greatly excelled other cities in riches and magnificence of buildings. NEWTON.

Ver. 288. — *Susa by Choaspes.*] Susa, the Shushan of the Holy Scriptures, and the royal seat of the kings of Persia, who resided here in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, was situated on the river *Choaspes*, or *Euleus*, or *Ulai* as it is called in Daniel ; or rather on the confluence of these two rivers, which meeting at Susa form one great river, sometimes called by one name, and sometimes by the other.

NEWTON.

Ver. 289. *The drink of none but kings ;*] If we examine it as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of the river *Choaspes*, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. We have for that opinion the silence of many authors, by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed, had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned *Choaspes*, (or *Euleus*), as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia, or have called it βασιλικὸν ἕδω regis lymphæ, but have not said that they alone drank of it. I say *Choaspes* or *Euleus*, because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers. The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight, because he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs ; and, next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so many authors, is considerable. Though it can hardly be expected that a negative should be proved any other way than from the silence of writers, yet it so happens that *Ælian*, if his authority be admitted, affords us a full proof that the water of *Choaspes* might be drunk by the subjects of the kings of Persia. Τάτε ἄλλα ἰφοδία εἶπερ τῷ Ξέρξῃ πολυτελείας καὶ ἀλαζονείας πεπληρωμένα, καὶ οὖν καὶ ὕδωρ ἠκολούθει τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Χοάσπου. Ἐπει δ' ἐν τινι ἱρήμῳ τόπῳ ἰδύνησιν, οὐδέπω τῆς θεραπέας ἠκούσης, ἐκηρύχθη τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, εἰ τις ἔχει ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ Χοάσπου, ἵνα δῶ βασιλεῖ πίνειν. Καὶ εὗρήθη τις βραχὺ καὶ σισηπὸς ἔχων. Ἐπει οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Ξέρξης, καὶ εὐεργέτην τὸν δόντα ἐνόμισεν, ὅτι ἂν ἀπώλετο τῷ δίδῃ, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο εὗρήθη. *In the carriages which followed Xerxes, there were abundance of things which served only for pomp and ostentation ; there was also the water of Choaspes. The army being oppressed with thirst in a desert place, and the carriages being not yet come up, it was proclaimed that if any one had of the water of Choaspes, he should give it Xerxes to drink. One was found who had a little, and that not sweet. Xerxes drank it, and accounted him who gave it him a benefactor, because he had perished with thirst, if that little had not been found.* Var. Hist. xii. 40. Mention is made indeed by *Agathocles* of a certain water, which none but Persian kings might drink ; and if any other writers mention it they take it from *Agathocles*. We find it in *Athenæus* : Ἀγαθόκλης ἐν Πέρσιαι φησὶν εἶναι καὶ χρυσὸν καλούμενον ὕδωρ, εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο λεῖαίαις ἰδωρήκοντα, καὶ μηδὲνα πίνειν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ μόνον βασιλεῖα καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον αὐτοῦ τῶν παίδων τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἴαν τις πίνῃ, θάνατος ἡ ζημία. *Agathocles says that there is in Persia a water called golden ; that it consists of seventy streams, that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son, and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.* It does not however appear, that the *golden water* and *Choaspes* were the same. Eustathius, having transcribed this

Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands, 290
 The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
 Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
 Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.
 All these the Parthian, (now some ages past,

passage from Agathocles, adds: Ζητητίον δὲ εἰ καὶ τὸ Χοάσπειον ὕδωρ, οὐπερ ἔπινε στρατιώμενος ὁ Πέρσης βασιλεὺς, τοιαύτην ἐπιτιμίον κῆρα ἐφείλκετο. — *Quære, whether the water of Choaspes, which the Persian king drank in his expeditions, was forbidden to all others under the same penalty.* Eustathius in Homer. *Iliad.* γ. p. 1301. Ed. Basil. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that none besides the king might drink of that water of *Choaspes*, which was boiled and barrelled up for his use in his military expeditions. Solinus indeed, who is a frivolous writer, says "*Choaspes ita dulcis est, ut Persici reges quamdiu intra ripas Persidis fluit solis sibi ex eo pocula vindicarent.*" Milton therefore, considered as a poet, with whose purpose the fabulous suited best, is by no means to be blamed for what he has advanced; as even the authority of Solinus is sufficient to justify. JORTIN.

Ver. 294. *All these the Parthian, &c.*] All these cities, which before belonged to the Seleucidæ or Syro-Macedonian princes, sometimes called *kings of Antioch*, from their usual place of residence, were now under the dominion of the Parthians, whose empire was founded by *Arsaces*, who

By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire,) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won. 295

revolted from Antiochus Theus, according to Prideaux, two hundred and fifty years before Christ. This view of the Parthian empire is much more agreeably and poetically described than Adam's prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the mount of vision in the *Paradise Lost*, xi. 385—411 : but still the anachronism in this is worse than in the other : in the former Adam is supposed to take a view of cities many years before they were built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities, as Nineveh, Babylon, &c., in this flourishing condition many years after they were laid in ruins : but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit what was future, it was not the design of the latter to exhibit what was past. NEWTON.

The immediate object of this Temptation was to awaken ambition in our blessed Lord, by showing him *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*, that is, the splendour of the great empires that had been, or still were in existence. These are showed by means of their principal cities, the extent and magnificence of which may be supposed to mark the great power and riches of the princes, that built or inhabited them :

"Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might seem
"The seats of mightiest monarchs ;"

Thus, having traced the extensive bounds of the *ancient Assyrian Empire*, he exemplifies its splendour and importance in the description which he gives of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, the two principal seats of its government. He next touches on the *Persian* and *Median* Empires, in noticing *Persepolis* and *Ecbatana* ; and thence by directing the attention to *Hecatompylos*, &c., makes a transition to the *Parthian Empire*, at that time the rival and formidable antagonist of the Roman power. Whatever anachronism therefore there may be in this place, it is surely not introduced uselessly and unnecessarily, as Dr. Newton insinuates. DUNSTER.

Ver. 297. ——— *the luxurious kings of Antioch*] No particular luxury seems laid by history to the charge of Antiochus Theus, though it was the profligate conduct of Agathocles, or Andragoras, then Governor of Parthia under him, that incited the resentment of Arsaces, and was the cause of the revolt, and finally of the creation of the Parthian Empire. See Prideaux, Part ii. Book 2. The contest with Arsaces was afterwards carried on by Seleucus, the son of Antiochus ; against whom also no imputation of any luxurious excesses seems to be recorded. The next king of Syria who made any attempts to recover Parthia was Antiochus the Great, so named for his valour, prudence, beneficence, and other virtues, which he maintained unimpeached till he was above fifty years old ; when he married a young woman, and totally changing his character, passed his whole life, as Livy describes him, L. 36, "omissâ omnium rerum curâ, in conviviis et vinum sequentibus voluptatibus, ac deinde, ex fatigatione magis quam satietate earum, in somno." Before this he had however ceded Parthia and Hyrcania to Arsaces, son of the Arsaces who first headed the revolt, on condition of his becoming his confederate, and assisting him to recover the other provinces. But Milton had probably here in his mind the descriptions given in history of the luxury and profligacy of Antiochus Epiphanes ; whose abandoned conduct and dissipation were such, that instead of *Epiphanes*, or the Illustrious, which name he had assumed, he was generally known by that of *Epimanes*, or the Madman. See *Polyb. apud Athenæum*. L. v. DUNSTER.

And just in time thou com'st to have a view
 Of his great power ; for now the Parthian king
 In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host 300
 Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
 Have wasted Sogdiana ; to her aid
 He marches now in haste : see, though from far,

Ver. 298. *And just in time thou com'st to have a view*

Of his great power ; &c.] Milton, considering very probably that a geographick description of kingdoms, however varied in the manner of expression and diversified with little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture of an army mustering for an expedition, which he has executed in a very masterly manner. The same conduct he has observed in the subsequent description of the Roman empire, by introducing into the scene prætors and proconsuls marching out of their provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other ensigns of power, and ambassadours making their entrance into that imperial city from all parts of the world. There is great art and design in this contrivance of our author's, and the more as there is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts connected. THYER.

Compare the *Phœnisæ* of Euripides, where Antigone has ascended the tower to behold the Grecian army, and her conductor says to her

ΕΙΣ ΚΑΙΡΟΝ Δ' ΕΒΗΣ,
 Κινέμενον γάρ τεγγάνη Ηελασγικόν
 Στρατόν.— ver. 106. DUNSTER.

Ver. 299. ——— *for now the Parthian king*

In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host &c.] Ctesiphon seems to have been the general place of rendezvous of the Parthian army, wherever their destination might be. Strabo says that the Parthian kings, who had before made Seleucia their winter residence, removed to Ctesiphon, because it was larger and more calculated for considerable military preparations, and because they wished to save the inhabitants of Seleucia from the inconveniences of a numerous army in a place not sufficiently large to receive them. Ταύτην δ' ἐποιούντο χειμάδιον οἱ τῶν Παρθυαίων βασιλεῖς, φερόμενοι τῶν Σελευκείων, ἵνα μὴ κατασταθμεύοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Σκεθικοῦ φύλου καὶ στρατιωτικοῦ ἐνὶ ἁμῇ οὖν Παρθικῇ πόλει ἀντὶ κώμης ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοσούτων γε πλῆθος δεχομένη, καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνων αὐτῶν κατασκευασμένη, καὶ τὰ ὄρια, καὶ τὰς τέχνας προσφόρους ἐκείνοις πεποισμένη. Strabo, L. 16. p. 743. The passage is cited by Dr. Newton, apparently under a misapprehension of its true sense ; as he infers from it that the Parthian kings made Ctesiphon their winter residence, for the purpose of preventing the incursions of the Scythians. But by Σκεθικοῦ φύλου, we must understand soldiers from their provinces bordering on Scythia. The mountainous Iberians, who make a part of the Parthian army in this place, v. 318. are particularly described by Strabo as resembling the Scythians in their manner of living, Σκεδῶν ἑκὴν ζώοντες. L. xi. DUNSTER.

Ver. 302. ——— *to her aid*

He marches now in haste ;] In the *Charon*, or ΕΠΙΣΚΟΗΟΥΝΤΕΣ of Lucian, Mercury, in a similar manner shews, and describes to Charon, Cyrus marching on his expedition against Ctesus. Having explained who Cyrus is, and having related his former conquests, he says, καὶ ΝΥΝ Ἰλασσίοντι ἐπὶ Αὐγίαν ἔουκεν, ὡς καθελὼν τὸν Κροῖσον ἀρχοῦ ἀπάντων.

His thousands, in what martial equipage
 They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms, 305
 Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;
 All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;
 See how in warlike muster they appear,
 In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.

He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless 310

C. 9.—This Dialogue of Lucian is not without its resemblance, in other respects, to this part of our Author's poem. Mercury, to gratify Charon in a short time with a full view of what is passing in the world, tells him that he must devise a "specular mount" on purpose, *τὴν ἰκαρόν ΣΚΟΠΗΝ*. This he does by piling Pelion on Ossa, and Oeta and Parnassus on these. He thence shews his friend an "outstretch'd prospect" of land and water, *γῆν πολλήν, . . . καὶ ὕδα, καὶ ποταμούς*. Charon afterwards desires to see Nineveh, Babylon, and other famous cities of antiquity. The first of these Mercury tells him has been so completely destroyed, that no traces of it remain: the second he shews him, and, it may be remarked, describes it *εὐπεργος*, and *τὸν μέγαν περίβολον (ἔχουσα)* which is very similar to our Poet's "*Huge cities and high-tower'd*," ver. 261. *supra*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 305. ——— *steel bows and shafts their arms.*] Catullus terms the Parthians "*sagittiferósque Parthos*," *Ep.* xi. And Dionysius distinguished them as *warlike and armed with bows*, *Perieg.* v. 1040.—*ἀρηίοι, ἀγκυλότοξοι*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 306. *Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;*

All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;] Lucan notices the skill of the Parthians in discharging their arrows at their pursuers, while they fled from them, lib. i. 229. "*missâ Parthi post. terga sagittâ:*" Ovid refers to the same circumstance, *De Art. Amand.* i. 209, &c. And Virgil speaks of "*Fidentémque fuga Parthum*," *Georg.* iii. 39. Dionysius also describes the Parthians habituated from their infancy to archery and horsemanship, v. 1044. DUNSTER.

Ver. 309. *In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.*] The *Rhomb* or *ῥομβοειδὴς φάλαγξ* was a Battalia with four equal, but not rectangular, sides. The *ἰμβολον*, or *cuneus*, was the rhomb divided in the middle, having three sides, representing a wedge, or the Greek letter Δ. It is described by Vegetius, L. iii. 29. The *half moon* was the *ἡμισελήνης φάλαγξ*. It was in the form of a half moon, the wings being turned backwards, and the main body presented to the enemy; it was also called *κυρτή* or *κεκλιη*, being *convex and hollow*. The *wings* are the *εἰσάτα* of the Greeks, and the *ala* or *cornua* of the Latins. DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. ——— *what numbers numberless*] A manner of expression, though much censured in our author, very familiar with the Greek poets. Thus Æschylus, *Prometh.* 904.

Ἄπόλιμος ὅτε γ' ὁ πόλιμος, ἄπορα
 ἰόριμος—————

And *Persæ*, 679.

Νῆες, ἀναε: νῆες. THYER.

Thus Lucretius, iii. 799, and x. 1053. "*Incaumero numero*." And see Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* C. xix. 121. DUNSTER.

I may rescue the great poet from *censure* by showing that the phrase

The city gates out-pour'd, light-armed troops,
 In coats of mail and military pride ;
 In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,
 Prauncing their riders bore, the flower and choice
 Of many provinces from bound to bound ; 315

was common as well in the prose, as in the poetry, of his own country. Thus Niccols, in the *Mirour for Mag.* 1610, p. 815, of an army :

“ In *number numberlesse* with fresh supplies.”

Again, in Yarrington's *Two Tragedies in One*, 1601.

“ happy was that grieffe

“ Which hath abridg'd whole *numbers, numberlesse.*

Again, in G. Wither's *Mistresse of Philarete*, 1622.

“ Saw rich beauties, I confesse,

“ And in *number, numberlesse.*”

Again, in Sir J. Davies's *Hymns to Astrea*, 1622.

“ Recount these *numbers numberlesse.*”

Again, in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, 1633, c. ix. st. 5.

“ To keep this sieged town 'gainst *numbers numberlesse.*”

And, in prose, see Sir Edward Dering's *Collection of Speeches*, 4to. 1642, p. 121. “ The *numberless numbers* of Monks, Fryers, &c.” And also Drummond's *Cypresse Grove*, edit. 1681. p. 431. “ The *numberless number* of the assembly.” TODD.

Ver. 311. *The city gates out-pour'd,*] So, in Virgil, *Æn.* xii. 121.

“ *Procedit legio Ausonidum, pilatæque plenis
 ina se fundunt portis ; &c.*” DUNSTER.

B. ii. 996.

“ *Heaven-gates
 her victorious bands.*” TODD.

military pride ;

clad, &c.] Plutarch, in his account of
 he Parthians, on a sudden throwing off
 seemed all on fire from the glittering

d breast-plates, which were made of *Margian*

and from the brass and iron trappings of their horses.—And Justin,
 speaking of the Parthians, describes them and their horses completely
 armed, L. xli. c. 2. We may compare, with our author's description in
 this place, a passage of Claudian, *In Rufin.* ii. 351.

“ *Hic ultrix arces ornatu fulgrida Martis*

“ *Explicuit cuneos. Pedites in parte sinistra*

“ *Consistunt ; equites illinc poscentia cursum*

“ *Ora reluctantur pressis sedare lupatis.*

“ *Hinc alii sævum eristato vertice nutant,*

“ *Et tremulos humeris gaudent vibrare colores,*

“ *Quos operit formatque chalybs. Conjuncta per artem*

“ *Flexilis inductis animatur lamina membris,*

“ *Horribilis visu. Credas simulacra moveri*

“ *Ferreæ, cognatæque viros spirare metallo.*

“ *Pur restitus equis ; ferrata fronte minuntur,*

“ *Ferratæque levant securi vulneris arnos.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 315. *Of many provinces from bound to bound ;*] He had before

From Arachosia, from Candaor east,
 And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs
 Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales;
 From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
 Of Adiabene, Media, and the south 320
 Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.
 He saw them in their forms of battle rang'd,
 How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot
 Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face

mentioned the principal cities of the Parthians, and he now recounts several of their provinces. *Arachosia* near the river Indus, *μὴχρι τοῦ Ἰνδου ποταμοῦ τετραπύρη*, Strabo, L. xi. p. 516. *Candaor*, not *Ganduor*, as in some editions; I suppose the *Candari*, a people of India, mentioned by Pliny, L. vi. Sect. 18. These were provinces to the east; and to the north *Margiana* and *Hyrcania*, Strabo, L. ii. p. 72; and mount *Caucasus*, and *Iberia*, which is called *dark*, as the country abounded with forests. See Tacitus, *Annal.* vi. 34. NEWTON.

Ver. 317. ——— the Hyrcanian cliffs

Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales:] Shirvan and Daghestan, or *The country of rocks*, are those provinces which Milton calls "the Hyrcanian cliffs of Caucasus, &c." SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 319. *From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains*

Of Adiabene, Media, and the south

Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.]

This description of the Parthian provinces moves nearly in a circle. It begins with *Arachosia* east; then advances northward to *Margiana*; and from thence, turning westward, proceeds to *Hyrcania*, *Iberia*, and the *Atropatian* or northern division of *Media*. Here it turns again southward, and carries us to *Adiabene*, or the western part of *Babylonia*, which, as Dr. Newton observes, Strabo (L. xvi. p. 745.) describes as a *plain country*. τῆς περ ἐστὶ Ἀσιαθενικῆς ἡ πελάστη πεδιάς ἐστι; then, passing through part of *Media*, it concludes with *Susiana*, which extended southward to the Persian Gulph, called *Balsara's haven*, from the Port of *Balsara*, *Bassorah*, or *Bussorah*.

DUNSTER.

To the West of *Pars* is the Province of *Khuzistan*, which the Greeks call *Susiana*; it has no mountain in it, but consists wholly of large plains. It has part of *Persian Irák* to the North, the Gulph to the South; and it extends westward as far as the plains of *Wáset* and the port of *Basra*, whence Milton says "the south of *Susiana* to *Balsara's* haven." But he pronounces the word *Basra* very improperly, and makes also a considerable mistake, in putting into the mouth of the Tempter the name of a city, which was not built, till six hundred years after the Temptation.

SIR W. JONES.

Ver. 324. *Sharp sleet of arrowy showers]* Mr. Richardson observes that this is not unlike Virgil's

"fundunt simul undique tela

"Crebra nivis ritu." *Æn.* ii. 610.

To which we may add another similar passage, *Æn.* xii. 284.

—————"it toto turbida cælo

"Tempestas telorum, ac ferreus ingruit imber."

Spenser has "shower and hail of arrows," *F. Q. v. iv. 38.* DUNSTER.

Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight ; 325
 The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :
 Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
 Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,

Compare the angel's tremendous prediction in *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 543.

——— " this day will pour down,
 " If I conjecture aught, no drizzling shower,
 " But rattling storm of arrows barbed with fire."

But Milton, in this passage of *Par. Regained*, had probably P. Fletcher in view, *Purp. Island*, c. xi. st. 47.

" And in their course oft would they turn behinde,
 " And with their glancing darts their hot pursuers blinde.

48.

" As when by Russian Volgha's frozen banks
 " The false-back Tartars fear with cunning feigne,
 " And, poasting fast away in flying ranks,
 " Oft backward turn, and from their bows down rain
 " Whole storms of darts ; so do they flying fight ;
 " And what by force they lose, they winne by sleight ;
 " Conquer'd by standing out, and conquerours by flight." TODD.

Ver. 326. *The field all iron cast a gleaming brown :*] Dr. Newton observes that this line greatly exceeds Fairfax's, *Tasso*, c. i. st. 64. " Embattailed in walls of iron brown ; " and even a very fine passage in Virgil, which has certainly much resemblance to the *field all iron*, *Æn.* xi. 601.

——— " tum latè ferreus hastis
 " Horret ager, campique armis sublimibus ardent."

But I have met with a passage more immediately parallel in Euripides, who literally describes his field *all brass*, in the same scene of the *Phænissa*, in which I have noted a coincidence of expression with ver. 298. *supr.*

——— ΚΑΤΑΧΑΛΚΟΝ ΑΛΑΝ
 ΠΕΔΙΟΝ ἀσπράπτει. DUNSTER.

Ver. 327. ——— *clouds of foot,*] So we have in Homer, *Il.* iv. 274. Νεφέες πεζῶν ; and in Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 793. *nimbus peditum.* — But as Mr. Thyer observes with me, this verse is not very consistent with what goes before, v. 307.

" All horsemen, in which fight they most excel ; "
 nor with what follows to the same purpose, v. 344.

" Such, and so numerous, was their chivalry." NEWTON.

Mr. Dunster observes, that by *horsemen* Milton meant only skilled in the management of a horse, as every Parthian was ; and by no means that they never engaged except on horseback. And by *chivalry* he means, as I have already remarked, the army in general, like the Italian *cavalleria*. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. i. 307. TODD.

Ver. 328. *Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,*] Sallust, *Fragment.* L. iv. speaks of " Equites Cataphracti ferrea omni specie." DUNSTER.

Hence perhaps the phrase, so common in our old poetry, *clad in complete steel.* See note on *Comus*, v. 421. So, in *The Battell of Alcazar*, 1594.

" 'That clads himselfe in coat of hammered steele.'"

Chariots, or elephants indors'd with towers
 Of archers ; nor of labouring pioneers 330
 A multitude, with spades and axes arm'd
 To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
 Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
 With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;
 Mules after these, camels and dromedaries, 335
 And waggons, fraught with utensils of war.
 Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,

And, in Harrington's *Orl. Fur.* c. xlii. st. 51. "A knight *all urmd* in shining *steale*." TODD.

Ver. 329. ——— *elephants indors'd with towers*] Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of elephants in the Persian army, L. 24. Pliny mentions them bearing towers with sixty soldiers on them, "turriti cum sexagenis propugnatoribus," viii. 7.

I find the verb *indorse* used in the same sense by Jonson, in an *Epigram to William Earl of Newcastle*, upon his horsemanship :

"Nay, so your seat his beauties did *endorse*,
 "As I began to wish myself a horse." DUNSTER.

Ver. 330. ——— *of labouring pioneers*

A multitude with spades and axes arm'd] Dr. Newton refers to *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 675. But Milton seems to have here remembered a passage in Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*;

"There might you see the *labouring pioneer*." TODD.

Ver. 333. ——— *or overlay*

With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke ;] Alluding probably to Æschylus's description of Xerxes's bridge over the Hellespont, *Persæ*, 71.

Πολύγομφον ὕισμα

Ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι πόντον. THYER.

The river Araxes is termed by Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 728. "pontem *indignatus* ARAXES." DUNSTER.

Ver 337. *Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,*

When Agrican &c.] What Milton here alludes to, is related in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato*, L. i. c. 10. The number of forces said to be there assembled is incredible, and extravagant even beyond the common extravagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king brings into the field no less than two millions two hundred thousand ; and Sacripante the king of Circassia, who comes to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and eighty-two thousand. It must be acknowledged, I think, by the greatest admirers of Milton, that the impression which romances had made upon his imagination in his youth, has in this place led him into a blamable excess. Not to mention the notorious fabulousness of the fact alluded to, which I doubt some people will censure in a poem of so grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican, &c., is far too much disproportioned to any army, which the Parthian king by any historical evidence could be supposed to bring into the field. THYER.

Cervantes, who was equally studious of romances, expresses the idea of a prodigious concourse of people by the same simile : "Before we are two hours in these cross-ways, we shall see armed men, more numerous

When Agrican with all his northern powers
 Besieg'd Albracca, as romances tell,
 The city of Gallaphrone, from whence to win 340
 The fairest of her sex Angelica,
 His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,
 Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
 Such and so numerous was their chivalry :
 At sight whereof the Fiend yet more presum'd, 345
 And to our Saviour thus his words renew'd.

That thou may'st know I seek not to engage
 Thy virtue, and not every way secure
 On no slight ground thy safety ; hear, and mark, 349
 To what end I have brought thee hither, and shown
 All this fair sight : Thy kingdom, though foretold
 By Prophet or by Angel, unless thou
 Endeavour, as thy father David did,
 Thou never shalt obtain ; prediction still
 In all things, and all men, supposes means ; 355
 Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.

Prowest is the superlative of *prou*, from the old French *preux*, valiant. *Preux chevalier* is the old term for the Heroes of Romance. The French writers of chivalry speak of the "nine worthies" under the title of *les neuf preux*. DUNSTER.

Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
 Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,
 This offer sets before thee to deliver. 380
 These if from servitude thou shalt restore
 To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
 Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
 From Egypt to Euphrates, and beyond,
 Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear. 385
 To whom our Saviour answer'd thus, unmov'd.
 Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm
 And fragile arms, much instrument of war,
 Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
 Before mine eyes thou hast set ; and in my ear 390
 Vented much policy, and projects deep
 Of enemies, of aids, battles, and leagues,

Where the first edition reads *fleshy*. Milton has also "the *fleshy arm* of magistracy," Observ. on Art. of Peace between the E. of Ormond and the Irish. TODD.

Ver. 388. ——— *much instrument of war,*

Long in preparing,] "Totius belli *instrumento et apparatu.*"

Cicero. *Academic.* ii. 1. DUNSTER.

Plausible to the world, to me worth nought.
 Means I must use, thou say'st ; prediction else
 Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne : 395
 My time, I told thee, (and that time for thee
 Were better farthest off,) is not yet come :
 When that comes, think not thou to find me slack
 On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
 Thy politick maxims, or that cumbersome 400
 Luggage of war there shown me, argument
 Of human weakness rather than of strength.
 My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes
 I must deliver, if I mean to reign
 David's true heir, and his full scepter sway 405
 To just extent over all Israel's sons.
 But whence to thee this zeal ? Where was it then
 For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
 When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride

Ver. 394. ————— *prediction else*

Will unpredict,] This refers to what the Tempter had said before, ver. 354, where he had fallaciously applied the argument, that the requisite reliance on divine providence does not by any means countenance a supine negligence, and a dereliction of all personal exertions. Mr. Thyer censures the manner of speaking here, as too light and familiar for the dignity of the speaker, but it strikes me as censurable not so much for the lightness, as for the quaintness, of the expression, and somewhat of that jingling play upon words, of which our author was certainly too fond. To *unpredict* is something like to *uncreate*. See *Par. Lost*, B. v. 895, and B. ix. 943. DUNSTER.

Ver. 396. *My time, &c.]* John vii. 6. NEWTON.

Ver. 401. ————— *argument*

Of human weakness rather than of strength.] It is a proof of human weakness, as it shows that man is obliged to depend upon something extrinsical to himself, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himself. It alludes to the common observation, that Nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defence, except man. See Anacreon's *Ode* on this thought. THYER.

Ver. 409. *When thou stood'st up his tempter &c.]* Alluding to 1 Chron. xxi. 1. "And *Satan* stood up against Israel, and *provoked David* to number Israel." Milton, we see, considers it not as the advice of any evil counsellor, as some understand the word *Satan*, but as the suggestion of the first author of evil : and he expresses it very properly by *the pride of numbering Israel* ; for the best commentators suppose the nature of David's offence to consist in pride and vanity, in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people. And for this three things were proposed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be destroyed before his enemies, or three days pestilence ; of which he

Of numbering Israë!, which cost the lives 410
 Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
 By three days pestilence? Such was thy zeal
 To Israel then; the same that now to me!
 As for those captive tribes, themselves were they
 Who wrought their own captivity, fell off 415
 From God to worship calves, the deities
 Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,
 And all the idolatries of Heathen round,
 Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;
 Nor in the land of their captivity 420
 Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
 The God of their forefathers; but so died
 Impenitent, and left a race behind
 Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
 From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain; 425
 And God with idols in their worship join'd.
 Should I of these the liberty regard,
 Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,

chose the latter. "*So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men,*" ver. 14. NEWTON.

Ver. 414. *As for those captive tribes, &c.*] The captivity of the ten tribes was a punishment owing to their own idolatry and wickedness. *They fell off from God to worship calves*, the golden calves which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel and in Dan, and which the poet calls *the deities of Egypt*; for it is probable, (as some learned men have conjectured,) that Jeroboam, having conversed with the Egyptians, set up these two calves in imitation of the two which the Egyptians worshipped, the one called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hierapolis the metropolis of the lower Egypt. *Baal next and Ashtaroth*. Ahab built an altar and a temple for *Baal*, 1 Kings xvi. 32. and at the same time probably was introduced the worship of *Ashtaroth*, the Goddess of the *Zidonians*, 1 Kings xi. v. For Jezebel, Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all evil, was the daughter of *Ethbaal king of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings xvi. 31. And, by *the prophets of the groves*, (1 Kings xviii. 19.), Mr. Selden understands the prophets of *Ashtaroth* or *Astarte*; and *the groves under every green tree*, 2 Kings xvii. 10. should be translated *Ashtaroth under every green tree*. See Selden *de Diis Syris Syntag.* ii. cap. 2. But for the wickedness and idolatry of the Israelites, and their rejection thereupon, and still continuing impenitent in their captivity, see 2 Kings xvii. and the prophets in several places.

NEWTON.

Ver. 428. *Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,
 Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
 Headlong would follow; and to their gods perhaps
 Of Bethel and of Dan?*] There is some difficulty and ob-

Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
 Headlong would follow; and to their gods perhaps 430
 Of Bethel and of Dan? No; let them serve
 Their enemies, who serve idols with God.
 Yet he at length, (time to himself best known,)

curity in this passage; and several conjectures and emendations have been offered to clear it, but none, I think, entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Sympson would read *Headlong would fall off, and &c.* or *Headlong would fall, &c.* But Mr. Calton seems to come nearer the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they follow, says he? There wants an accusative case; and what must be understood to complete the sense can never be accounted for by an ellipsis, that any rules or use of language will justify. He therefore suspects by some accident a whole line may have been lost; and proposes one, which he says may serve at least for a commentary to explain the sense, if it cannot be allowed for an emendation:

" *Their futhers in their old iniquities*
 " *Headlong would follow, &c.*"

Or is not the construction thus, *Headlong would follow us to their ancient patrimony, and to their gods perhaps, &c.*? NEWTON.

There is somewhat of obscurity here, it must be allowed; but I conceive our author to have many passages that are more implicate. The sense seems to be this: "Who, if they were freed from that captivity, which was inflicted on them as a punishment for their disobedience, idolatry, and other vices, would return to take possession of their country, as something to which they were justly entitled, and of which they had been long unjustly deprived; without shewing the least sense either of their former abandoned conduct, or of God's goodness in pardoning and restoring them. This change in their situation would produce none whatever in their conduct, but they would retain the same hardened hearts, and the same wicked dispositions as before, and most probably would betake themselves to their old idolatries and other abominations." — The expression *headlong would follow* seems allusive to brute animals hurrying in a gregarious manner to any new and better pasture; and *headlong* might be particularly suggested by Sallust's description of irrational animals, "*pecora, quæ natura pronæ, atque ventri obedientia finxit.*" If a correction of the text be thought necessary, I should prefer,

"Who, freed as to their ancient patrimony,
 "Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
 "Headlong would *fall* unto their gods, perhaps
 "Of Bethel and of Dan——"

in recommendation of which it may be observed that *fall to idols* is Miltonick; as it is said of Solomon, *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 444. that his heart

"Beguil'd by fair idolatresses fell
 "To idols foul." DUNSTER.

Ver. 429. *Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,*] See my note on *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 185. TODD.

Ver. 431. ——— No; let them serve
Their enemies, &c.] "Like as ye have forsaken me, and served strange gods in your land, so shall ye serve strangers in a land that is not yours," *Jer.* v. 19. DUNSTER.

Remembering Abraham, by some wonderous call
 May bring them back, repentant and sincere, 435
 And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,
 While to their native land with joy they haste;
 As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
 When to the Promis'd Land their fathers pass'd :
 To his due time and providence I leave them. 440

So spake Israel's true king, and to the Fiend
 Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
 So fares it, when with truth falsehood contends.

Ver. 436. *And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood, &c.*] There are several prophecies of the restoration of Israel: but in saying that the Lord would cleave *the Assyrian flood*, that is the river Euphrates, at their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt, the poet seems particularly to allude to *Rev.* xvi. 12, and to *Isa.* xi. 15, 16. NEWTON.

Ver. 441. ————— *and to the Fiend*

Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.] We may compare the following passage of Vida, where Satan, in his Speech to the Devils in Pandemonium, relates how he had been foiled in the Temptation of our blessed Lord, *Christiad.* i. 198.

“ Quas non in facies, quæ non mutatus in ora
 “ Accessi incassum ! Semper me repulit ipse
 “ Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus ;
 “ Sed, tantum veterum repetito carmine vatum,
 “ *Irrita tentamenta, dolos, et vim eruit omnem.*” DUNSTER.

So, in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Victory*, the Sorceress is thus foiled in the Temptation of our Lord ;

“ But he *her charms dispersed into wind*
 “ And her of insolence admonished.” TODD.

Ver. 253. p. 114. *It was a mountain &c.*] All that the Scripture saith is, that the Devil took Jesus up “ *into an exceeding high mountain*” (*Matt.* iv. 8.) ; which commentators generally suppose to have been one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, or near the wilderness. The ancients speak little concerning it ; but the moderns imagine it to have been the mountain Quarantania, as it is now called. Mr. Maundrell, in his *Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, speaking of the plain of Jericho, says, “ we descended into it, after about five hours march from Jerusalem. As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up on the left hand, and, going about one hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania ; which they say is the mountain into which the Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew styles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its ascent not only difficult but dangerous.” But this is all conjecture ; and, as the Scripture has not specified any particular place, the poet was at liberty in this point to suit it to his own

fancy. By his description here he must mean Mount Taurus, for he describes it exactly in the same manner as Strabo has described that part of Mount Taurus which divides the greater Armenia from Mesopotamia, and which contains the sources of the Euphrates and Tigris. Τὸ δ' οὖν νοτιώτατον [βορείοτατον] μάλιστα ἐστὶν ὁ Ταῦρος ὀρίζων τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀμφότεροι ῥέουσιν οἱ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐγκυκλούμενοι ποταμοί. Strabo, L. xi. p. 521. NEWTON.

That part of Mount Taurus which bounds Mesopotamia on the north, we learn from Strabo, was sometimes called simply Mount Taurus, and sometimes the Gordyæan mountains; in the middle of which, nearly above Nisibis, stood Mount Masius. But this mountainous range does not contain the sources either of the Euphrates or Tigris; although from every part of it lesser contributory streams flow into each of these rivers. In the passage cited by Dr. Newton from Strabo, ῥέουσιν signifies only that the two rivers *flow through*, or *amongst*, these mountains, and not that they *spring*, or *have their sources*, in them. That such is here the sense of ῥέουσιν appears from another passage of the same ancient geographer in this part of his work, where, having traced the course of Mount Taurus eastward to the Euphrates, he speaks of the continuity of these mountains being no further interrupted than by the course of the river as it *flows through the middle* of them—ὅρη συνέχῃ τοῖς μὲν ποσειδημένοις, πλὴν ὅσον διακόπτει ΡΕΩΝ ἐνὰ μέσῳ ὁ ποταμός. Indeed Strabo is very particular in pointing out the original sources of these two rivers. The springs of the Tigris he fixes in the southern side of Mount Niphates, which is considerably north-east of Mount Masius and the Gordyæan mountains; and the prime source of the Euphrates he carries very far north (as Ptolemy had also done), and affirms that the springs of the two rivers are two thousand five hundred *stadia*, (which is above four hundred miles) distant from each other. Possibly there is some error here, as Eustathius (on Dionysius, v. 985.) says they are only one thousand five hundred *stadia* apart. As the mountains, which constitute the head or northern boundary of Mesopotamia, incline to the south, and are absolutely the most southern part of the whole ancient Taurus, the lower end of Mount Amanus alone excepted, they are justly described by Strabo, *νοτιώτατον*; and why Dr. Newton should give *βορείοτατον*, as an hypothetical emendation in a parenthesis, or why Xylander should render the passage "*maxime ad septentriones accedens*," I do not comprehend. Mount Masius, or any projecting elevation of that ridge, would have been no improper point for viewing a great part of this geographical scene. Milton might therefore, not without reason, be supposed to have followed Strabo as cited by Dr. Newton: and indeed "from his side two rivers flow'd" seems almost an exact translation of ἐντεῦθεν οἱ ἀμφότεροι ῥέουσιν, &c. But still, all circumstances considered, I conceive this was not the exact spot which he had selected in his mind for his "specular mount." We must recollect that, at the conclusion of the third Book of his *Paradise Lost*, he makes Satan, in his way to Paradise, alight on the top of Mount Niphates; and, while he is there, it is said that Eden "in his view lay pleasant."

That he fixed upon Mount Niphates in that place for Satan to light upon, and from thence to survey Eden, was certainly owing to his considering it as the most elevated range of this part of Mount Taurus; and, that it was so, he collected from Strabo, who, having traced the course of the mountain from the Euphrates eastward, or rather north-east, and having described the Gordyæan mountains [of which too see the curious notice in Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, 1617, p. 41,] as being higher than any parts which he had before considered, says, "from thence it rises still higher, and is distinguished by the name of Niphates." But the object of the poet, in this part of the *Paradise Regained*, certainly was to select a

point of Mount Taurus inclining to the south-east, but sufficiently central and elevated to command the Caspian sea, Artaxata, and other places specified, that lay directly, or nearly, north. Mount Niphates most particularly suited his purpose, and will, I imagine, be found to agree perfectly with all his descriptions. It may be observed also that it rises immediately above Assyria, which is the first country showed to our Lord. As to what is said, that *from its side two rivers flow'd*, the sources of the Tigris, it is agreed, were in the southern side of this mountain; and several ancient authors have supposed the Euphrates and Tigris to spring from the same source. Sallust affirms this in a fragment preserved by Seneca; "Sallustius, auctor certissimus, asserit *Tigrin et Euphratem uno fonte manare* in Armenia, qui per diversa euntes longius dividantur, spatio medio relicto multorum millium; quæ tamen terra, quæ ab ipsis ambitur, Mesopotamia dicitur." Boethius likewise (*Cons. Philosoph. L. v.*) says positively,

"Tigris et Euphrates *uno se fonte* resolvunt;"

And Lucan, L. iii. 256.

"Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus

"Euphrates, quos *non diversis fontibus* edit

"Persis;"

on which passage Grotius observes, that *non diversis* means *parum distantibus*, but adds "vulgo tamen creditum *unum habuisse fontem*." It is also observable that one principal source of the Euphrates, according to Strabo, was in Mount Abus, at no considerable distance north of Mount Niphates. Neither has the prime source of this river been carried by other geographers so far north, as Strabo and Ptolemy have inclined to place it. It may be further remarked, that the descriptions of the poet in other respects point out Niphates as the "specular mount," in preference to Mount Masius or any point of the Taurus between that mountain and the Euphrates; as in such a station, the verse describing the extent of the Assyrian empire,

"As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,"

seems highly improper, when the speaker was standing so near the very bank of the last river. Besides, had the spectators of this geographical scene been placed on Mount Masius or any point of the mountains immediately at the head of Mesopotamia, the plain "at the feet of these mountains" would have been *only* Mesopotamia. But the poet positively distinguishes between Mesopotamia and his *great plain*, that lay at the foot of that vast range of Mount Taurus of which Mount Niphates may be considered as the highest and most central point. The latter he describes "a spacious plain outstretch'd in circuit wide;" while the former he places between its two rivers, and terms it "fair champain with less rivers interrein'd." DUNSTER.

THE END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, persisting in the temptation of our Lord, shows him Imperial Rome in its greatest pomp and splendour, as a power which he probably would prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he might with the greatest ease expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to their liberty, and make himself master not only of the Roman Empire, but by so doing of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expresses his contempt of grandeur and worldly power, notices the luxury, vanity, and profligacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be restored to that liberty, which they had lost by their misconduct, and briefly refers to the greatness of his own future kingdom. Satan, now desperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, professes that the only terms on which he will bestow them, are our Saviour's falling down and worshipping him. Our Lord expresses a firm but temperate indignation at such a proposition, and rebukes the Tempter by the title of "Satan for ever damned." Satan, abashed, attempts to justify himself: he then assumes a new ground of temptation, and, proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated seat of ancient learning, Athens, its schools, and other various resorts of learned teachers and their disciples; accompanying the view with a highly finished panegyrick on the Grecian musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers of the different sects. Jesus replies, by showing the vanity and insufficiency of the boasted Heathen philosophy; and prefers to the musick, poetry, eloquence, and didactick policy of the Greeks, those of the inspired Hebrew writers. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiscretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers; and having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there. Night comes on: Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts further to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrifick threatening spectres; which however have no effect upon him. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrors of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord, and, from noticing the storm of the preceding night as pointed chiefly at him, takes occasion once more to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only draws from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the height of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the true Messiah; and, collecting from what passed at the river Jordan that he most probably was so, he had from that time more assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his "fatal Enemy." In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto completely failed; but still determines to make one more trial of him. Accordingly he conveys him to the Temple at Jerusalem, and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his Divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the Tempter, and at the same time manifests his own Divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amazed and terrified, instantly falls; and repairs to his Infernal Compeers, to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels in the mean time convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley, and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.

PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

PERPLEX'D and troubled at his bad success
The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the persuasive rhetorick
That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve, 5
So little here, nay lost ; but Eve was Eve ;
This far his over-match, who, self-deceiv'd
And rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd
The strength he was to cope with, or his own :
But as a man, who had been matchless held 10

Ver. 4. ————— *the persuasive rhetorick*] Thus the Serpent's address to Eve is termed, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 191, "glozing *rhetorike*." And Milton also, in his account of the Temptation of Eve, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 549, says "So *gloz'd* the Tempter." See also *Comus*, v. 790. But Milton here had probably the *Eva* di Fed. Malipiero, Ven. 1640, in his mind, where the fall of Eve is related, p. 98. "Ma io credere, ch' il peccato di Adamo fosse stato anche maggiore, perch' Eva alla per fine debole, e tentata dal Diavolo, ch' è il maestro della *RETTORICA tentativa* poteva facilmente ingannarla." TODD.

Ver. 5. *That sleek'd his tongue,*] So Quarles, in his *Elegy on Dr. Wilson*, st. iii.

"No far-fetch'd metaphor shall smooth or sleek

"My ruffled strain." DUNSTER.

Ver. 9. *The strength he was to cope with, or his own :*] Milton might allude to the *particular* description of a *strong man foiled*, Luke xi. 21, 22. "When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace. But when a *stronger man* than he shall come upon him, and overcome him, he *taketh from him all his armour wherein he trusted*." These words were spoken by Christ himself, possibly with a reference to his victory over the Tempter, who "had no better weighed *the strength* he was to cope with, or his own." TODD.

Ver. 10. *But as a man, &c.*] It is the method of Homer to illustrate and adorn the same subject with several similitudes. Our author here

In cunning, over-reach'd where least he thought,
 To salve his credit, and for very spite,
 Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
 And never cease, though to his shame the more;
 Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,

15

follows his example, and presents us with a *string* of similes together. This fecundity and variety of the two poets can never be sufficiently admired; but Milton, I think, has the advantage in this respect, that in Homer the lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas here they rise one upon another. The first has too much sameness with the subject that it would illustrate, and gives us no new ideas. The second is low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the same time is very natural. The third is free from the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's usual dignity and majesty. Mr. Thyer also observes that Milton, as if conscious of the defects of his two first comparisons, rises in the third to his usual sublimity. NEWTON.

Ver. 10. *But as a man, who had been matchless held &c.*] The character of the man of cunning irritated by defeat, however well drawn, is here an image too general and indistinct, materially to illustrate, or in any way to decorate, this part of the poem. We may therefore perhaps suppose the description in this place to have been *personal*: it might refer to his old literary, political enemy, Salmasius, as the "man who had been matchless held," and who, after being "foiled" in the controversy by our author's *defensio populi*, endeavoured "to salve his credit" by a virulent reply, which he did not live to finish, but which was published by his son: or it might relate to his later antagonist, Alexander More, or Morus.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 15. *Or as a swarm of flies &c.*] This comparison, Dr. Jortin observes, is very just; and in the manner of Homer, *Il.* xvi. 641.

Οἱ δ' αἰεὶ περὶ νεκρὸν ὀμίλειον, ὥς ὅτε μυῖαι
 Σταθμῷ ἐνὶ βρομέωσι περιγλαγίαι κατὰ πύλλας,
 "Ὅρῃ ἐν εἰαρυνῷ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεια ἐεύει.

See also *Il.* xvii. 570, &c. Mr. Thyer notices likewise the simile of the Flies in the second Book of the *Iliad*, 469.

Ἦντε μυιάων ἀνιάνων ἰθνεα πολλὰ,
 Αἶτε κατὰ σταθμὸν ποιμνήϊον ἡλάσκουσιν
 "Ὅρῃ ἐν εἰαρυνῷ, ὅτε τε γλάγος ἄγγεια ἐεύει.

The language of this last simile is beautiful, but the image which it presents is of a kind that scarcely embellishes, and certainly does not dignify, the description. The other two comparisons of a band of warriors obstinately defending the dead body of their companion from the repeated attacks of the enemy, to a number of flies which it is scarcely possible to drive back from a milk pail, and of a single hero acting the same resolute part, to a fly that will not quit a dead carcase, are, it must be allowed, similes of the degrading kind, and unworthy of the subject they are intended to illustrate. But the application of the same simile by Milton in this place is so perfectly appropriate, that no such objection lies against it. It is justly observed by Dr. Blair, respecting similes, "that they are commonly intended to embellish and to dignify; and therefore, unless in burlesque writing, or where similes are introduced purposely to vilify and diminish an object, mean ideas should never be presented to us." This then is one of the Critick's exceptions, as it may be supposed the Poet's

About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound ;
Or surging waves against a solid rock,

object here to diminish, by setting in its true light, the character of the Tempter, which in parts of this Poem he had found it convenient to invest with such a portion of dignity, that it was necessary at other times to counteract it by lowering descriptions and degrading comparisons. Besides, as the courage and force of a magnanimous hero may be illustrated by the comparison of a lion or a torrent, so may the low cunning and base arts of an insidious adversary be, with no less propriety, elucidated by a comparison of an insect or a reptile. DUNSTER.

The reader may here also compare Ariosto's beautiful Simile of the Flies, *Orl. Fur. C. xiv. st. cix.* TODD.

Ver. 18. *Or surging waves against a solid rock,*

Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,] There can be but one opinion respecting this simile. "It presents," says Mr. Thyer, "to the reader's mind an image which not only fills and satisfies the imagination, but also perfectly expresses both the unmoved steadfastness of our Saviour, and the frustrated baffled attempts of Satan." We may trace a resemblance of it, where Vida describes the vain attempts of the Arch-Fiend, in the Temptation of our blessed Lord, *Christiad. iv. 628,*

— "Haud destitit hostis
"Congressu victus primo, pugnâque retentat,
"Atque aliis super atque aliis assultibus instat,
"Terque novos, semper cæpti irritus, integrat astus,
"Nequicquam nunc regnorum, nunc laudis, inani
"Immotum tentans animum pervertere amore.
"Ut, cum sollicitum tollunt mare fluctibus Euri,
"Crebra ferit, sævitque minaci murmure in alta
"Littora, sed *saxis allisa revertitur unda.*"

We may also compare the following stanza of Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph over Death.*

"So have I seen a rock's heroick breast,
"Against proud Neptune, that his ruin threats,
"When all his waves he hath to battle prest,
"And with a thousand swelling billows beats
"The stubborn stone, and foams and chafes and frets
"To heave him from his root, unmoved stand,
"And more in heaps the barking surges land,
"The more *in pieces beat* fly weeping to the strand."

And we may trace all these later poets to Virgil, *Æn. vii. 586,* as we may Virgil himself to Homer, *Il. xv. 618.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 18. — *surging waves*] This is a frequent expression in our old poetry. Thus in the *Historie of Sir Clyomon*, 1599.

"Here by the sea of *surging waues.*"

Aguin, in Ford's *Lorer's Melancholy*, 1629.

"The frothy fomes of Neptune's *surging waues.*"

See also Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xvi. p. 252, edit. 1622, and Nicols's *Mir. for Mag.* p. 861, edit. 1610. But Milton perhaps had here in mind both the phrase and the simile, as they stand in Harrington's *Orlando Furioso*, c. xlv. st. 70.

"Nor better doth a *rocke* indure the stroke

"Of *surging waues*, still wallowing to the land." TODD.

Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew,
 (Vain battery !) and in froth or bubbles end ; 20
 So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
 Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
 Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,
 And his vain importunity pursues.
 He brought our Saviour to the western side 25
 Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
 Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,
 Wash'd by the southern sea, and, on the north,
 To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills 29
 That screen'd the fruits of the earth, and seats of men,
 From cold Septentrion blasts ; thence in the midst
 Divided by a river, of whose banks
 On each side an imperial city stood,
 With towers and temples proudly elevate
 On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd, 35

Ver. 27. *Another plain, &c.*] The learned reader need not be informed that the country here meant is Italy, which indeed is long but not broad, and is washed by the Mediterranean on the south, and screened by the Alps on the north, and divided in the midst by the river Tiber. NEWTON.

The ridge of hills here does not mean the Alps, but the Apennines which divide the south-west part of Italy from the north-west ; and in which the river Tiber has its source. The *plain*, contained between these hills and the Mediterranean Sea, consists of the old Etruria, Latium, and Campania ; the two latter being divided from the former by the course of the Tiber. DUNSTER.

Ver. 34. *With towers and temples proudly elevate &c.*] Thus Spenser, in his *Ruins of Time*, where Verulam, comparing herself with Rome, describes "the beauty of her buildings fair ;"

"High towers, fair temples, goodly theatres,
 "Strong walls, rich porches, princely palaces,
 "Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
 "Sure gates, sweet gardens, &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 35. *On seven small hills,*] Thus Virgil, *Georgic.* ii. 535, speaking of Rome, "*Septénque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.*" NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— with palaces adorn'd,

Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts,

Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,] The *palaces* were a subject of immense expence and grandeur. Clodius, the antagonist of Milo, even in the times of the republick, dwelt in a house that cost near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our money. We may form some judgment of the size and extent of the Roman palaces, from what is said of them by the writers of the Augustan age. Sallust mentions "*domos et villas in urbium modum exedificatas.*" Bell. Catilin. 12. Seneca also speaks in the same manner of the private houses in his time ;

Porches, and theatres, baths, aqueducts, Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,

"*œdificia privata laxitatem urbium magnarum vincentia.*" De Benefic. vii. 10, and Epist. xc. he notices "*domos instar urbium.*"

The *Porches* or *Porticos* also were an article of immense magnificence at Rome. They were elevated structures of great extent; and were much resorted to for shade in summer, and for dryness in winter. Martial speaks of the Claudian Portico, *De Spectac. Ep.* ii. 9. and describes the famous Portico of Cn. Octavius, in the Circus Flaminius, *L. ii. Ep.* xiv. Ovid notices the Pompeian, Octavian, and Livian Porticos, *De Art. Amand.* i. 67. &c. As Roman luxury rose to its height, private persons had their porticos. Paternulus having spoken of the publick porticos, adds: "publicam magnificentiam secuta privata luxuria est." *L. ii. C. i.*

The *Theatres*, in which we may include the *Amphitheatres*, *Circi*, and *Naumachia*, were conspicuous objects among the magnificent buildings of Rome. They were at first only temporary buildings, but were erected sometimes at an incredible expence. Pliny describes very particularly one built by M. Scaurus, the son-in-law of Sylla, which he terms "opus maximum omnium quæ umquam fuisse humanâ manu facta." *L. xxxvi. C. 15.* Pompey was the first person who built a fixed theatre; see Tacitus, *Annal.* xiv. C. xx. Permanent theatres of great extent soon became frequent. Some remains of those built by Marcellus, and Statilius Taurus, are still to be seen; as well as that of Tiberius.

The great extent of the Roman publick *Baths* may be judged of by the ruins now remaining of those of Caracalla and Dioclesian. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of baths at Rome, "in modum provinciarum extracta," (*L. xvi. C. 10;*) where, however, Valesius judiciously suggests the reading *piscinarum* rather than *provinciarum*. Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, says, v. 102. "Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus." The *baths* even of private persons were very lofty buildings, and were ornamented in the most superb style. Juvenal, speaking of the expences of private persons in whatever gratified their own luxury, specifies particularly their *baths* and *porticos*, *Sat.* vii. 178. Seneca particularly notices this absurd extravagance of his countrymen, in his lxxxvith epistle.

The *Aqueducts* were some of the noblest works of the Romans. Frontinus, in his Treatise *de Aqueductibus Urbis Romæ*, affirms them to have been "magnitudinis Romani Imperii præcipuum indicium."

The passion of the Romans for *Statues* appears from the number of antique statues yet remaining at Rome, after the numerous desolations of that city. Greece, Asia, and Egypt were all plundered to ornament it with statues. Among the most conspicuous of these, on a bird's eye view of the city, were the colossal images of some of their emperours, standing on superb columns. Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of the triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome, notices the "elatos vertices, qui scansili suggestu consurgunt, priorum principum imitamenta portantes." These may be supposed the statues which the poet here intends.

Rutilius notices the numberless *Trophies* which decorated every part of the city of Rome, *Itinerar.* 91, &c. Milton had here perhaps in his mind the trophies now remaining in the front of the Capitol, thought to be the Cimbrick trophies of Marius.

The *Arches* erected in honour of eminent persons were in the early ages of Rome rude structures. That of Camillus was of plain stone. But those of Cæsar, Drusus, Titus, Trajan, Constantine, and others, were of marble, and many of them ornamented with statues, trophies, and the most curious sculpture; particularly those of Titus and Constantine. DUNSTON.

“*Triumphant arcs of perdurable might.*” TODD.

Ver. 38. *Gardens, and groves,*] The extravagance of the Romans in these articles of luxury, was carried to a ridiculous height. They planted “*gardens* and orchards and *groves* vpon their house toppes; therein like Antipodes running a contrary course to nature, as Seneca truly and justly taxes them, *Epist.* 122.” Hakewill’s *Apologie* &c. in the chapter entitled “Their [the Romans] prodigall sumptuousnesse in their private buildings, in regard of the largenesse and height of their houses, as also in regard of their marble pillars, walls, roofes, beames, and pauement full of art and cost,” p. 404. Compare ver. 58, &c. TODD.

Ver. 40. (*By what strange parallax, or optick skill*

Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass

Of telescope,]

The learned have been very idly busy in contriving the manner in which Satan showed to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Some suppose it was done by vision; others by Satan’s creating phantasms or species of different kingdoms, and presenting them to our Saviour’s sight, &c. &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide in summing up the various opinions upon this subject gives it in these words: “*Alii subtiliter imaginantur, quod Dæmon per multa specula sibi invicem objecta species regnorum ex uno speculo in aliud et aliud continuò reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad oculos Christi.*” In locum Matthæi. For want of a proper index I could not find the place in Broughton’s works. But Wolfius, in his *Cura philologicæ in SS. Evangelia*, fathers this whim upon him: “*Alii cum Hugone Broughtono ad instrumenta artis opticæ se recipiunt.*” Vid. Wolf. in *Matt.* iv. 8. THYER.

The learned Bochart has a Dissertation on this subject; the following passage of which might here have been in Milton’s recollection. “*Eo usque progreditur hominum industria, ut instrumentis quibusdam opticis, telescopiis, microscopiis, et speculis, &c. remotissima quæque oculis sub-jiciat, minutissima quævis adducat in conspectum, objectorum situm prorsus immutet, adeo ut posteriora antè, inferius superiora cernantur. Nullatenus profecto dubitandum quin longè major fit Diaboli in objectis admovendis, amplificandis, suo situ emovendis, &c. vis ac solertia; cum pro tubis opticis aut speculis bipedalibus, vel tripedalibus, quibus solemus uti, ille præsto nubes habeat, quas ex arbitrio, tanquam aeris princeps, fingit ac usurpat.*” Tom. i. p. 949. DUNSTER.

The city, which thou seest, no other deem
 Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth, 45
 So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
 Of nations ; there the Capitol thou seest,
 Above the rest lifting his stately head
 On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
 Impregnable ; and there mount Palatine, 50
 The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
 The structure, skill of noblest architects,
 With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
 Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires :

Ver. 45. ——— *great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth.*] See *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 405. And thus Propertius terms Rome, L. iii. El. 10. "Septem urbs alta jugis, quæ toti præsidet orbi." Rutilius, in his *Itinerarium*, where he describes himself quitting Rome, thus begins a most affectionate valedictory address to her, L. i. 47.

"Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi." DUNSTER.

Ver. 46. ——— *with the spoils enrich'd*

Of nations ;] This refers to the immense sums carried to Rome, and deposited in the treasury by their generals ; and to what was amassed by the fines which the Romans arbitrarily set upon other states and kingdoms, as the price of their friendship. Lucan, where he relates the plundering of the treasury by Julius Cæsar, particularly describes the spoils and treasures accumulated by these rulers of the world, *Pharsal*. iii. 155, &c. DUNSTER.

Ver. 50. ——— *there mount Palatine,*

The imperial palace, compass huge, and high

The structure.] In the following passage from Claudian, we

may perhaps trace something like the ground-work of this description of Rome, *De VI. Cons. Hon.* 35.

"Ecce Palatino crevit reverentia monti,

"Exsultâtque habitante Deo, potiorâque Delphis

"Supplicibus late populis oracula pandit ;

"Atque suas ad signa jubet revirescere laurus.

"Non alium certe decuit rectoribus orbis

"Esse larem, nullôque magis se colle potestas

"Æstimat, et summi sentit fastigia juris.

"Attollens apicem subjectis regia rostris

"Tot circum delubra videt, tantisque Deorum

"Cingitur excubiis. Juvat infra tecta Tonantis

"Cernere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantes,

"Cælatâsque fores, mediâsque volantia signa

"Nubibus, et densum stipantibus æthera templis,

"Ærâque vestitis numerosa puppe columnis

"Consita, submixâsque jugis immanibus ædes,

"Naturam cumulante manu ; spoliisque micantes

"Innumeros arcus. Acies stupet igne metalli,

"Et circumfuso trepidans obtunditur auro." DUNSTER.

Ver. 54. *Turrets, and terraces,*] Mr. Dunster remarks,¹ that Milton here seems to have blended the old *English* castle with his *Roman view*.

Many a fair edifice besides, more like 55
 Houses of gods, (so well I have dispos'd
 My aery microscope,) thou may'st behold,
 Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,
 Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers,
 In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold. 60
 Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
 What conflux issuing forth, or entering in ;
 Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
 Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
 Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power, 65
 Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings :
 Or embassies from regions far remote,
 In various habits, on the Appian road,

And Mr. Warton thinks that Milton was impressed with this idea from his vicinity to Windsor castle. See *Comus*, ver. 934. However, in both passages, especially in this before us, Milton has imitated Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* v. ix. 21.

————— “they a stately *pallace* did behold
 “Of pompous show, much more than she had told,
 “With many *TOWRES* and *TARRAS* mounted *hye*,
 “And all their *tops* bright *glistering* with gold,
 “That seemed to outshine &c.” *TODD*.

Ver. 56. *Houses of gods,*] This is the true reading. Some editions read “Houses of *God*.” *TODD*.

Ver. 58. *Outside and inside both,*] So Menippus, in Lucian's *Icaro-Menippus*, could see clearly and distinctly, from the moon, cities and men upon the earth, and what they were doing, both *without doors and within*, where they thought themselves most secret. *Κατακίψας γούν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐώρων σαφῶς τὰς πόλεις, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ οὐ τὰ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸς αἰκοὶ ἐκρυπτον, οἰόμενοι λανθάνειν.* Luciani Opp. vol. ii. p. 197. Edit. Græv. *CALTON*.

Ver. 63. *Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces*
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state, &c.] The rapacity of the Roman provincial governours, and their eagerness to take possession of their *prey*, is here strongly marked by the word *hasting*. Their pride and vanity was not less than their rapacity, and was displayed not only in their triumphs, but in their magisterial state upon all occasions. The pride and state of the Roman magistrates is noticed by Sallust, who also refers to their infamously rapacious conduct;—“incedunt per ora vestra magnifice sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos suos ostentantes: perinde quasi ea honori, non *prædæ*, habeant.” *Bell. Jugurth.* C. 31. *DUNSTER*.

Ver. 66. ————— turms] *Troops* of horse, a word coined from the Latin, *turma*. Virg. *Æn.* v. 560. “*equitum turmæ*.” *NEWTON*.

Ver. 68. ————— on the Appian road,
Or on the Æmilian;] The Appian road from Rome led towards the south of Italy, and the Æmilian towards the north. The

Or on the Emilian ; some from farthest south,
 Syene, and where the shadow both way falls, 70
 Meroe, Nilotick isle ; and, more to west,
 The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea ;
 From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these ;
 From India and the golden Chersonese,
 And utmost Indian isle Taprobane, 75
 Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreath'd ;

nations on the Appian road are included in ver. 69—76, those on the Æmilian in ver. 77—79. NEWTON.

Ver. 69. ————— *some from farthest south,*

Syene,] Milton had in view what he read in Pliny and other authors, that *Syene* was the limit of the Roman Empire, and the remotest place to the south that belonged to it. Or it may be said that poets have not scrupled to give the epithets *extremi*, *ultimi*, to any people that lived a great way off ; and that possibly Milton intended farthest south to be so applied both to *Syene* and to *Meroe*. JORTIN.

He first mentions places in *Africa* ; *Syene*, a city of Egypt on the confines of Ethiopia ; “ *Ditionis Ægypti esse incipit a fine Æthiopiæ Syene* ;” Plin. Lib. v. Sect. 9. ; *Meroe*, an island and city of Ethiopia, in the river Nile, therefore called *Nilotick isle*, *where the shadow both way falls* ; “ *Rursus in Meroe, (insula hæc capûtque gentis Æthiopum—in amne Nilo habitatur,) bis anno absumi umbras* ;” Plin. Lib. ii. Sect. 73. ; *the realm of Bocchus*, Mauritania. Then *Asian* nations ; among these *the golden Chersonese*, Malacca, the most southern promontory of the East Indies, (see *Paradise Lost*, B. xi. 392.) *and utmost Indian isle Taprobane*, wherefore Pliny says it is “ *extra orbem a natura relegata* ;” Lib. vi. Sect. 22. Then the *European* nations as far as to the *Taurick pool*, that is the palus Mæotis ; “ *Lacus ipse Mæotis, Tanain amnem ex Ripæis montibus defluentem accipiens, novissimum inter Europam Asiâque finem, &c.*” Plin. Lib. iv. Sect. 12. NEWTON.

The description here seems governed by the cardinal points. It first looks *southward*, to Africa ; then *eastward*, to Asia ; then *westward*, to France, Spain, and the British Islands ; then *northward*, to Germany, ancient Scythia, and the most northern European nations. Milton seems also to have had in view Martial's Epigram, *De Gentium Confluxu et Congratulatione*, Lib. *de Spectac.* Ep. iii. DUNSTER.

Ver. 73. ————— *and Parthian among these ;*] The Tempter having failed to captivate our Lord with the view of the immense forces of the Parthians and their military preparations and skill, now endeavours to impress upon him a sense of the great power of the Roman Empire. This is displayed in the embassies of distant and powerful nations, among whom we find the Parthians, who are thus made to bow the head to the Genius of Rome. DUNSTER.

Ver. 76. *Dusk faces with white silken turbans wreath'd ;*] I have been told that a truly respectable prelate, whose taste and literary acquirements are of the first eminence, has noticed this verse as one of the most picturesque lines that he has ever met with in poetry : almost every word conveys a distinct idea, and generally one of great effect. Prudentius has a passage not dissimilar, *Hamartigen.* 499.

————— “ *decolor Indus*

“ *Tempora pinnatis redimitus nigra sagittis.*”

From Gallia, Gades, and the British west ;
 Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north
 Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.
 All nations now to Rome obedience pay ;
 To Rome's great emperor, whose wide domain,
 In ample territory, wealth, and power,
 Civility of manners, arts, and arms,
 And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer

80

See also Tasso, of the Æthiopians, *Gier. Lib. c. xvii. 94.*

——— “ per battesimo delle nere fronte.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 77. ———— *Gades,*] The old Roman name for Cadiz, or Cales, a principal sea-port of Spain, without the straits of Gibraltar : and is here put to signify the part of Spain most distant from Rome ; which the Romans distinguished by the name of *Hispania ulterior*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 78. *Germanus, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north*

Beyond Danubius to the Taurick pool.] The Danube was the southern boundary of ancient Germany. From the mouth of the Danube to the Palus Mæotis, all along the shores of the Euxine Sea, lay the European Scythians, and beyond them northward, the Suromatæ, Sarmatæ, or Sarmatians. All the intermixed nations seem at the time of the Christian Æra to have been so far swallowed up in these two, as to have ranked under the general head of Scythians or Sarmatians ; which names ancient historians have much confounded. These two nations extended themselves very far north. Cluverius says, that Sarmatia reached quite to the Northern Ocean ; which was thence called *Oceanus Sarmaticus*. Juvenal joins the Sarmatians with this ocean, *Sat. ii. 1, 2.* Milton may therefore be understood, in this description, as meaning to comprehend all the European nations from the banks of the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine, to the Northern Ocean. DUNSTER.

Ver. 84. ———— *thou justly may'st prefer*

Before the Parthian.] The Tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, B. iii. 363.

——— “ The Parthian first

“ By my advice : ”

but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these touches his character is set in a proper light.

NEWTON.

There appears to me here no inconsistency whatever. What is here said rather marks the great and accomplished art of the tempter, than indicates a “ shuffling.” Satan only varies the attack, by changing the ground on which it had not been successful. His manner of doing it is perfectly plausible. “ You,” says he, “ may very possibly prefer an alliance with the Romans, whose power and splendour I have just displayed, to one with the Parthians ; and you judge wisely in so doing.”

DUNSTER.

Yet, to say that Christ might *justly* prefer an alliance with the Roman, after he had said that by the Parthian he should

——— “ regain, *without him not,*

“ That which alone could truly re-install him

“ In David's seat,” ———

Before the Parthian. These two thrones except, 85
 The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
 Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd ;
 These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
 The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.
 This emperour hath no son, and now is old, 90
 Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd
 To Capreæ, an island small, but strong,
 On the Campanian shore, with purpose there
 His horrid lusts in private to enjoy ;
 Committing to a wicked favourite 95
 All publick cares, and yet of him suspicious ;
 Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,
 Endued with regal virtues, as thou art,
 Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,

argues, I think, in the strongest sense of the expression, *a liar traced*, as the Angel denominates him in *Par. Lost*.—It is in character, however, for the Tempter to recommend the wealth and grandeur of Rome to our Lord's notice. Porphyry says, that the devils always endeavoured to entice men to worship them *by magnificent promises of riches and glory*. See Elsner in *Mat.* iv. 8, 9. Compare also B. iii. 25, and Mr. Thyer's note on the passage. TODD.

Ver. 88. ————— *I have shown thee all*

The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.] The Poet in the preceding Book had displayed at large the military power of the Parthian empire. In the beginning of this Book he shows and describes Imperial Rome, the "Queen of the Earth," in all her magnificence of splendour and pride of power ; and introduces the rest of the world as subject to her, doing homage to her greatness, and suing to her with embassies. Thus admirably has he depicted "the kingdoms of the world, and all their glory," in the great and principal empire of the Heathen world : very judiciously also and with considerable effect has he wound up his extended and highly finished description, by recurring to the *brief* account in scripture of the Devil showing our Lord *all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them*. *Mat.* iv. DUNSTER.

Ver. 90. *This emperour &c.*] This account of the emperour *Tiberius* retiring from Rome to the island *Capreæ*, and there enjoying his horrid lusts in private, and in the mean while committing the government to his *wicked favourite* and minister *Sejanus*, together with the character of this emperour ; is perfectly agreeable to the Roman histories, and particularly to those of Suetonius and Tacitus, who have painted this *monster*, as Milton calls him, in such colours, as he deserved to be described in, to posterity. NEWTON.

Ver. 95. ————— *a wicked favourite*] Our Poet, I dare say, read, with great displeasure and disgust, the fulsome praises that Paternulus has disgraced himself by lavishing on *Sejanus* in the second book of his history. JOS. WATSON.

Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne, 100
 Now made a styè; and, in his place ascending
 A victor, people free from servile yoke!
 And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
 Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
 Aim therefore at no less than all the world; 105
 Aim at the highest: without the highest attain'd,
 Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
 On David's throne, be prophesied what will.

To whom the Son of God, unmov'd, replied.
 Nor doth this grandeur and majestick show 110
 Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
 More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
 Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell
 Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
 On citron tables or Atlantick stone, 115

Ver. 100. ————— *this monster*] Thus Cicero, speaking of Catiline; “nulla jam pernicies a *monstro illo* atque prodigio manibus ipsis intra mœnia comparabitur.” 2. *In Catilin.* 1. DUNSTER.

See also Juvenal, *Sat.* iv. 2.

————— “*Monstrum nullâ virtute redemptum*
 “*A vitiis, æger, solâque libidine fortis.*” TODD.

Ver. 103. ————— *to me the power*
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.] “All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them; for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it.” Luke iv. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 114. *Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts*] The Poet had here perhaps in his mind the account given by Suetonius, cap. 13, of the *sumptuous gluttonies of Vitellius*; or the immense sums expended in this way by the famous Apicius, of which see Seneca, *De Consolat. Ad Helv.* cap. 10. DUNSTER.

This line of *Paradise Regained* might perhaps have been dictated by a passage in *Comus*, v. 776.

————— “*swinish Gluttony*
 “*Ne'er looks to Heaven amidst his gorgeous feast.*”

And what follows relating to the feasts of the Romans, might be suggested by the similar, but more diffuse, remarks of an author, whose deeply learned labours could not but be highly gratifying to the inquisitive mind of Milton. See Hakewill's *Apologie of the Power and Providence of God*, edit. 1630. Lib. iv. Cap. 6. Sect. 6. “Of the costlinesse and curious workemanshippe of the vessels out of which they [the Romans] dranke, which was likewise a meanes to draw them on to excessive drinking. Cap. 7. Of the excessive gluttony of the Romanes. Sect. 1. Of their costly tables, their huge platters, &c.” TODD.

Ver. 115. *On citron tables or Atlantick stone,*] Tables made of citron wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania*. They were beautifully veined and spotted. See his

(For I have also heard, perhaps have read,) Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne, Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold, Crystal, and myrrhine cups, emboss'd with gems And studs of pearl; to me should'st tell, who thirst 120

account of them, Lib. xiii. Sect. 29. I do not find that the *Atlantick stone* or marble was so celebrated: the *Numidicus lapis* and *Numidicum marmor* are often mentioned in Roman authors. NEWTON.

This citron wood, which grew upon Mount Atlas in Mauritania, was held by the Romans equally valuable with gold, if not superiour to it. Hence Martial, L. xiv. *Ep.* lxxxvii.

"Accipe felices, *Atlantica* munera, sylvas:
"Aurea qui dederit, dona minora dabit."

And Varro, De R. R. iii. 2. "Nuncubi hic vides *citrum*, aut *aurum*." Citron tables are mentioned by Lucan in his description of the gorgeous feast given by Cleopatra to Cæsar, *Pharsal.* x. 144.

"Dentibus hic niveis *sectos Atlantide sylvâ*
"Imposuere orbes."

Milton could not mean to celebrate any marble under the name of "Atlantick stone;" for it does not appear that the Romans ever used marble for tables. *Atlantick* must therefore have a reference to this citron wood, which is said to have grown no where but upon Mount Atlas. It might perhaps be called "*Atlantick marble*" or "*stone*," from its marble-like appearance; being curiously veined and spotted. DUNSTER.

The old scholiast on Horace, *Sat.* i. vi. 116, mentions a particular kind of marble table, however, in use among the Romans, called "*mensa Delphica*." TODD.

Ver. 117. *Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne, Chios, and Crete.*] The three former were of the most famous Campanian wines among the Romans. The *Falernian* was commonly considered as their prime wine. Hence Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 96.

—————"nec cellis ideo contende *Falernis*."

And Tibullus, speaking of the Falernian district, terms it "Bacchi cura, *Falernus* ager." L. i. *El.* 9. Martial speaks of *Setia*, now *Sezza*, famous for its wine, and its situation on the brow of a hill, L. xiii. *Ep.* 112. See also L. 10. *Ep.* 74. And Horace speaks of the *Calenian* wine as a luxury of the highest kind, *Od.* I. xxxi. 9. Pliny, speaking of the wines imported into Italy, says, "in summâ gloria fuerunt *Thasium Chiumque*. Ex Chio quod *Arvisium* vocant." xiv. 7. See also Virgil, *Ecl.* v. 71, and Silius Italicus, lib. vii. 210. Horace places the *Chian* among the rich wines in the miser's cellar, *Sat.* II. iii. 115; he likewise alludes to the high estimation in which this wine was held, *Ode* III. xix. 5. The wines of *Crete* are joined with those of Chios, or Scios, by Tasso, *Gierusal. Lib.* i. 78. And *Cretan* wine is mentioned, together with the *Chian* and other celebrated wines of Greece, by Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 31. DUNSTER.

Ver. 118. ————— *how they quaff in gold, Crystal, and myrrhine cups, emboss'd with gems And studs of pearl;*] *Crystal* and *myrrhine* cups are often joined together by ancient authors. "Murrhina et crystallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum, hæc vera luxuriæ gloria existimata est, habere quod posset statim

And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
 From nations far and nigh : what honour that,
 But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear
 So many hollow compliments and lies,
 Outlandish flatteries ? Then proceed'st to talk 125
 Of the emperour, how easily subdued,
 How gloriously : I shall, thou say'st, expel
 A brutish monster ; what if I withal
 Expel a Devil who first made him such ?
 Let his tormenter conscience find him out ; 130

totum perire." Plin. Lib. xxxiii. *Proem*. We see that Pliny reckons *myrrhine* cups among fossils ; Scaliger, Salmasius, and others, contend from this verse of Propertius, iv. 26.

"Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis,"

that they were like our porcelain : but if they were so very fragile as they are represented to be, it is not easy to conceive how they could be *emboss'd with gems and studs of pearl*. I suppose our author asserted it from the words immediately following in Pliny ; "Nec hoc fuit satis : turba gemmarum potamus, et smaragdis teximus calices : ac temulentia causa tenere Indiam juvat : et aurum jam accessio est." Or perhaps the words, *emboss'd with gems*, &c. refer only to *gold* first mentioned, which is no unusual construction : *They quaff in gold emboss'd with gems and studs of pearl*. NEWTON.

Hakewill, in his *Apologie* &c., may here again be cited. Sect. 6. as in the note on ver. 114. He is translating Pliny : "When the toy takes vs in the head, all our delight is in chased and *embossed* plate, or else so carved, engraven, and deepe cut in, as it is rough againe in the hand, &c." Then Hakewill adds, "These *celatures* in their drinking cups were so framed, that they might put them on or take them off at pleasure, and were therefore called *emblemata*. Such was that whereof the satyrist [Juvenal] speaks, *stantem extra pocula caprum*, 'a goat standing out from the cup.'—Sometimes were they made of *onix* stones drawne out of the mountaines of Arabia ; sometimes of mother of pearle, or some rare pretious shels. And all these kinde they *richly inamell'd with pearles* and precious stones." Compare a most beautiful passage in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, c. i. st. 26.

"That they may *drink in pearl*, and couch their head

"In soft, but sleepleesse down ; in rich, but restlesse bed."

Then follows, in the 27th stanza, which Mr. Dunster also notes,

"Oh ! let them in *their gold quaffe* dropsies down." TODD.

Ver. 124. *So many hollow compliments and lies,*

Outlandish flatteries ?] Possibly not without an allusion to the congratulatory embassies on the Restoration. DUNSTER.

Ver. 130. *Let his tormenter conscience find him out ;*] Milton, as Dr. Jortin observes, had here in his mind Tacitus, who, having related the extraordinary letters written by Tiberius to the Senate, adds ; "Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant. Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientie firmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis, animus dilaceretur. Quippe

For him I was not sent ; nor yet to free
 That people, victor once, now vile and base ;
 Deservedly made vassal ; who, once just,
 Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,
 But govern ill the nations under yoke, 135
 Peeling their provinces, exhausted all
 By lust and rapine ; first ambitious grown
 Of triumph, that insulting vanity ;
 Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd

Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris suasque ipse pœnas fateretur." *Annal.* vi. 6. DUNSTER.

Ver. 132. *That people, victor once, now vile and base ; &c.*] This description of the corruption and decline of the Roman empire, contained in this and the following ten lines, is at once concisely fine, and accurately just. DUNSTER.

Ver. 136. *Peeling &c.*] *Peeling* is *pillaging* their provinces ; which is spelt *pilling* by Chaucer, Spenser, and other old English poets. See also Barrett's *Alveurie*, 1584 : " *To pill or poll.*" But Sir R. Naunton, in his *Frugmenta Regalia*, 1641, affords the best illustration of Milton's expression, where, speaking of the Earl of Leicester's father, he says, "his estate confiscate, and that for *peeling* and polling." The word *peeled* for *pillaged* is used by our translators of the Bible. See *Isaiah* xviii. 2. "Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and *peeled*." Hakewill has a very curious section on the conduct of the Romans here noticed by Milton, entitled "Their unmerciful *pillling* and polling, *robbing and spoyling the provinces*, not sparing the very temples and things sacred." *Lib.* iv. cap. 5. Sect. 3. TODD.

Ver. 139. *Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd
 Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd ;
 Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
 And from the daily scene effeminate.*]

The connection of luxury, cruelty, and effeminacy, has been often remarked in all ages. Athenæus notices the cruelty of the people of Miletus as connected with their luxury ; and speaking of some Scythian nations, he describes them as advancing in cruelty, in proportion as they plunged themselves in luxury and effeminacy, καὶ πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τῷ τρυφᾷ ὀρμίζοντες, εἰς τοῦτο ὥστε πάντες

πιάζον τὰς ψυχὰς. p. 525. Ed. Causab. The Ionians are described by the same author as "devoid of philanthropy, cheerfulness, and even natural affection, and shewing upon all occasions a disposition of the most unfeeling kind ;" and at the same time he notices "their habits of luxury and effeminacy," τὰ Ἴωνων ἔθνη τρυφερώτερα. p. 625. Tacitus connects luxury and cruelty together in the character of Otho. Having spoken of Vitellius as "ventre et gula sibi ipsi hostis," he adds, "Otho, *luru, særitiâ, audaciâ, reipublicæ exitiosior ducebatur.*" *Hist.* ii. 31. The effeminacy of the Romans, as luxury advanced, became a subject of complaint and censure to all their moralists and historians. "Mirumur," says Columella, "gestus effeminatorum, quod a naturâ sexum viris denegatum muliebri motu mentiantur, decipiântque oculos spectantium." L. i. Nero assumed the dress and behaviour of a woman, and was actually several times mar-

Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd ; 140
 Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
 And from the daily scene effeminate.
 What wise and valiant man would seek to free
 These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslav'd ?
 Or could of inward slaves make outward free ? 145

ried, with much ostentation of the nuptial rites, to several of his minions. Heliogabalus imitated his example in this, and in other disgraceful instances. Milton probably alluded to some of these circumstances in the Roman history. DUNSTER.

The poet, in his *History of England*, at the conclusion, thus speaks of the dissolute life of the English : " The great men given to *gluttony* and *dissolute life*—the meaner sort spent all they had in *drunkenness*—attended with other *vices* which *effeminate* men's minds." TODD.

Ver. 140. *Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd ;*] The *fighting beasts* are a poor instance of the Roman cruelty in their sports, in comparison of the gladiators ; who might have been introduced so naturally and easily here, only by putting the word *gladiators* in place of the other two, that one may very well be surprised at the poet's omitting them. See Seneca's viith Epistle. CALTON.

Beast-fights were exhibited among the Romans with great variety. Sometimes, by bringing water into the amphitheatre, even sea-monsters were introduced for the purpose of combating with wild beasts. This is mentioned by Calphurnius, *Ecl.* vii. 65. The men that fought with wild beasts were called *bestiarii*. These were principally condemned persons ; although there were some who hired themselves like *gladiators*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 141. *Luxurious by their wealth, &c.*] Manilius, iv. 10.

" *Luxuriamque lucris eminus, luxuque rapinas.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *Or could of inward slaves make outward free ?*] This noble sentiment Milton explains more fully, and expresses more diffusely, in his *Paradise Lost*, B. xii. 90.

— " therefore since he permits

" Within himself unworthy powers to reign

" Over free reason, God in judgement just

" Subjects him from without to violent lords ; &c."

So also again, in his xiiith *Sonnet*,

" Licence they mean, when they cry liberty ;

" For who loves that must first be wise and good."

No one had ever more refined notions of true liberty than Milton, and I have often thought that there never was a greater proof of the weakness of human nature, than that he, with a head so clear, and a heart, I really believe, perfectly honest and disinterested, should concur in supporting such a tyrant and professed trampler upon the liberties of his country, as Cromwell was. TYER.

The following citation from a truly philosophical work, may be no improper comment on this passage of Milton. " Were a nation given to be moulded by a sovereign, as clay is put into the hands of the potter, this project of bestowing liberty on a people who are actually servile, is perhaps of all others the most difficult, and requires most to be executed in silence, and with the deepest reserve. Men are qualified to receive this blessing, only in proportion as they are made to apprehend their own

Know therefore, when my season comes to sit
 On David's throne, it shall be like a tree
 Spreading and overshadowing all the earth ;
 Or as a stone, that shall to pieces dash
 All monarchies besides throughout the world ; 150
 And of my kingdom there shall be no end :
 Means there shall be to this ; but what the means,
 Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

To whom the Tempter, impudent, replied.
 I see all offers made by me how slight 155
 Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st :
 Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
 Or nothing more than still to contradict :
 On the other side know also thou, that I
 On what I offer set as high esteem, 160
 Nor what I part with mean to give for nought :

rights, and are made to respect the just pretensions of mankind ; in proportion as they are willing to sustain in their own persons the burthen of government and of national defence, and to prefer the engagements of a liberal mind to the enjoyments of sloth, and the delusive hopes of a safety purchased by submission and fear." *Ferguson on Civil Society*, p. 6. s. 5.
 DUNSTER.

Ver. 146. *Know therefore, when my season comes to sit*
On David's throne, &c.] A particular manner of expression, but frequent in Milton ; as if he had said, Know therefore when the season comes to sit on David's throne, that throne *shall be like a tree, &c.* alluding to the parable of the mustard-seed grown into "*a tree, so that the birds lodge in the branches thereof,*" Matt. xiii. 32 : and to (what that parable also respects) Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the great "*tree whose height reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth,*" Dan. iv. 11. Tertullian also compares the kingdom of Christ to that of Nebuchadnezzar. See Grotius in Matt. *Or as a stone, &c.* alluding to the stone in another of Nebuchadnezzar's dreams, which brake the image in pieces, and so this kingdom "*shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever.*" Dan. ii. 44. "*And of my kingdom there shall be no end :*" the very words of *Luke*, i. 33, with the only necessary change of the person. NEWTON.

There is an allusion also to *Psalm*, ii. 9, which prefigures the kingdom of Christ triumphant over all nations : "*Thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.*" TODD.

Ver. 157. *Nothing will please the difficult and nice,*] Mr. Jortin and Mr. Sympon say, that perhaps we should read "*the* difficult and nice : " but I think the ictus falls better in the common reading, and the sentence is better as a *general* observation. NEWTON.

And yet, by the *particular* application of *nicely* to Christ, in ver. 377 of this Book, the conjecture of Jortin and Sympon seems supported.

TODD.

All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,
 The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give,
 (For, given to me, I give to whom I please,)
 No trifle ; yet with this reserve, not else,
 On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,

165

Ver. 166. *On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,*

And worship me as thy superiour lord,] In my opinion, (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the observation,) there is nothing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem so justly liable to censure, as the awkward and preposterous introduction of this incident in this place. The Tempter should have proposed the condition at the same time that he offered the gifts, as he doth in Scripture ; but after his gifts had been absolutely refused, to what purpose was it to propose *the impious condition* ? Could he imagine that our Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon the *abominable terms* of falling down and worshipping him, just after he had rejected them unclogged with any terms at all ? Well might the author say that Satan *impudent replied* ; but that doth not solve the objection. NEWTON.

I differ entirely from Dr. Newton and his very able coadjutor, respecting this part of the poem. The management of the poet seems so far from objectionable, that I conceive this passage to be a striking instance of his great judgement in arranging his work, as well as of his great skill in decorating it. The conduct and demeanour of Satan had hitherto been artfully plausible, and such as seemed most likely to forward his designs. At the beginning of this Book, after repeated defeats, he is described desperate of success, and "slung from his hope ;" but still he proceeds. Upon his next attack failing, the paroxysm of his desperation rises to such a height, that he is completely thrown off his guard, and at once betrays himself and his purpose, by bringing forward, with the most intemperate indiscretion, those *abominable terms*, which, could it have been possible for his temptations to have succeeded, we may imagine were intended in the end to have been proposed to our Lord. This then is the ἀναγνώρισις, or full discovery who Satan really was ; for it must be observed, that though Jesus in the first Book (ver. 356.) had declared that he knew the Tempter through his disguise, still the Temptation proceeds in the same manner as if he had not known him : at least our Lord's conduct is not represented as influenced by any suspicion of an insidious adversary. As to *proposing the condition together with the gifts* ; this I conceive could not be done without changing the whole plan of the poem, as by pushing the question immediately to a point, it must have precluded the gradually progressive temptations which the poet so finely brings forward. It might perhaps have been wished that the circumstance of Satan's betraying himself and his purpose, under the irritation of defeat and desperation, had been kept back till the subsequent temptation, in the highly-finished description of Athens, with all its pride of learning and philosophy, had been tried, and had also failed. But the apologetic speech of Satan (ver. 196.) in which he recovers himself from his intemperate impetuosity, and repairs the indiscretion of his present violent irritation, so far as to pave the way for another temptation, is not only marked with such singular art and address as is truly admirable, but likewise gives a material variety and relief to this part of the poem ; which I cannot wish to have been in any respect different from what it is, as I do not conceive that even Milton himself could have improved it.

And worship me as thy superiour lord,
(Easily done,) and hold them all of me;
For what can less so great a gift deserve?

Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain. 170
I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less;
Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter
The abominable terms, impious condition:
But I endure the time, till which expir'd
Thou hast permission on me. It is written, 175
The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only Him shalt serve;
And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
To worship thee accurs'd? now more accurs'd
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve, 180
And more blasphemous; which expect to rue.
The kingdoms of the world to thee were given?
Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd;
Other donation none thou canst produce.
If given, by whom but by the King of kings, 185
God over all supreme? If given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the Giver now
Repaid! But gratitude in thee is lost
Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
As offer them to me, the Son of God? 190
To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
That Evil-one, Satan for ever damn'd.

Ver. 185. ———— *the King of kings,
God over all supreme?* 1 Tim. vi. 15. "Who is the blessed
and only potentate, *the King of kings, and Lord of lords.*" And, "Who
is *over all*, God blessed for ever." Romans ix. 5. DUNSTER.

Ver. 188. ———— *But gratitude in thee is lost
Long since.*] Milton had made Satan declare "long" before,
Par. Lost, B. iv. 109.

————— "all good to me is lost;
"Evil, be thou my good!" DUNSTER.

Ver. 194. *That Evil-one.*] The ὁ πονηρὸς, the pre-eminently wicked
one. See Dr. Lort's *Short Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, in which he
proves this to be one of the three names applied to the great apostate
Spirit in Scripture, pp. 24, 25. TODD.

To whom the Fiend, with fear abash'd, replied. 195
 Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
 Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men,
 If I, to try whether in higher sort
 Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
 What both from Men and Angels I receive, 200
 Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,
 Nations beside from all the quarter'd winds,
 God of this world invok'd, and world beneath :
 Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
 To me most fatal, me it most concerns ; 205
 The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
 Rather more honour left, and more esteem ;
 Me nought advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.
 Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
 The kingdoms of this world ; I shall no more 210
 Advise thee ; gain them as thou can'st, or not.
 And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd
 Than to a worldly crown ; addicted more
 To contemplation and profound dispute,
 As by that early action may be judg'd, 215
 When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
 Alone into the temple, there wast found
 Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant
 On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,
 Teaching, not taught. The childhood shows the man,
 As morning shows the day : be famous then 221

Ver. 195. ————— *with fear abash'd,*] He was *abash'd* on a former occasion, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 846. TORD.

Ver. 203. *God of this world invok'd,*] Milton pursues the same notion which he had adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, of the gods of the Gentiles being the fallen Angels, and he is supported in it by the authority of the primitive fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the heathens of worshipping devils for deities. THYER.

The devil, in Scripture, is termed "*the god of this world*," 2 Cor. iv. 4. DUNSTER.

Ver. 219. ————— *fitting Moses' chair,*] *Moses' chair* was the chair in which the doctors sitting expounded the law either publickly to the people, or privately to their disciples. "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair," *ἐν τῇ καθίδραμον Μωσέως*, *Matt.* xxiii. 2. NEWTON.

Ver. 221. ————— *be famous then*

By wisdom;] We are now come to the last temptation,

By wisdom ; as thy empire must extend,
 So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
 In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
 All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law, 225
 The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote ;
 The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
 To admiration, led by Nature's light,
 And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
 Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st ; 230
 Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
 Or they with thee, hold conversation meet ?
 How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
 Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes ?
 Error by his own arms is best evinc'd. 235
 Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,

properly so called ; and it is worth the reader's while to observe how well Satan has pursued the scheme which he had proposed in council, B. ii. 225.

" Therefore with manlier objects we must try
 " His constancy ; with such as have more show
 " Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise."

The gradation also in the several allurements proposed is very fine ; and I believe one may justly say, that there never was a more exalted system of morality comprised in so short a compass. Never were the arguments for vice dressed up in more delusive colours, nor were they ever answered with more solidity of thought, or acuteness of reasoning.

THYER.

Ver. 230. *Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st ;*] Alluding to those charming lines, B. i. 221.

" Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
 " By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
 " And make persuasion do the work of fear." NEWTON.

Ver. 234. ——— *idolisms, traditions, paradoxes ?*] *Idolisms* is, I believe, a word of Milton's own fabrication. It seems not so much to mean the idolatrous worship of the Gentiles, as the opinions with which they might endeavour to defend it. By *traditions*, we may understand opinions collected from those philosophers who instructed publicly, without committing any of their precepts to writing ; which was the case with Pythagoras, Numa, and Lycurgus. See the lives of the two latter by Plutarch. And *paradoxes* allude to the paradoxes of the Stoick philosophers, then in high repute. DUNSTER.

Ver. 235. *Error by his own arms is best evinc'd.*] *Evinc'd* is here used in its Latin signification of *subdued* or *conquered* : in which sense it is more forcible and appropriate, than, as it is more commonly used by us, to *show*, or *prove*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 236. ——— *this specular mount,*] See Hume's note on *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 588. TODD.

Westward, much nearer by south-west, behold ;
 Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
 Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil ;
 Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts 240

Ver. 237. *Westward, much nearer by south-west,*] This might be understood W. by S., that is, one point from west towards south-west ; which is nearly the actual position of Athens, with respect to Mount Niphates. Or it may only mean, that our Lord had no occasion to change his situation on the western side of the mountain (see ver. 25. of this Book) ; but only, as the latitude of Athens was four degrees southward of that of Rome, that he must now direct his view so much more towards the south-west, than when he was looking at Rome, which lay nearly due west, or in a small degree north-west of Mount Niphates. DUNSTER.

Ver. 238. *Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,*] The following description of Athens, and its learning, is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favourable occasion ; and, like the sun from under a cloud, bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, though not more strongly, in the *Paradise Lost*. THYER.

I cannot persuade myself that our author, when he selected his subject, and formed his plan, considered himself as any ways *cramped down* by it. I have no doubt that he looked forward with pleasure to the opportunities, which he foresaw it would afford him, of introducing this and other admirable descriptions : and that he was particularly aware of the great effect which the *argumentative cast* of part of his poem would give to that which is purely *descriptive*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 239. *Built nobly,*] Homer, speaking of Athens, calls it a *well-built city*, Il. ii. 546.

Οἱ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον ἰοκτίμενον πολίεθρον. NEWTON.

Ibid. — *pure the air, and light the soil,*] Attica being a mountainous country, the soil was light, and the air sharp and pure ; and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits. — Τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ὁρῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κατιδούσα, ὅτι φρονιμωτάτους ἀνδρας οἴσει. Plato in *Timæo*, p. 24. vol. 3. Ed. Serr. "Athenis tenuis cælum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici." Cicero, *De Fato*, 4. NEWTON.

Pure the air, and light the soil, Mr. Calton remarks, is from Dio Chrysostom. *Orat.* vii. where, speaking of Attica, he says, εἶναι γὰρ τὴν χώραν ἀραιάν, καὶ τὸν ἀέρα κοῦφον. A variety of passages, which assert the clearness and pureness of the air of Athens, may be seen in Gronov. Thesaur. Gr. Antiq. *De Fortuna Atticarum*, vol. 5. p. 1696, edit. fol. 1699. TORD.

Ver. 240. *Athens, the eye of Greece,*] Demosthenes somewhere calls Athens *the eye of Greece*, ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος ; but I cannot at present recollect the place. In Justin it is called one of the two *eyes* of Greece, Sparta being the other, (L. v. C. 8.) and Catullus (xxxii. 1.) terms Sirmio the *eye* of islands ;

"Peninsularum Sirmio, insularúmque

"Ocelle."

But the metaphor is more properly applied to *Athens* than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning. NEWTON.

I cannot discover the passage in Demosthenes referred to by Dr. Newton. Thysius, in a note on Justin, (L. ii. C. 6. *Ed. Varioi.*) and on Valerius

And eloquence, native to famous wits
 Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
 City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
 See there the olive grove of Academe,

Maximus, (*Ed. Varior.* L. i. C. 6. *Exempl. Extern.* 1.) notices that Athens is mentioned by Demosthenes under this description, *the eye of Greece*: but no reference is made to the particular passage. DUNSTER.

Philo has the following expression relating to Athens, "Ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν ὈΦΘΑΛΜῶ ΚΟΡΗ, ἣ ἐν ψυχῇ λογισμὸς, τοῦτ' ἐν ἙΛΛΑΔΙ ἈΘΗΝΑΙ, Phil. Jud. *Opp.* vol. ii. p. 467. edit. Mangey. This is cited in Gronovius, but I do not find ὀφθαλμὸς Ἑλλάδος among the other titles therein applied to Athens. TODD.

Ver. 240. ————— mother of arts

And eloquence,] Justin, (L. v. C. 9.) terms Athens "*Patria communis eloquentiæ.*" And (L. ii. C. 6.) he says, "*Litteræ certe et facundia veluti templum Athenas habent.*" Cicero abounds in panegyrics upon this celebrated seat of learning and eloquence. He describes it *illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenas, in quibus summa dicendi vis et inventu est, et perfecta.*" De Orator. L. i. 13. *Ed. Proust.* And in his *Brutus*, sect. 39. he characterises it "ea urbs, in qua et nata, et alta, sit eloquentia." DUNSTER.

It should be added, that "*the mother of eloquence*" was a title peculiarly applied to Athens. See Gronov. *Thesaur. Gr. Antiq.* vol. v. ed. supr. p. 1730. "Pervenit ad matrem sermonum Athenas." Again, *ibid.*, 'Εν τῇ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ταῖς Ἀθήναις. The same title existed on an ancient inscription. See *ibid.* p. 1731. TODD.

Ver. 242. ————— hospitable,] Diodorus describes the Athenians as "hospitable to wits" of other countries, by admitting all persons whatever to benefit by the instruction of the learned teachers in their city; τὴν πατρίδα κοινὸν παιδείτηριον παρεχομένους πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, L. xiii. C. 27. The Athenians were remarkable for their general hospitality towards strangers, to whom their city was always open, and for whose reception and accommodation they had particular officers, under the title of *πρόξενοι*, i. e. *the receivers of strangers in the name of the whole city.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 244. ————— the olive grove of Academe,] The Academy is always described as a woody, shady, place. Diogenes Laertius calls it *προάστιον ἈΛΣΩΔΕΣ*; and Horace speaks of the "*sylvas Academi,*" 2 *Epist.* ii. 45. But Milton distinguishes it by the particular name of *the olive grove of Academe*, because the olive was particularly cultivated about Athens, being sacred to Minerva the goddess of the city; he has besides the express authority of Aristophanes, *Nub.* v. 1001.

Ἄλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν κατῶν, ὑπὸ ταῖς μορφαῖς ἀποθρέβεις. NEWTON.

This whole description of the Academe is infinitely charming. Dr. Newton has justly observed that "Plato's Academy was never more beautifully described." "Cicero," he adds, "who has laid the scene of one of his dialogues (*De Fin.* L. v.) there, and who had been himself on the spot, has not painted it in more lively colours." Plutarch, in his treatise *de Exilio*, refers to the three celebrated gymnasia of Athens here noticed by the poet; the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa, or Portico. And the same author, in his *Life of Sylla*, speaking of the Academy, (the trees of which he says Sylla cut down,) describes it to have been more abounding with trees than any part of the suburbs of Athens, ΔΕΝΔΡΟΦΟΡΩΤΑΤΗΝ προάστιον. DUNSTER.

Plato's retirement, where the Attick bird 245
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long ;

Ver. 245. *Plato's retirement,*] Diogenes Laertius relates, in his *Life of Plato*, that Plato "being returned to Athens from his journey to Egypt, settled himself in the Academy, a gymnasium or place of exercise in the suburbs of that city, beset with woods, taking name from Academus, one of the heroes, as Eupolis,

In sacred Academus' shady walks,

and he was buried in the Academy, where he continued most of his time teaching philosophy, whence the sect which sprung from him was called Academick." NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *where the Attick bird*

Trills her thick-warbled notes &c.] Philomela, who, according to the fables, was changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion, king of Athens. Hence the nightingale is called *Atthis* in Latin, quasi Attica avis; thus Martial, L. i. *Ep.* 54.

"Sic ubi multisonâ fervet sacer *Atthide* lucus, &c." NEWTON.

The nightingale is with peculiar propriety introduced in this description of the Academe; in the neighbourhood of which, we learn from Pausanias (L. i. C. 30.), lay the place called *Colonus Equestris*, which Sophocles has made the scene of his *Œdipus Coloneus*; and which he celebrates as particularly abounding with nightingales, v. 19, and v. 704.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 246. *Trills her thick-warbled notes*] Dr. Newton observes that perhaps there never was a verse more expressive of the harmony of the nightingale than this. Homer has a description of the song of that bird, which is not dissimilar, *Odyss.* xix. 521.

— Παν' ἄριον κόρη χλωρῆς ἀηδών, . . .
"Ἦτε θάρ' ἀπὸ τρωπώσα ΝΕΕΙ ΠΟΛΥΗΝΕΑ ΦΩΝΗΝ. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *the summer long ;*] The nightingale is commonly supposed to sing only in the spring, and not during summer. Milton describes it singing in the end of April, in his *Sonnet to the Nightingale*. Sappho, in a verse preserved by the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electr.* 148, terms this bird

"ἮΡΟΣ Δ' ἈΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἡμερόφωνος ἀηδών.

Pliny says that the song of the nightingale continues in its greatest perfection only fifteen days, from which time it gradually declines. "Afterwards, as summer advances," he adds, "it loses all its variety and modulation." *Mox astu aucto in totum alia vox fit, nec modulata, nec varia.* L. x. 29. It seems therefore extraordinary that our author should here describe this bird of spring, singing "the summer long." We might indeed suppose that this protracted song of the nightingale, was an intended compliment to the classic spot, "Plato's retirement;" as the Thracians affirmed that the nightingales near the tomb of Orpheus sung with uncommon melody, and in a strain far superiour to what they did in any other place. *Λέγουσι ἐν τῷ Ὀρφέως αἱ τῶν ἀηδόνων ἔχοντα νοσηαὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ὀρφέως, ταῦτας ἦσαν καὶ μείζον τι ᾄδον.* Pausan. L. ix. C. 30. But on referring to the various passages in the *Paradise Lost*, where Milton has introduced this bird, it does not appear that he considered it as singing only in the spring. *The song of the nightingale* is in fact one of his favourite circumstances of description, when he is painting a summer's night. DUNSTER.

There flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound
 Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
 To studious musing ; there Ilissus rolls
 His whispering stream : within the walls then view 250
 The schools of ancient sages ; his, who bred
 Great Alexander to subdue the world,
 Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next :

Ver. 247. *There flowery hill Hymettus, &c.*] Valerius Flaccus calls it *Florea jugā Hymetti*, Argonaut, v. 344 ; and the honey was so much esteemed and celebrated by the ancients, that it was reckoned the best of the Attick honey, as the Attick honey was said to be the best in the world. The poets often speak of the murmur of the bees as inviting to sleep, Virg. *Ecl.* i. 56. "Sæpe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro ;" but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and says that it *invites to studious musing*, which was more proper indeed for his purpose, as he is here describing the Attick learning. NEWTON.

Ver. 249. ————— *Ilissus*] Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phædrus on the banks, and at the spring, of this pleasant river.—*Χαριερτα γοῦν καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ διαφανὴ τὰ ἑκείνῳ φαίνεται.* Edit. Serr. vol. iii. p. 229. The philosophical retreat at the spring-head is beautifully described by Plato, in the next page, where Socrates and Phædrus are represented sitting on a green bank, shaded with a spreading platane, of which Cicero hath said very prettily, that it seemeth not to have grown so much by the water which is described, as by Plato's eloquence ; "quæ mihi videtur non tam ipsa aquula, quæ describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse." *De Orat.* i. 7. NEWTON.

Ver. 251. ————— *who bred*

Great Alexander to subdue the world,] Milton in his *Elegy* to his former preceptor, Thomas Young, then minister of the church of the English Merchants at Iiamburgh, speaks of his affection for his old master as superiour to that of Alcibiades for Socrates, or of Alexander for Aristotle, *El.* iv. 25. We are told by Cicero that Aristotle, having observed how Isocrates had risen to celebrity on the sole ground of florid declamation, (*inane sermonis elegantiam,*) was thereby induced to add, to his own stock of solid knowledge, the external grace of oratorical embellishments ; which recommended him so much to Philip of Macedon, that he fixed upon him to be preceptor to his son Alexander, whom he wished to be taught at once conduct and eloquence,—“et agendi præcepta, et loquendi.” *De Orator.* iii. 41. Ed. Proust. The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle upon the birth of his son, is preserved by Aulus Gellius. L. ix. C. 3. DUNSTER.

Ver. 253. *Lyceum there,*] The *Lyceum* was the school of Aristotle, who had been tutor to Alexander the Great, and was the founder of the sect of the Peripateticks, so called, ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπατεῖν, from his *walking* and teaching philosophy. But there is some reason to question, whether the *Lyceum* was *within the walls*, as Milton asserts. For Suidas says expressly, that it was a place in the suburbs, built by Pericles for the exercising of soldiers : and I find the scholiast upon Aristophanes in the *Irene*, speaks of going into the Lyceum, and going out of it again, and *returning back into the city* :—εἰς τὸ Λύκειον εἰσιόντες—καὶ πάλιν ἐξιόντες ἐκ τοῦ Λύκειου, αἱ ἀπίοντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν. NEWTON.

There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power
 Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit 255
 By voice or hand ; and various-measur'd verse,
 Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
 And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
 Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,
 Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own : 260
 Thence what the lofty grave tragedians taught

Ver. 253. ———— *painted Stoa*] *Stoa* was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from the place had the name of Stoicks ; and this *Stoa*, or portico, being adorned with variety of paintings, was called in Greek Ποικίλη or *various*, and here by Milton the *painted Stoa*. See Diogenes Laertius, in the Lives of Aristotle and Zeno. NEWTON.

Ver. 257. *Æolian charms &c.*] *Æolia carmina*, verses such as those of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians, Hor. *Od.* III. xxx. 13.

“ Princeps Æolium carmen ad Italos
 “ Deduxisse modos.”

See also *Od.* IV. iii. 12. And *Dorian lyric odes* ; such as those of Pindar ; who calls his lyre Δωρίαν φόρμιγγα, *Olymp.* i. 26, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 258. *And his, &c.*] Our author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds of poetry. Such wise men as Dionysius the Halicarnassæan, and Plutarch, have attempted to show that poetry in all its forms, tragedy, comedy, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works. NEWTON.

Homer's works gave the idea of all the various species of poetry. Shaftesbury, speaking on this subject, says finely : “ There was no more for Tragedy to do after him, [Homer.] than to erect a stage, and draw dialogues and characters into scenes turning in the same manner upon one principal action, or event, with that regard to place and time which was suitable to a real spectacle. Even Comedy itself was adjudged to this great master.” *Characteristicks*, vol. i. p. 198. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 259. *Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd.*] Our author here follows Herodotus, in his life of Homer, where it is said that he was born near the river Meles, and that from thence his mother named him at first Melesigenes, — τίθεται ὄνομα τῷ παιδί Μελεσιγίνα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἑπωνυμίαν λαβοῦσα, — and that afterwards, when he was blind and settled at Cumæ, he was called *Homer*, quasi ὁ μὴ ὁρῶν, from the term by which the Cumæans distinguished blind persons ; ἐπετίθειν ἔτι καὶ τοῦτομα “Ὅμηρος ἐπεκράτησε τῷ Μελεσιγίνῃ, ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς, οἱ γὰρ Κυμαῖοι τοὺς τυφλοὺς ὁμήρουσιν λέγουσιν. NEWTON.

Ver. 260. *Whose poem Phœbus challeng'd for his own :*] Alluding to a Greek Epigram, in the first book of the *Anthologia* ;

Ἥμιον μὲν ἰγών, ἰχάρασσε ἔτι Ξῖος Ὅμηρος. NEWTON.

Ver. 261. ———— *the lofty grave tragedians*] Æschylus is thus characterised by Quintilian : “ Tragedias primum in lucem Æschylus protulit, sublimis et gravis, et grandiloquus, &c.” L. x. C. 1. Where also the same author, comparing Sophocles and Euripides says, “ *gravis, et cothurnus*, et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior.” Tragedy was termed *lofty* by the ancients from its style, but at the same time not without a

In Chorus or Iambick, teachers best
 Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
 In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
 Of fate, and chance, and change in human life, 265

reference to the elevated buskin which the actors wore. Thus Claudian, describing tragedy as distinguished from comedy, *De Mall. Theod. Cons.* v. 314.

——— “*alte graditur majore cothurno :*”

And Ovid, *Amor.* L. ii. *El.* xiii. speaking of himself as having written tragedy, but being seduced from so grave an employment by the charms of his mistress, adds,

“*Déque cothurnato vate triumphat amor.*”

Again, *Trist.* L. ii. *El.* i. 553, he refers to his Medea in similar terms ; giving the epithet *gravis* to the *cothurnus*, or high tragick buskin. Milton, in his brief discourse on tragedy, prefixed to his *Samson Agonistes*, says, “Tragedy, as it was anciently composed, hath ever been held the *gravest*, *moralest*, and most profitable of all other poems, &c.” And Ovid hath said, *Trist.* L. i. *El.* ii. 381. “*Omne genus scripti gravitate Tragedia vincit.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 262. ——— *Chorus or Iambick,*] The two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy were the dialogue, written chiefly in the Iambick measure, and the chorus, which consisted of various measures. The character, here given by our author of the ancient tragedy, is very just and noble ; and the English reader cannot form a better idea of it in its highest beauty and perfection, than by reading our author's *Samson Agonistes*.

NEWTON.

Ver. 263. ———— *with delight receiv'd*

In brief sententious precepts,] This description particularly applies to Euripides, who, next to Homer, was Milton's favourite Greek author. Euripides is described by Quintilian, “*sententiis densus, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pœne ipsis par.*” L. x. C. 1. And Aulus Gellius, (L. xi. C. 4.) citing some verses from the *Hecuba* of Euripides, terms them “*verbis sententia, brevitatem, insignes illustrésque.*” Aristotle, where he treats of sentences (*Rhetoric.* L. ii. C. 22.), takes almost all his examples from Euripides. The abundance of moral precepts introduced by the Greek tragick poets in their pieces, and the delight with which they were received, are admirably accounted for by an eminent and excellent writer, Bp. Hurd, in his note on Horace's *Art of Poetry*, v. 219. Sylvester, in his *Du Bartas*, complimenting Daniel, edit. 1621, p. 82, calls him

——— “*sharp-conceited, brief,*

“*Civil, sententious, for pure accents chief :*”

See Headly's Specimens of old Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. 190. DUNSTER.

Ver. 265. *Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,*) The arguments most frequently selected by the Greek tragick writers, (and indeed by their epick poets also,) were the accomplishment of some oracle, or some supposed decree of *fate*. Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή. *Iliad*, i. 5. But the incidents or intermediate circumstances which led to the destined event, according to their system, depended on fortune, or *chance*. *Fate* and *chance* then furnished the subject and incidents of their dramas ; while the catastrophe produced the *peripetia*, or change of fortune. The history of *Edipus*, one of their principal dramattick subjects, was here perhaps in our author's mind. The *fate* of *Edipus* was foretold before his birth ;

High actions and high passions best describing :
Thence to the famous orators repair,
Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence

the wonderful incidents, that, in spite of every guarded precaution, led to the accomplishment of it, depended apparently on *chance*; the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, produced by the discovery of the oracle being so completely fulfilled, is truly affecting. *Change in human life* might here perhaps not merely refer to the pathetick catastrophes of the Greek tragedy, as it sometimes formed the entire argument of their pieces; of which the *Œdipus Coloneus* is an instance. DUNSTER.

Ver. 266. *High actions and high passions best describing :*] *High actions* refer to *fate* and *chance*, the arguments and incidents of tragedy; high passions to the *peripetia*, or change of fortune, which included the *pathos*, or affecting part. Thus Mr. Dunster. But is not this an overstrained interpretation? Need we dive so deep for the meaning? By *high passions* the poet intended generally *the impassioned emotions of the mind*; neither should we, I think, ascribe to *high actions* any larger extent of signification than *heroic deeds*. HOLT WHITE.

Ver. 267. *Thence to the famous orators &c.*] How happily does Milton's versification in this, and the following lines, concerning the Socratic philosophy, express what he is describing! In the first we feel, as it were, the nervous rapid eloquence of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates. TRYER.

Ver. 268. *Those ancient.*] Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero, who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times to Demetrius Phalereus, and those of the subsequent ages. See Cicero, *De claris Oratoribus*. And, in the judgement of Quintilian, Demetrius Phalereus was the first who weakened eloquence, and the last almost of the Athenians who can be called an orator: "is primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator." *De Instit. Orat.* x. 1. NEWTON.

Ibid. ——— *whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democratic,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece*] Alluding, as Dr. Newton and Dr. Jortin have both observed, to what Aristophanes has said of Pericles in his *Acharnenses*:

Ἡστράπτειν, ἰερὸντα, ζυνεκέκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

For the various authors who have referred, or alluded, to this description of the *resistless eloquence* of Pericles, see Kuster's note on the passage, in his edition of Aristophanes; where however he has overlooked Quintilian, L. ii. C. 16. & L. xii. C. 10. Cicero, (*Epist. ad Attic.* xv. 1. and *Orator.* Sect. 234. Ed. Proust,) speaks of the "*fulmina* Demosthenis." The younger Pliny thus describes the eloquence of his friend Pompeius Saturninus; "Adsunt aptæ, crebræque sententiæ, gravis et decora constructio, sonantia verba et antiqua. Omnia hæc nire placent. Cum impetu quodam et *fulmine* prævehuntur." And, in the xith *Æneid*, Virgil makes Turnus, in his speech to Drances, say,

"Proinde *tota eloquio*; solitum tibi."

Longinus, speaking of the superiour power of Demosthenes in oratory to the publick speakers of any age, expresses himself in a similar figure of speech, sect. xxxiv. ΚΑΤΑΒΡΟΝΤΑ καὶ ΚΑΤΑΦΕΓΓΕΙ τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος

Wielled at will that fierce *democratie*,
 Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece 270
 To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne :
 To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,
 From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house
 Of Socrates ; see there his tenement,
 Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd 275
 Wisest of men ; from whose mouth issued forth

The word *fulmin'd* is here adopted from Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 5. See Mr. Upton's note on the passage. Sylvester ascribes to Cicero, not indeed in a very happy manner, what Milton ascribes to the Grecian orators. See *Du Bartas*, fol. ed. 1621, p. 263.

————— “ whose *thundring eloquence*
 “ Yields thousand streames, whence, rapt in admiration,
 “ The rarest wits are drunk in every nation ! ” TODD.

Ver. 271. *To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne :*] As Pericles and others *fulmin'd over Greece to Artaxerxes' throne* against the Persian king, so Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who *fulmin'd over Greece to Macedon* against king Philip, in his Orations, therefore denominated Philippicks. NEWTON.

Ἄνδρῶν ἀπάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.
 Of all men Socrates is the wisest. NEWTON.

Ver. 276. ————— *from whose mouth issued forth*
Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools
Of Academicks &c.] Thus Quintilian calls Socrates *fons philosophorum*. L. i. C. x. As the ancients looked upon Homer to be the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates the father of moral philosophy. Thus Cicero, (*Academic.* L. i. C. 4 :) “ Socrates mihi videtur, id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura invo-

Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools
 Of Academicks old and new, with those
 Surnam'd Peripateticks, and the sect
 Epicurean, and the Stoick severe ; 280
 These here revolve, or, as thou lik'st, at home,
 Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight ;
 These rules will render thee a king complete
 Within thyself, much more with empire join'd.
 To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied. 285

lutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, advocavisse philosophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxisse ; &c." and, speaking of the Academick and Peripatetick schools, he says, "idem *fons* erat utriusque." The different sects of philosophers were indeed so many different families, which all acknowledged Socrates for their common parent. Cicero, speaking of him, (*Tusc. Disp.* L. v. C. 4.) says—"cujus multiplex ratio disputandi, rerumque varietas, et ingenii magnitudo, Platonis memoria et literis consecrata, plura genera effecit dissentientium philosophorum." And, (*De Orator.* L. iii. C. 16.) "Nam cum essent plures orti fere a Socrate, quod ex illius variis, et diversis, et in omnem partem diffusis disputationibus alius aliud apprehenderat : proeminatæ sunt quasi familie dissentientes inter se, et multum disjunctæ et dispares cum tamen omnes se philosophi Socraticos et dici vellent, et esse arbitrantur." NEWTON.

But our author, in speaking here of the *mellifluous streams of philosophy that issued from the mouth of Socrates*, and *watered all the various schools or sects, of philosophers*, had in his mind a passage of *Ælian*, (*Var. Hist.* L. xiii. C. 22.) where it is said that "Galaton the painter drew Homer as a fountain, and the other poets drawing water from his mouth." Whence also Manilius, speaking of Homer, L. ii. 8.

———— "cujusque *ex ore* profusus
 "Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,
 "Annemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos
 "Unius fecunda bonis."

And Ovid, *Amor.* III. ix. 25 ;

"Adjice Mæonidem, a quo, *ceu fonte perenni*,
 "Vatum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis." DUNSTER.

Ver. 278. *Of Academicks old and new.*] The *Academick* sect of philosophers, like the Greek comedy, had its three epochs, *old*, *middle*, and *new*. Plato was the head of the old Academy, Arcesilas of the middle, and Carneades of the new. DUNSTER.

Ver. 283. *These rules*] There is no mention before of rules ; but of poets, orators, and philosophers. We should read therefore, "*Their rules &c.*" CALTON.

Ver. 285. *To whom &c.*] This answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contained in it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it : and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error, whether it was that he thought great truths best expressed in a grave, unaffected style, or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader, that simple naked truth will always be an over-match for false-

Think not but that I know these things, or think
 I know them not ; not therefore am I short
 Of knowing what I ought : he, who receives
 Light from above, from the fountain of light,
 No other doctrine needs, though granted true ; 290
 But these are false, or little else but dreams,
 Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
 The first and wisest of them all profess'd
 To know this only, that he nothing knew ;
 The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits ; 295

hood, though recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colours. THYER.

Ver. 288. ————— *he, who receives*

Light from above, from the fountain of light,

No other doctrine needs, though granted true ;]

Peck, from this passage, supposes Milton to have been a Quaker. Milton was a sectarist on general principles, which cannot easily be reduced to any particular or separate system. The *Paradise Regained*, indeed, is supposed to have been written at the suggestion of Thomas Ellwood, a Quaker, Milton's neighbour at Chalfont ; and if ever a Quaker indulges himself in the vanities of English poetry, the *Paradise Regained* is his favourite classic. T. WARTON.

The Quakers, it may be observed, admit that the Scriptures are true, but conceive that the necessity of them is superseded by intellectual communications ; to which tenet the last of these lines seems to point.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 293. *The first and wisest of them all profess'd*

To know this only, that he nothing knew ;]

Socrates ; of whom Cicero, " *Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipse, refellat alios : nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum : eoque præstare ceteris, quod illi quæ nesciant scire se putent ; ipse, se nihil scire, id unum sciât.*" Cicero *Academic.* i. 4. NEWTON.

Ver. 295. *The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits ;]* Milton, in his Latin Poem, *De Idea Platonica*, terms Plato, "*fabulator maximus*," v. 38. This passage shows our Poet inclined to censure the fictions of the philosopher ; which are also noticed in early times. Diogenes Laertius cites a verse of Timon, to this purpose,

Ὅς ἀνέπλασε Πλάτων πεπλασμένα θαύματα εἰδώς.

What wondrous fictions learned Plato fram'd !

Mr. Calton cites a passage from *Parker's Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophy*, Oxford, 1667 ; where it is observed that " Plato and his followers, communicated their notions by emblems, fables, symbols, parables, heaps of metaphors, and all sorts of mystical representations." " These," it is afterwards added, " though they are pretty poetick fancies, are infinitely unfit to express philosophical notions and discoveries of the nature of things." *Smooth conceits* are the Italian *conceitti* ; by which term an Italian writer would, I apprehend, characterise any far-fetched or fine-spun allegories. DUNSTER.

A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense ;
 Others in virtue plac'd felicity,
 But virtue join'd with riches and long life ;
 In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease ;
 The Stoick last in philosophick pride,

300

Ver. 296. *A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense ;*] These were the Scepticks or Pyrrhonians, the disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted nothing to be either honest or dishonest, just or unjust ; that men do all things by law and custom ; and that in every thing *this* is not preferable to *that*. This was called the Sceptick philosophy from its continual inspection, and never-finding ; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. See Stanley's *Life of Pyrrho*, who takes this account from Diogenes Laertius. NEWTON.

Ver. 297. *Others in virtue plac'd felicity,
 But virtue join'd with riches and long life ;*] These were the old Academicks, and the Peripateticks the scholars of Aristotle. See Cicero, *Academic.* ii. 42, and *De Fin.* ii. 11. NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease ;*] The *He* is here contemptuously emphatical. Thus Demosthenes, in the opening of his first Philippick, referring to Philip, whom he had not mentioned by name, *καὶ τῇ νῦν ἔσται τοῦτοιοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν καταπρόμεθα*. And, in the *Paradise Lost*, Satan, in his first speech, when on the burning lake he "breaks the horrid silence," speaks of the Deity, in a manner not dissimilar, by the title of "*He* with his thunder."

Dr. Newton illustrates the sentiments here attributed to Epicurus by a passage from Cicero, who says of him ; "Confirmat illud vel maxime, quod ipsa natura, ut ait ille, asciscat, et reprobet, id est voluptatem et dolorem ; ad hæc, et quæ sequamur, et quæ fugiamus, refert omnia." *De Fin.* i. 7. But Epicurus may speak for himself. In his Epistle to Menæceus, preserved by Diogenes Laertius, he points out as the only essential and truly interesting objects of a wise man's attention, *τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὑγίαν, καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀταραξίαν*, "health of body, and an undisturbed state of mind, &c." Lucian, speaking of the same philosopher, has a passage strikingly similar : *Ἀλλὰ οὐ μὲν αὐτῶν παρῆναι τὸ πᾶν ἡδέσθαι, καὶ μόνον τοῦτο ἐκ παρ' ὧς μένεται*. *Necyomant.* p. 460. ed. Reitz. Where also, see the account of the Stoicks and Peripateticks, and compare with Milton's account of them here. DENSTER.

Ver. 300. *The Stoick last &c.*] The reason why Milton represents our Saviour taking such particular notice of the Stoicks above the rest, was probably because they made pretensions to a more refined and exalted virtue than any of the other sects, and were at that time the most prevailing party among the philosophers, and the most revered and esteemed for the strictness of their morals, and the austerity of their lives. The picture of their *virtuous man* is perfectly just, as might easily be shown from many passages in Seneca and Antoninus ; and the defects and insufficiency of their scheme could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are by our author in the lines following. THYER.

Nine lines are here employed in exposing the errors of the Stoick philosophy, while the other sects have scarcely more than a single line bestowed upon each of them. This is done with great judgement. The reveries of Plato, the superlative scepticism of Pyrrho, the sensuality of Epicurus, and the selfish meanness of the old Academicks and Peripateticks, might well be supposed to carry sufficient confutation along with them. But the tenets of the Stoicks, which had a great mixture of truth with

By him called virtue ; and his virtuous man,
 Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing
 Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,
 As fearing God nor man, contemning all
 Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life, 305
 Which, when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can,
 For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
 Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
 Alas ! what can they teach, and not mislead,
 Ignorant of themselves, of God much more, 310

error, and inculcated, among other things, the moral duties, a great degree of self-denial, and the imitation of the Deity, as fixed principles, were worthy of a more particular examination ; and required to have their speciousness and insufficiency in other respects more particularly marked and laid open. Add to this the esteem in which the Stoicks were held not only among the philosophers of antiquity, but among some of the early writers on Christianity. Cicero, though no Stoick, says of them, " Licet insectemur istos (Stoicos) metuo ne soli philosophi sint." *Tusc. Disp. iv. 24.* Clemens Alexandrinus in many parts of his works professes himself a Stoick. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah, acknowledges that the Stoicks in most points of doctrine agree with the Christians, " Stoici cum nostro dogmate in plerisque concordant." C. x. To bring forward therefore, and to censure in this place the exceptionable doctrines of this sect, was highly becoming the character under which our blessed Lord is here represented and described. DUNSTER.

Ver. 303. *Equal to God,*] Dr. Newton here reads, "*Equals to God, &c.*" and conceives the sense to be so much improved, that the omission of the letter *s* must have been an error of the press. I retain the reading in Milton's own edition, as the sense appears sufficiently clear with it, neither do I see any material improvement resulting from the correction. It seems to me also probable that "all possessing equal to God," was suggested by a passage of Seneca, who is likewise describing the virtuous man of the Stoicks, "*Deorum ritu cuncta possideat.*" *Epist. xcii.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 307. *For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,*
Or subtle shifts] *Vain boasts* relate to the Stoical paradoxes ; and *subtle shifts* to their dialectick, which this sect so much cultivated, that they were known equally by the name of *Dialecticians* and *Stoicks.* WARBURTON.

Ver. 308. — *subtle shifts conviction to evade.*] "Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam sit *subtile*, vel spinosum potius, differendi genus." Cicero, *De Fin. iii. 1.* DUNSTER.

Ver. 310. *Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,*
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending ?] Having drawn most accurately the character of the Stoick philosopher ; and exposed the insufficiency of his pretensions to superiour virtue built on superiour knowledge, the poet may be understood here as referring to the Holy Scriptures, as the only true source of information respecting the Nature of God, the Creation, the Fall of Man, &c. They who have never bene-

And how the world began, and how man fell
 Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
 Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,
 And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
 All glory arrogate, to God give none ; 315
 Rather accuse him under usual names,
 Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
 Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
 True wisdom, finds her not ; or, by delusion,
 Far worse, her false resemblance only meets, 320
 An empty cloud. However, many books,

fited by divine revelation, he intimates, must bewilder themselves in such researches, and cannot but fall into the greatest absurdities, as was the case of the Stoicks and other philosophers. DUNSTER.

Ver. 313. *Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,*] See what Dr. Warburton has said of the absurd notions of the ancient philosophers, concerning the nature of the soul, in his *Divine Legation*, Book iii. Sect. 4.

NEWTON.

Compare Milton's *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, ch. iii. "Thus were the common sort of Gentiles wont to think, without any wry thoughts cast upon divine governance." TODD.

Ver. 314. *And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves*

All glory arrogate, to God give none ;] Cicero speaks the sentiments of ancient philosophy upon this point, in the following words: "propter virtutem enim jure laudamur, et in virtute recte gloriamur: quod non contingeret, si id donum a Deo, non a nobis haberemus. At vero aut honoribus aucti, aut re familiari, aut si aliud quippiam nacti sumus fortuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cum Diis gratias agimus tum nihil nostræ laudi assumptum arbitramur. Num quis, quod bonus vir esset, gratias Diis egit unquam? At quod dives, quod honoratus, quod incolumis. Ad rem autem ut redeam, *judicium hoc omnium mortalium est, fortunam a Deo petendam, a se ipso nemendam esse sapientiam.*" De Nat. Deor. iii. 36. WARBURTON.

Ver. 316. *Rather accuse him under usual names*

Fortune and Fate,] Thus in the speech which Jupiter addresses to the assembly of the gods in the beginning of the *Odyssey*:

ὦ πόποι, οἷον ἐγὼ θεοῖς βροτοὶ αἰτίσσωμαι
 Ἐξ ἡμέων γάρ φασι κακ' ἐμμεναι, ὃ ἐγὼ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 Σφῆσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μάρων ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν.

Several of the ancient philosophers, but especially the Stoicks, thus characterise the Deity. "Sic hunc naturam vocas, *fatum, fortunam*; omnia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua potestate." De Beneficiis, iv. 8. "Vis illum *fatum* vocare? non errabis." Nat. Quæst. ii. 45. The Stoick poet, Lucan, frequently terms the Deity, *Fate* or *Fortune*: See *Pharsal.* i. 87, and iii. 97. DUNSTER.

Ver. 321. *An empty cloud.*] A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who embraced an *empty cloud* for a Juno. NEWTON.

Ibid. ————— *many books,*

Wise men have said, are wearisome ;] Alluding to Eccles. xii. 12.

Or, if I would delight my private hours
 With musick or with poem, where, so soon
 As in our native language, can I find
 That solace? All our law and story strew'd
 With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd, 335
 Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
 That pleas'd so well our victors' ear, declare
 That rather Greece from us their art deriv'd;
 Ill imitated, while they loudest sing
 The vices of their deities, and their own, 340
 In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
 Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
 Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid

ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me." See also Nichols's *Illustr. of Literature*, vol. iv. p. 16. Todd.

Ver. 335. ——— *our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd.*] He means the inscriptions prefixed to the beginning of several psalms, such as *To the chief musician upon Nchiloth*, &c. to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments. NEWTON.

Ver. 336. *Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon*
That pleas'd so well our victors' ear.] This is said upon the authority of *Psal. cxxxvii. 1*, &c. NEWTON.

Ver. 338. *That rather Greece from us &c.*] This was the system in vogue at that time. It was established and supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length, by Huetius and Gale. WARBURTON.

Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes the invention of hymns and songs to the Jews; and says that the Greeks stole theirs from them. *Stromat. L. i. p. 308*. Ed. Colon. 1688. He also charges the Grecian philosophers with stealing many of their doctrines from the Jewish prophets. *L. i. p. 312*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 339. *Ill imitated.*] Because the subject of the Hebrew Songs was God Himself; the subject of the Grecian, the gross and ridiculous deities of their own invention. TODD.

Ver. 341. ——— *personating*] This is in the Latin sense of *persono*, to celebrate loudly. DUNSTER.

Ver. 343. ——— *swelling epithets.*] Greek compounds, as Dr. Warburton observes. Mr. Thyer adds, that the hymns of the Greek poets consist of very little more than repeated invocations of them by different names and epithets. Jupiter, as Mr. Dunster remarks, is the *cloud-compeller*, or the *ægis-bearer*; Apollo, the *far-darter*, &c. Dr. Jos. Warton considers Milton's allusion as pointing solely at the rich and florid compound epithets so frequent in the Hymns of Callimachus. Possibly the epithet *swelling* might have been suggested by a passage in Jude, ver. 16, which is applied to false teachers: "Their mouth speaketh great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of advantage." TODD.

Ibid. ——— *thick laid*

As varnish on a harlot's cheek.] The Duke of Buckingham, very

As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
 Thin sown with aught of profit or delight, 345
 Will far be found unworthy to compare
 With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
 Where God is prais'd aright, and Godlike men,

possibly, had this passage of Milton in his mind, when he wrote the following lines of his *Essay on Poetry*;

"Figures of speech, which poets think so fine,
 "(Art's needless *varnish* to make nature shine,)
 "Are all but *paint upon a beauteous face*,
 "And in descriptions only claim a place:"

as Milton, most probably, had the following lines of Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. 1.

"The *harlot's cheek, beautied with plastering art*,
 "Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,
 "Than is my deed, &c." DUNSTER.

Prynne censures "the recitall, acting, and *personating* of the names, the histories, and notorious villanies" of the *heathen deities*, in a similar figure: "The reuiuall of their names and memories, the *varnishing of them with fresh and lively colours* in our Stage-Playes, must needs bee euill, &c." *Histrio-Mastix*, 1633, part i. p. 80. TODD.

The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints,
 (Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,) 350
 Unless where moral virtue is express'd
 By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.
 Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
 The top of eloquence ; statists indeed,

glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of *God's almightiness, and what he works, &c.* to sing victorious agonies of *martyrs and saints, &c.*"
 TODD.

Ver. 350. (*Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,*)

Unless where moral virtue is express'd

By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.]

Thus the passage stands pointed in Dr. Newton's edition ; where Mr. Meadowcourt observes that the sense of these lines is highly obscure, and explains them to mean, "Poets from thee inspired are not such as these, unless where moral virtue is expressed &c." But this is very far from satisfactory. Indeed the obscurity, if not caused, is increased by departing from the punctuation of the first edition, which had a semicolon after *not such from thee*. *Unless* certainly has no reference to the immediately preceding line ; which I have therefore put in a parenthesis, supposing the exception to refer to ver. 346.

"Will far be found unworthy to compare

"With Sion's songs, &c.

"Unless where moral virtue is express'd

"By light of Nature, not in all quite lost."

I will venture to suggest a new arrangement of the passage :

—————"the rest

"Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,

"(Unless where moral virtue is express'd

"By light of Nature not in all quite lost,)

"Will far be found unworthy to compare

"With Sion's songs to all true tastes excelling,

"Where God is prais'd aright, and Godlike men,

"The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints :

"Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee." DUNSTER.

I have followed Mr. Dunster's punctuation of this passage ; conceiving it accords with the intention of the poet, in whose edition a semi-colon is placed at the end of ver. 349, as well as of ver. 350. But Mr. Dunster's new arrangement is much more perspicuous. TODD.

Ver. 353. ————— as those

The top of eloquence ;] I should prefer "*as though* the top of eloquence." CALTON.

Those is more in Milton's manner : *Those the top of eloquence*, being a phrase of the same import, as *Scipio the might of Rome*, Par. Lost, B. ix. 510. Compare also Shakspeare, *Meas. for Meas.* A. ii. S. ii.

—————"How would you be,

"If He, which is the *top of judgement*, should

"But judge you, as you are !" TODD.

Ver. 354. ————— *statists*] Or *statesmen*. A word, as Dr. Newton observes, in more frequent use formerly ; as in Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. v. :—

And lovers of their country, as may seem ; 355
 But herein to our prophets far beneath,
 As men divinely taught, and better teaching
 The solid rules of civil government,
 In their majestick unaffected style,
 Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome. 360
 In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
 What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
 What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat ;
 These only with our law best form a king.

So spake the Son of God ; but Satan, now 365
 Quite at a loss, (for all his darts were spent,)
 Thus to our Saviour with stern brow replied.

Since neither wealth nor honour, arms nor arts,
 Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor aught
 By me propos'd in life contemplative 370
 Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
 What dost thou in this world ? The wilderness
 For thee is fittest place ; I found thee there,
 And thither will return thee : yet remember
 What I foretel thee, soon thou shalt have cause 375

“ I do believe,
 “ (*Statist* though I am none, nor like to be.) ”

And, as Mr. Dunster adds, Milton uses it in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. p. 424. ed. 1698. He uses it also, in the same sense, in his *Prose-W.* vol. i. ed. sup. p. 141, and p. 302. TODD.

Ver. 362. ——— makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,] Horace *Epist.* l. vi. 42.

————— “ *facere et servare beatam.* ” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 366. ——— (for all his darts were spent,)] Possibly with a reference to “ the fiery darts of the wicked,” *Ephes.* vi. 16. But archers furnished metaphors frequently to the Latin and Greek writers. Thus Horace, reproving the unbounded aims and designs of men, *Od.* II. xvi.

“ Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo
 “ Multa ? ”

And Æschylus, speaking of “ the tongue that launches forth much improper language,” *Supplic.* v. 455.

————— γλώσσα ΤΟΞΕΥΟΥΣΑ μὴ τὰ καιρία.

And in the same manner Euripides, *Hecub.* 603.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νοῦς ΕΤΟΞΕΥΣΕΝ μάτην. DUNSTER.

The allusion may be to Holy Writ, in which the words of *wicked men* are expressly termed *arrows* : “ Who whet their tongue like a sword, and shoot out their *arrows*, even *bitter words*.” Psalm lxxiv. 3. TODD.

To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus
 Nicely or cautiously, my offer'd aid,
 Which would have set thee in short time with ease
 On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
 Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season, 380
 When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
 Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,
 Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars
 Voluminous, or single characters,
 In their conjunction met, give me to spell, 385
 Sorrows, and labours, opposition, hate
 Attend thee, scorn, reproaches, injuries,
 Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death ;
 A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
 Real or allegorick, I discern not ; 390
 Nor when ; eternal sure, as without end,

Ver. 377. *Nicely or cautiously,*] Thus ver. 157 of this Book,

“ Nothing will please the difficult and nice.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 380. ————— *fulness of time, thy season,*] *Galat. iv. 4.*
 “ When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son.”

NEWTON.

Ver. 382. ————— *if I read aught in Heaven,*] A satire on Cardan, who with the boldness and impiety of an atheist and a madman, both of which he was, cast the nativity of Jesus Christ, and found by the great and illustrious concurrence of stars at his birth, that he must needs have the fortune which befel him, and become the author of a religion, which should spread itself far and near for many ages. The great Milton, with a just indignation of this impiety, hath satirized it in a very beautiful manner, by putting these reveries into the mouth of the Devil.

NEWTON.

Ver. 391. ————— *as without end,*

Without beginning ;] “ The poet,” says Dr. Newton, “ did not think it enough to discredit *judicial astrology* by making it patronised by the Devil ; to show at the same time the absurdity of it, he makes the Devil also blunder in the expression of portending *a kingdom which was without beginning*. This,” he adds, “ destroys all he would insinuate.” But the poet certainly never meant to make the Tempter a blunderer. The fact is, the language is here intended to be highly sarcastick on the eternity of Christ's kingdom, respecting which the Tempter says he believes it will have one of the properties of eternity, *that of never beginning*. This is that *species of insulting wit*, which the Devils, in the sixth Book of the *Paradise Lost*, indulge themselves in on the first effects of the artillery they had invented ; where Mr. Thyer, as cited by Dr. Newton, observes that Milton is not to be blamed for introducing it, “ when we consider the character of the speakers, and that such kind of insulting wit is most peculiar to proud, contemptuous spirits. DUNSTER.

Without beginning ; for no date prefix'd
Directs me in the starry rubrick set.

So saying he took, (for still he knew his power
Not yet expir'd,) and to the wilderness 395
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
As day-light sunk, and brought in lowering Night,
Her shadowy offspring ; unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day. 400
Our Saviour meek, and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
Hungry and cold, betook him to his rest,
Wherever, under some concourse of shades, 404
Whose branching arms thick intertwin'd might shield
From dews and damps of night his shelter'd head ;
But, shelter'd, slept in vain ; for at his head
The Tempter watch'd, and soon with ugly dreams

Ver. 399. *Her shadowy offspring ;*] *Night* was sometimes the parent, and *Darkness* the *offspring*. See *Cicero De Nat. Deorum*, where we meet with *Tenebræ* among the progeny of *Night and Erebus*. But *Milton's Theogony* is conformable to *Hyginus*, who makes *Caligo*, or *Darkness*, the mother of *Night, Day, Erebus*, and *Ether*. See the first chapter of *Hyginus De Fabulis*. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *unsubstantial both.*] His philosophy is here ill placed. It dashes out the image he had just been painting.

WARBURTON.

Euripides, in a chorus of his *Orestes*, personifying *Night*, calls upon her to arise from *Erebus*, or the shades below,

Πόντια, πόντια Νύξ,
'Ερεβόθεν ἴθι, —

where, it may be observed, the scholiast rectifies the philosophy of the poet, by explaining night or darkness as really “unsubstantial,” and *merely produced by the absence of light, or day*. — Κατερχόμενον τοῦ ἡλίου εἰς τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον, σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς γῆς γίνεται, ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν ἀνίεναι δοκοῦν, οὐκ ὡς δὲ ἐν τοῖς κάτω καὶ ἀνερχόμενον, ἈΛΛΑ ΤΗ ἈΠΙΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΟΣ ὙΦΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 402. ——— *though hurried sore,*] *Hurried* is here applied to preternatural motion, as in the *Ode of the Passion*, st. viii. “*Hurried on viewless wing :*” where see Mr. *Warton's* note. TODD.

Ver. 408. ——— *and soon with ugly dreams*

Disturb'd his sleep.] In the *Paradise Lost*, the Tempter begins his Temptation of *Eve* by working on her imagination in dreams, B. iv. 800, &c. Here it may be observed the Tempter tries only “to disturb our Lord with ugly dreams,” and not to excite in him, as he did in *Eve*, “vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires.” DUNSTER.

Compare the quotation from *Bragge's Sermons*, in the note on ver. 431 of this Book. TODD.

Disturb'd his sleep. And either tropick now 409

Ver. 409. ———— *And either tropick now*

'*Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds,
From many a horrid rift, &c.*] It thundered from both tropicks, that is perhaps from the right and from the left. The ancients had very different opinions concerning the right and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion, that the east is the right side, and the west the left; but that Empedocles held that the right side is towards the summer tropick, and the left towards the winter tropick. Πυθαγόρας, Πλάτων, Ἀριστοτέλης, δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη, ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ δυτικά· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δεξιὰ μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὸν θερινὸν τροπικὸν ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν χειμερινόν. *De Placit. Philos.* ii. 10. Αἰγύπτιοι οἰοῦνται τὰ μὲν ἑωὰ τοῦ κόσμου πρόσωπον εἶναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν δεξιὰ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἀριστερά. *Id. de Isid.* p. 363. If by *either tropick* he meant the *right side* and the *left*, by *both ends of Heaven* may be understood *before* and *behind*. I know it may be objected, that the tropicks cannot be the one the right side, and the other the left, *to those* who are placed without the tropicks; but I do not think that objection to be very material. I have another exposition to offer, which is this: It thundered all along the Heaven, from the north pole to the tropick of Cancer, from thence to the tropick of Capricorn, from thence to the south pole: from pole to pole. The *ends of Heaven* are the poles. This is a poetical tempest, like that in Virgil, *Æn.* i. "Intonuere poli,"—"Id est, *extremæ partes cæli*—a quibus totum cælum contonuisse significat." Servius. JORTIN.

By *either tropick now* '*gan thunder* Dr. Newton understands, it thundered from the north and from the south; but he observes that the expression is inaccurate, the situation of our Saviour not being within the tropicks. By *and both ends of Heaven*, he understands *from* or *at both ends of Heaven*, the preposition being omitted, as is frequent in Milton. He therefore reads the passage thus:

————— "either tropick now
" '*Gan thunder, and, both ends of Heaven, the clouds*
" *From many a horrid rift abortive pour'd &c.*"

I agree that by *either tropick* Milton most probably meant that it thundered from the north and south; but I conceive that by *both ends of Heaven* he means east and west, the points where the sun rises and sets; as his purpose is to describe a general storm, not coming from any particular quarter, nor only from north and south, but from every point of the horizon at once. This storm, as Dr. Newton has suggested, is very much like one in Tasso, which was raised in the same manner by evil spirits, *Gier. Lib.* c. vii. st. 114, 115. DUNSTEE.

This passage of the poet is indeed conducted, like the proffered entertainment in the second Book, on the principles of romance: Thus also, in Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure*, bl. l. 1554, where the knight discomfits the enchantment, he is attacked by a spirit

————— "whiche suche smoke did cast
" That all the yland was full tenebrous;
" It thundred loud with claps tempestious, &c."

But, on victory declaring for the knight,

"The sprite vanished, the ayre waxed cleare."

Compare verses 429, 430, of this Book. TONN.

'Gan thunder, and both ends of Heaven; the clouds,
From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with fire
In ruin reconcil'd : nor slept the winds

Ver. 410. ————— *the clouds,*

From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd

Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, &c.] This storm of Milton

will lose nothing by a comparison with the celebrated ones of Homer in his fifth *Odyssey*, and of Virgil in his first *Æneid*. It is painted from nature, and in the boldest style.—The night is a *lowering one*, with a heavy overcharged atmosphere. The storm commences with thunder from every part of the Heavens. The rain then pours down in sudden precipitated torrents, finely marked, by the epithet *abortive* as materially different from the gradual progression of the most violent common showers; and the lightnings seem to burst in a tremendous manner from *horrid rifts*, from the most internal recesses of the sky. To make the horror complete, the winds, as is often the case in those countries where thunder storms are most violent, join their force to that of the other two elements. Violent winds do not often attend violent thunder storms in this country; and therefore Mr. Thyer has thought it necessary to observe that the accounts we have of hurricanes in the West Indies agree pretty much to this description. But such storms are not confined to tropical situations, or even to countries approaching towards them. DUNSTER.

Ver. 411. *From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd*

Fierce rain with lightning mix'd,] So, as Mr. Dunster notes,

Virg. *Æn.* iii. 196.

"Involvère diem nimbi, et nox humida cælum

"Abstulit : ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes."

But Lucretius is here the original; see lib. ii. 213, 215. At the same time, the "*riven cloudes* and molten firmament" of Spenser must not be forgotten, *Faer. Qu.* i. viii. 9. TODD.

Ver. 412. ————— *water with fire*

In ruin reconcil'd :] Dr. Warburton understands this,

joined together to do hurt. Mr. Thyer says it is a bold figure borrowed from Æschylus's description of the storm that scattered the Grecian fleet, *Agamem.* v. 559.

Ἐυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὅντις ἐχθιστοὶ τὸ πρὶν,

Πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, κ. τ. λ.

But I apprehend Dr. Newton sees the passage in its true light, when he says it only means *the fire and water fell*, (i. e. *rush'd down*,) *together*, according to Milton's usage of the word *ruin*, *Paradise Lost*, B. i. 46, and *ruining*, B. vi. 868. Thus also, ver. 436. of this Book: "After a night of storm so ruinous." DUNSTER.

Ver. 413. ————— *nor slept the winds*

Within their stony caves,] Virgil describes the winds as

placed by Jupiter in certain deep dark caves of the earth, under the controul of their god Æolus, *Æn.* i. 521.

—————"Hic vasto rex Æolus antro

"Luctantes ventos tempestatésque sonoras

"Imperio premit, &c."

Lucan also speaks of the "*stony prison*" of the winds, lib. v. 609. And see Lucretius, lib. vi. DUNSTER.

Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad
 From the four hinges of the world, and fell 415
 On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines,
 Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks,
 Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
 Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,
 O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st 420
 Unshaken! Nor yet staid the terrour there;
 Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round

Ver. 414. ————— but rush'd abroad
From the four hinges of the world,] That is, from the four cardinal points; *cardo* signifying both a *hinge* and a *cardinal point*, Virgil, *Æn.* i. 85.

“Una Eurúsque Notúsque ruunt, crebérque procellis
 “Africus.” NEWTON.

Ver. 416. *On the vex'd wilderness,]* Mr. Dunster observes that Milton frequently uses *vex* in its Latin sense, as describing the effects of a storm; *Par. Lost*, B. i. 306, and B. iii. 429. *Vex'd*, I apprehend, might not be uncommon, in this sense, in Milton's time. Thus, in Shaskpeare's *Tempest*, A. i. S. ii. “The still-*vex'd* Bermoothes.” Again, *K. Lear*, A. iv. S. iv. “As mad as the *vex'd* sea. TODD.

Ver. 417. *Though rooted deep as high, &c.]* Virgil, *Æn.* iv. 445.

————— “Quantum vertice ad auras
 “Æthereas, tantum radice ad Tartara tendit.” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 418. ————— loaden with stormy blasts,] This has some resemblance to Horace's “aquilonibus quercetæ Gargani laborant,” *Od.* II. ix. DUNSTER.

Ver. 420. ————— yet only stood'st
Unshaken!] Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he found in Eusebius de *Dem. Evan.* (Lib. ix. vol. ii. p. 434. Ed. Col.) The learned father observes, that Christ was tempted forty days, and the same number of nights. Καὶ ἐπειρήθη ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ ταῖς τοσαύταις νυκτὶν ἐπειράζετο. And to these night-temptations he applies what is said in the *Psalm* xci. 5 and 6. Οὐ φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινοῦ, *Thou shalt not be afraid for any terrour by night*, — ἀπὸ πράγματός ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου, nor for the danger that walketh in darkness. The first is thus paraphrased in the Targum, (though with a meaning very different from Eusebius's) “Non timebis à timore Dæmonum qui ambulant in nocte.” The fiends surround our Redeemer with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect. CALTON.

Ver. 422. *Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round*
Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, &c.] This too is from Eusebius, *ibid.* p. 435. Ἐπεὶ περὶ ἐν τῇ πειραζεῖν δύναμεις πονηραὶ ἐκυκλοῦν αὐτόν. — “quoniam dum tentabatur, malignæ potestates illum circumstabant.” And their repulse, it seems, is also predicted in the 7th verse of the xcist Psalm: *A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee.* CALTON.

Dr. Warburton and Dr. Jortin both observe that this description is taken from the legend, or the pictures, of the *Temptation of St. Anthony*. Tasso has a description somewhat similar, where Armida, having lost

Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some shriek'd,
 Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
 Sat'st unappall'd in calm and sinless peace ! 425
 Thus passed the night so foul, till Morning fair
 Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray ;

Rinaldo, and returning to destroy her palace, assembles her attendant spirits in a storm, c. xvi. st. 67.

"Quanto gira il palagio, udresti irati
 "Sibili, e urlì, e fremiti, e latrati."

We may also compare a passage in Shakspeare, which concludes Clarence's relation of his horrid dream in the Tower just before he is murdered, *Rich. III.* A. i. S. v.

"With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
 "Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears
 "Such hideous cries, that with the very noise
 "I trembling wak'd ; &c." DUNSTER.

A passage from Fairfax's translation of *Tasso* appears to have been also in the poet's memory, B. ix. st. 15.

"Their mantle darke the grisly shadowes spread—
 "The moone and stars for feare of sprites were fled ;
 "The shrieking goblins each where howling flew :
 "The furies roare, the ghosts and fairies yell,
 "The earth was filled with devils, and emptie hell."

Mr. Warton, in his manuscript remarks, is of opinion that Milton copied this translation, B. xvi. 67.

"You might have heard how through the palace wide
 "Some spirits howl'd, some bark'd, some hist, some cride."

However, it cannot but be admitted, that the circumstances and behaviour of Christ are similar to those of the Christian champions in Tasso's enchanted forest, who calmly, and without resistance, view the threats and attacks of a surrounding group of the most horrid demons. See B. xiii. st. 28, 33, 35. TODD.

Ver. 426. ————— till Morning fair

Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray ;] See the notes on *Lycidas*, ver. 187, *Comus*, ver. 188, and *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 374. TODD.

Ver. 427. ————— amice gray ;] Amice, Dr.

Newton observes, a significant word, is derived from the Latin *amicio*, to clothe. But this does not hit the full meaning of Milton's imagery. The combination, *amice gray*, is from what is called *graius amictus*, an officiating garment in the Roman ritual, not occurring in Dufresne. In the Statutes of Trinity College, Oxford, given in 1556, it is ordered that, on holidays, in the Chapel the President shall be vested "*graiio amictu*." In those of Magdalene College, Oxford, given in 1459, the President, on like solemnities, is to appear "*inductus grisio amisio*." Cap. xxxix. Skelton introduces all the birds singing the obsequies of his *Philip Sparrow* ; and, availing himself of the *gray* colour of the falcon, supposes that she performed her part of the mass in the "*amisse of gray*," Boke of Ph. Sparrow, p. 231. edit. Lond. 1736. In a controversy about church-habits, our author applies *amice* in a much less poetical sense : "We have heard of Aaron and his linen *amice*, &c." Pr. W. i. 100. ed. 1698. *Amice* occurs simply for a priest's service-habit in Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. iv. 18. T. WARTON.

The *amice gray* appears not to have been confined to ecclesiastics. In

Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,
And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd 430

an ancient black letter book, entitled "Order of my Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and the Sheriffs, for their meeting and wearing their apparel throughout the whole year," is the following discriminate injunction: "The Lord Mayor, and those Knights that have borne the office of Majesty, ought to have their cloaks furred with *gray amis*; and those Aldermen that have not been Mayors are to have their cloaks furred with *calabre*." TODD.

Ver. 428. *Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds, &c.*] This is an imitation of a passage in the first *Æneid* of Virgil, where Neptune is represented with his trident laying the storm which *Æolus* had raised, ver. 142.

"Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat,

"*Collectasque fugat nubes, solémque reducit.*"

There is the greater beauty in the English poet, as the scene he is describing under this charming figure is perfectly consistent with the course of nature; nothing being more common than to see a stormy night succeeded by a pleasant, serene morning. THYER.

That Milton had here in his mind the *Ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς*, the *rosy-finger'd Aurora*, of Homer and Hesiod, must be supposed; but while *rosy-fingered* is the proper epithet of the dawn, which immediately precedes the rising of the sun, the early morning, when the sun is absolutely risen, is justly described with *radiant*, instead of *rosy*, fingers. In availing himself of the heathen poet's mode of characterising the dawn, I conceive, our author had an eye to *the finger of God*. Exodus, viii. 19. Luke, xi. 20. It is observable that to *still the roar of the storm* is also a scriptural phrase. Psalm lxxv. 9.—lxxxix. 7.—It is needless to suggest to the reader of taste how much more the beauty and imagery of this passage strikes us, when we consider it with a view to these scriptural allusions. *Aurora*, or the dawn, *rising with rosy fingers*, with a tint of red in the extreme parts of her person that first emerge, is a *pleasing* image; but *Morning with her radiant finger stilling the storm of the preceding night* is a truly sublime one.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 430. *And grisly spectres, &c.*] See our author's *Ode on the Nativity*, st. xxvi. where he beautifully applies the vulgar superstition of spirits disappearing at the break of day, as the ground-work of a comparison. He supposes that all the false deities of every species of the heathen theology departed at the birth of Christ, as spectres and demons vanish when the morning dawns. Under the same superstitious belief, Milton here makes the fiends retire, who had been assembled in the night to terrify our Saviour, when the morn arose. The moment of the evanescence of spirits was supposed to be limited to the crowing of the cock. This superstition is mentioned so early as by Prudentius, *Cathem. Hymn. i.* ver. 38. But some of his commentators, and those not easily to be found, prove it to be of much higher antiquity.

It is a most inimitable circumstance in Shakspeare so to have managed this popular idea, as to make the ghost in *Hamlet*, which has been so long obstinately silent, and of course must be dismissed by the morning, begin or rather prepare to speak, and be interrupted, at the very critical time of the crowing of a cock. This interruption is thus finely touched, A. i. S. i.

To tempt the Son of God with terrours dire.
 And now the sun with more effectual beams
 Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet
 From drooping plant, or dropping tree ; the birds,
 Who all things now behold more fresh and green, 435
 After a night of storm so ruinous,
 Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
 To gratulate the sweet return of morn.
 Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,
 Was absent, after all his mischief done, 440
 The Prince of darkness ; glad would also seem
 Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came ;
 Yet with no new device, (they all were spent,)

"BER. It was about to speak when the cock crew.

"HOR. And then it started, like a guilty thing

"Upon a fearful summons."

Another poet, according to custom, would have suffered his ghosts tamely to vanish, without contriving this start, which is like a start of guilt. To say nothing of the aggravation of the future suspense, occasioned by this preparation to speak and to impart some mysterious secret. Less would have been expected, had nothing been premised. T. WARTON.

Ver. 431. *To tempt the Son of God &c.*] An eminent and excellent divine is of the same opinion as the poet with respect to *the evil Spirits which the Fiend raised*, when he tempted our Lord : "This as we may probably suppose, was the Devil's way of tempting or trying our Lord, during the forty days and nights of his fast ; and many opportunities no doubt, he had in so long a time, *by frightful dreams when he slept, frequent apparitions and illusions of evil Spirits in the night, &c.*" Bragge on the Miracles, vol. ii. p. 12. TODD.

Ver. 432. *And now the sun with more effectual beams*

Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dried the wet

From drooping plant, or dropping tree ; the birds,

Who all things now behold more fresh and green,

After a night of storm so ruinous,

Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray,

To gratulate the sweet return of morn.] There is in this de-

scription all the bloom of Milton's youthful fancy. We may compare an evening scene of the same kind, *Paradise Lost*, B. ii. 488—495. THYER.

It is impossible to forbear remarking, that the preceding description exhibits some of the finest lines which Milton has written in all his poems.

JOS. WARTON.

Mr. Dunster here refers the reader to part of a beautiful sonnet of Spenser, where the poet is comparing the smiles of his mistress breaking out after some cloudy looks, (*Sonnet xl.*) He notices also Tasso's description of a sea-storm instantly changed into a perfect calm, by means of the magical bark in which the two knights sail in search of Rinaldo, *Gier. Lib. c. xv. st. 9.* But this delightful passage of Milton perhaps defies a parallel. So picturesque a scene bespeaks the finished hand of an inimitable master. TODD.

Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,
 Desperate of better course, to vent his rage 445
 And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
 Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
 Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood ;
 Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,
 And in a careless mood thus to him said. 450

Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
 After a dismal night : I heard the rack,
 As earth and sky would mingle ; but myself
 Was distant ; and these flaws, though mortals fear them
 As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven, 455
 Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,
 Are to the main as inconsiderable
 And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
 To man's less universe, and soon are gone ;
 Yet, as being oft times noxious where they light 460
 On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
 Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
 Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
 They oft fore-signify and threaten ill :
 This tempest at this desert most was bent ; 465
 Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.

Ver. 449. ————— *in wonted shape,*] That is, in *his own proper shape*, and not under any disguise, as at each of the former times when he appeared to our blessed Lord. He comes now hopeless of success, without device or disguise, and, as the poet expressly says,

“ Desperate of better course, to vent his rage

“ And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.” DUNSTER.

Compare *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 819.

“ So started up in *his own shape* the Fiend.” TODD.

Ver. 453. *As earth and sky would mingle ;*] Virgil, *Æn.* i. 137.

“ Jam *cælum terrâque* meo sine numine, venti,

“ *Miscere*, et tantas audetis tollere moles ?” RICHARDSON.

Ver. 454. ————— *these flaws,*] *Flaw* is a sea term, as Mr. Dunster observes, for a sudden storm or gust of wind. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. x. 697. TODD.

Ver. 455. *As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,*] So also, *Comus*, v. 597 ;

————— “ if this fail,

“ The *pillar'd firmament* is rottenness.”

In both, no doubt, alluding to *Job*, xxvi. 11. “ The *pillars of Heaven* tremble, and are astonish'd at his reproof.” THYER.

Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
 The perfect season offer'd with my aid
 To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong
 All to the push of fate, pursue thy way 470
 Of gaining David's throne, no man knows when,
 For both the when and how is no where told?
 Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
 For Angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing
 The time and means. Each act is rightliest done, 475
 Not when it must, but when it may be best:
 If thou observe not this, be sure to find,
 What I foretold thee, many a hard assay
 Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,
 Ere thou of Israel's scepter get fast hold; 480
 Whereof this ominous night, that clos'd thee round,
 So many terrours, voices, prodigies,
 May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.

So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
 And staid not, but in brief him answer'd thus. 485

Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
 Those terrours, which thou speak'st of, did me none;
 I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
 And threatening nigh: what they can do, as signs
 Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn 490

Ver. 467. *Did I not tell thee, if thou did'st reject
 The perfect season offer'd with my aid &c.*] Here is something to be understood after *Did I not tell thee?* The *thing told* we may suppose to be what Satan had before said, B. iii. 351.

— "Thy kingdom, though foretold
 "By Prophet, or by Angel, unless thou
 "Endeavour, as thy father David did,
 "Thou never shalt obtain; &c." DUNSTER.

Ver. 472. *For both the when and how is no where told?*] Compare Dante, *Paradis.* ver. 46.

"Ma quella, ond' io aspetto il come, e'l quando
 "Del dire, e del tacer, si sta, ond' io,
 "Contra 'l disio fo ben ch' io non dimando." TODD.

Ver. 478. *What I foretold thee, &c.*] See ver. 374, and ver. 381 to v. 389 of this Book. DUNSTER.

Ver. 481. ——— *this ominous night,*] This *portentous*, this *dangerous*, night. See Mr. Warton's note on "*ominous wood*," *Com.* ver. 61. TODD.

As false portents, not sent from God, but thee ;
 Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
 Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I, accepting,
 At least might seem to hold all power of thee, 494
 Ambitious Spirit ! and would'st be thought my God ;
 And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify
 Me to thy will ! desist, (thou art discern'd,
 And toil'st in vain,) nor me in vain molest.

To whom the Fiend, now swoln with rage, replied.
 Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born, 500
 For Son of God to me is yet in doubt ;
 Of the Messiah I had heard foretold
 By all the Prophets ; of thy birth at length,
 Announc'd by Gabriel, with the first I knew,
 And of the angelick song in Bethlehem field, 505
 On thy birth-night that sung thee Saviour born.
 From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye
 Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,

Ver. 500. *Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,*

For Son of God to me is yet in doubt ;] That Satan should seriously address our Lord as "Virgin-born," *because* he entertained doubts whether he was in any respect the Son of God, is palpably inconsequent. "To be born of a virgin," Mr. Calton observes from Bishop Pearson, in a subsequent note, "is not so far above the production of all mankind as to place our Lord in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the *only-begotten Son of God*." But it must be recollected, that the subject of this poem is a trial *ad probandum* whether the person declared to be Son of God was really the Messiah : to acknowledge therefore that he was beyond all dispute born of a virgin, and had thereby fulfilled so material a prophecy respecting the Messiah, would be to admit in some degree the point in question. And however "Virgin-born" might not be supposed to ascertain in any degree the claim to the Messiahship, still it could never be used in an address to our Lord meant to lower him to "mere man." "Son of David," single and by itself, was an expression that Satan might be expected to use, when, characterising our Lord as a mere human being, he professed to disbelieve that he was the Son of God, born in a miraculous manner of a pure virgin, as it was foretold the Messiah should be. "Virgin-born" then must be considered as intended to be highly sarcastick. It is an epithet of the most pointed derision ; resembling the HAIL KING OF THE JEWS, and they smote him with their hands. It is that species of blasphemous insult, which might be expected from the Arch-Fiend, who at the opening of the speech is described "swoln with rage." DUNSTER.

Dr. Joseph Warton is also of opinion, that "Virgin-born," is here a highly sarcastical expression. TODD.

Ver. 502. *Of the Messiah I had heard foretold]* All the editions read "have heard." *Had* seems absolutely requisite. DUNSTER.

Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred ;
 Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all 510
 Flock to the Baptist, I among the rest,
 (Though not to be baptiz'd,) by voice from Heaven
 Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
 Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
 And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn 515
 In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
 The Son of God ; which bears no single sense.
 The Son of God I also am, or was ;
 And if I was, I am ; relation stands ;
 All men are Sons of God ; yet thee I thought 520
 In some respects far higher so declar'd :
 Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
 And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild ;
 Where, by all best conjectures, I collect
 Thou art to be my fatal enemy : 525
 Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
 To understand my adversary, who
 And what he is ; his wisdom, power, intent ;
 By parl or composition, truce or league,
 To win him, or win from him what I can : 530
 And opportunity I here have had
 To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
 Proof against all temptation, as a rock
 Of adamant, and, as a center, firm ;
 To the utmost of mere Man both wise and good, 535
 Not more ; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
 Have been before contemn'd, and may again.

Ver. 523. ————— to this waste wild ;] So in *Par. L.*
 i. 60. "A dismal situation, *waste* and *wild*." And B. iii. 424. "A
 boundless continent, dark, *waste*, and *wild*." TODD.

Ver. 533. Proof against all temptation as a rock
 Of adamant,] Compare Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. vi. 4.

"But words, and looks, and sighs, she did abhor,
 "As rock of diamond stedfast evermore."

Rock of adamant is a phrase in Sandys's *Job*, p. 29. ed. 1641, and in
 Shirley's *Imposture*, p. 67. ed. 1652. TODD.

Ver. 534. ————— as a center, firm ;] Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*,
 ed. Urr. ver. 14.

"Of his courage, as any centre, stable." DUNSTER.

Therefore to know what more thou art than Man,
 Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,
 Another method I must now begin. 540

So saying he caught him up, and, without wing
 Of hippogrif, bore through the air sublime,
 Over the wilderness and o'er the plain,
 Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,
 The holy city, lifted high her towers, 545
 And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd

Ver. 538. ————— *what more thou art than Man,*
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,] See Bp. Pearson on the Creed, p. 106. "We must find yet a more peculiar ground of our Saviour's filiation, totally distinct from any which belongs unto the rest of the sons of God, that he may be clearly and fully acknowledged the *only-begotten Son*. For although to be born of a virgin be in itself miraculous, yet it is not so far above the production of all mankind, as to place him in that singular eminence, which must be attributed to the *only-begotten*. We read of *Adam the Son of God* as well as *Seth the Son of Adam*: (Luke, iii. 38.) and surely the framing Christ out of a woman cannot so far transcend the making Adam out of the earth, as to cause so great a distance, as we must believe, between the first and second Adam. CALTON.

Ver. 541. ————— *without wing*
Of hippogrif,] Here Milton designed a reflection upon the Italian poets, and particularly upon Ariosto. Ariosto frequently makes use of the *hippogrif* to convey his heroes from place to place. NEWTON.

Not intended, (as Dr. Newton supposes,) as a reflection upon the Italian poets, but as an allusion merely to his favourite Ariosto, whose charming fancies he could not forget even in his old age. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 545. *The holy city,]* Jerusalem is frequently so called in the Old Testament. It is also called the *holy city* by St. Matthew, who wrote his gospel for the use of the Jewish converts; but by him only, of the four Evangelists. Dr. Townson having observed, that "St. Matthew, alone, of all the Evangelists, ascribes those titles of sanctity to Jerusalem, by which it had been distinguished by the prophets and sacred historians, and was known among the neighbouring nations," thus accounts for the difference between him and the other Evangelists, on the supposition that St. Matthew was, as he has generally been supposed to be, the earliest writer of the four. "After some years the word of God, being received by multitudes in various parts of the world, did as it were sanctify other cities; while Jerusalem, by rancorous opposition to the truth, and sanguinary persecution of it, more and more declined in the esteem of the believers. They acknowledged the title and character which she claimed by ancient prescription, when St. Matthew wrote; but between the publication of his gospel and the next, they were taught to transfer the idea of the holy city to a worthier object." Townson's *Discourses*, Disc. iv. S. 3. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ————— *lifted high her towers,]* Sandys, describing *Jerusalem*, gives a minute account of the remarkable *height* of her various towers; some of which, he adds, were topt *with spires*, as Milton says, ver. 548. See his *Travels*, edit. 1615, pp. 156, 157. TODD.

Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaster, topt with golden spires :
There, on the highest pinnacle, he set
The Son of God ; and added thus in scorn.

550

Ver. 549. *There, on the highest pinnacle, he set*

The Son of God ;] He has chosen to follow the order observed by St. Luke, in placing this Temptation last, because if he had, with St. Matthew, introduced it in the middle, it would have broke that fine thread of moral reasoning, which is observed in the course of the other Temptations. *THYER.*

In the Gospel account of the Temptation, no discovery is made of the Incarnation ; and this grand mystery is as little known to the Tempter at the end, as at the beginning. But now, according to Milton's scheme, the poem was to be closed with a full discovery of it. There are *three* circumstances, therefore, in which the poet, to serve his plan, hath varied from the accounts in the gospels.

1. The criticks have not been able to ascertain what the *περὶ γίον* or *pinnacle* (as we translate it) was, on which Christ was set by the Demon ; but whatever it was, the Evangelists make no difficulty of his standing there. This the poet (following the common use of the word *pinnacle* in our own language) supposeth to be something like those on the battlements of our churches, a pointed spire, on which Christ could not stand without a miracle.

2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Christ give proof of his pretensions by standing on the pinnacle, or by casting himself down. In the Gospels, the last only is or could be suggested.

3. In the Gospel account the prohibition *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God* is alleged only as a reason why Christ (whose divinity is concealed there) must not throw himself down from the top of the temple, because this would have been *tempting God*. But in the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his attempt upon Christ ; who is thereby declared to be the *Lord his God*. *CALTON.*

Bishop Pearce supposes what is in the Gospel called *περὶ γίον*, and commonly translated *pinnacle*, to have been rather *a wing of the temple*, a flat part of the roof of one of its courts ; probably on that side where the Royal Portico was, and where the valley on the outside was the deepest. Josephus (*Antiquit.* xv. 11. 5.) says, "whereas the valley was so deep that a man could scarcely see the bottom of it, Herod built a Portico of so vast a height, that if a man looked from the roof of it, his head would grow giddy, and his sight not be able to reach from that height to the bottom of the valley." Eusebius, (*Hist. Ecclesiast.* ii. 23.) cites the account given by Hegesippus of the death of James the Apostle, in which it is said that the Scribes and Pharisees brought him *ἐπὶ τὸ ΠΤΕΡΥΓΙΟΝ τοῦ ναοῦ*, up to *this elevated point* of the temple, and cast him down from thence. Milton, as Mr. Thyer has observed, follows the order of the temptations as related by St. Luke. It is remarked by Mr. Gilpin that the temptations seem more naturally introduced by St. Matthew, and that the last temptation (according to his order, but which Luke makes the second,) was so abominable in its nature, that it seemed most likely to be that which occasioned Jesus to drive the Devil from him. Milton, he subjoins, thought otherwise. *Exposit. of New Test.* Luke iv. 12. Without controverting this just and sensible remark, we may observe that St. Luke's order suited the poet best ; especially as he did not adopt the idea of making the whole a succession of visionary

There stand, if thou wilt stand ; to stand upright
 Will ask thee skill ; I to thy Father's house
 Have brought thee, and highest plac'd : highest is best :
 Now show thy progeny ; if not to stand,
 Cast thyself down ; safely, if Son of God : 555
 For it is written, " He will give command
 " Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
 " They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
 " Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone."

To whom thus Jesus : Also it is written, 560
 " Tempt not the Lord thy God." He said, and stood :

scenes raised by the power of the Tempter on one and the same spot : which also did not suit his purpose. By making each scene more real, he gave more room to description ; or at least he made his description more interesting than had its subject matter been the *Crambe recolta* of the Italian poets' magical creations. For this purpose, he made his own additional Temptation of the banquet as real as possible. *He spake no dream* &c. B. ii. 337. All this has much more effect than when the senses are confessedly deluded, or even supposed probably to be so, with a "*videt, aut vidisse putat*." Accordingly the two first Temptations of the poet are finely brought forward as being in different parts of the WILDERNESS. The scene then changes to the SPECULAR MOUNT for the second Temptation of St. Luke : but returns to the WILDERNESS, where the storm has its due place, with the noblest effect. Again the scene changes entirely for the last Temptation of Milton and St. Luke. This latter Temptation, as Milton has managed it, has something more of a miraculous nature, and has more effect in poetical description. It likewise paves the way so admirably for the sublime conclusion, that I cannot agree with the amiable author of the Exposition, that Milton could possibly have shewn himself to more advantage by any other method of detailing these Temptations. I have observed how admirably Milton makes the Devil recover himself after the failure of his grossly blasphemous insult on the Divine object of his art, so as to proceed towards the remaining Temptation. I must observe also that the last change of scene to JERUSALEM, and the manner of it, have much of ancient classical, or later Italian, description. At all events, it breaks with admirable effect the colloquial part of the Poem, which no succession of visionary scenes, however exquisitely described, could have done to the same advantage. DUNSTER.

Ver. 561. "*Tempt not the Lord thy God.*" *He said, and stood :*] Here is what we may call after Aristotle the *ἀναγνώρισις*, or the discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of the Tempter ; and to prove it, stands upon the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet's meaning. 1. The miracle shows it to be so ; which is otherwise impertinently introduced, and against the rule,

" Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
 " Inciderit."

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allowed before.
 2. There is a connection between Christ's *saying* and *standing*, which demonstrates that he *stood*, in proof of something he had *said*. Now the prohibition, *Tempt not the Lord thy God*, as alleged in the Gospels from

But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.
 As when Earth's son Antæus, (to compare
 Small things with greatest,) in Irassa strove
 With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foil'd, still rose, 565

the Old Testament, was in no want of such an attestation : but a miracle was wanting to justify the application of it to the Tempter's attempt upon Christ : it was for this end therefore that he stood. CALTON.

I cannot entirely approve this learned gentleman's exposition. I am for understanding the words, *Also it is written, Tempt not the Lord thy God*, in the same sense in which they were spoken in the Gospels ; because I would not make the poem to differ from the Gospel account, farther than necessity compels, or more than the poet himself has made it. The Tempter sets our Saviour on a pinnacle of the temple, and there requires of him a proof of his divinity, either by standing, or by casting himself down, as he might safely do, if he was the Son of God, according to the quotation from the Psalmist. To this our Saviour answers, as he answers in the Gospels, *It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, tacitly inferring that his casting himself down would be tempting of God. *He said*, that is, he gave this reason for not casting himself down, *and stood*. His *standing* properly makes the discovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter required : *Now show thy progeny*. His *standing* convinces Satan. His *standing* is considered as the display of his divinity, and the immediate cause of Satan's *fall* ; and the grand contrast is formed between the *standing* of the one, and the *fall* of the other

————— “ He said, and stood :
 “ But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.

And afterwards, ver. 571 :

“ *Fell* whence he stood to see his victor fall.” NEWTON.

The expression “ *He said, and stood* : ” is in the manner of Homer, *Il.* vii. 354.

Ἦτοι ὅγ' ὡς εἰπών, κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο. DUNSTER.

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Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,
 Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join'd,
 Throttled at length in the air, expir'd and fell ;
 So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,
 Renewing fresh assaults amidst his pride, 570
 Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall :
 And as that Theban monster, that propos'd

by Alcmena had no right to be called *Alcides*, this being the proper name of the son of Amphitryon, whose father was *Alcæus*. And yet Virgil also refers to *Alcides* as the *Son of Jove*, *Æn.* vi. 123. DUNSTER.

Ver. 565. ———— *and, oft foil'd, still rose,*] Thus in Tasso, where the Soldan Solymán is slain by Rinaldo, the resistance he had before made is compared to that of Antæus, in his contest with Hercules, *Gier. Lib.* c. xx. st. 108.

“ Poi che 'l Soldan, che spesso in lunga guerra,
 “ Quasi novello Anteo, cadde e risorse
 “ Più fero ogn' hora, al fin calco la terra
 “ Per giacer sempre.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 566. *Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,*] So in Lucan, iv. 598.

“ Hoc quoque tam vastas cumulavit munere vires
 “ Terra sui fœtus, quòd, cùm tetigere parentem,
 “ Jam defuncta vigent renovato robore membra.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 572. *And as that Theban monster, &c.*] The Sphinx, who, on her riddle being solved by Œdipus, threw herself into the sea. Statius, *Theb.* i. 66.

——— “ Si Sphingos iniquæ
 “ Callidus ambages, te præmonstrante, resolvî.” NEWTON.

The same poet refers also to the *falling of the Sphinx from the Ismenian steep*, when her riddle was solved by Œdipus, *Theb.* xi. 490.

——— “ dum Cadmus arat? dum victa cadit Sphinx?”

The Sphinx is termed by Euripides, (*Phœniss.* v. 813.) οὐρειον τέρας, the “monster of the mountain!” And by Lycophron, Σφικιον τέρας, (ver. 1465.) where Heyne suggests the reading Φικιον τέρας, the monster of the mountain Phicius. Milton seems here to have had Apollodorus's account of the Sphinx in his mind; at least there is a great coincidence of expression in the mythologist and the poet. Apollodorus says the Sphinx proposed her riddle to the Thebans, ἡΠΟΥΤΕΙΝΕ τοῖς Θήβαις, and that, every time they failed of finding it out, she seized one of them, and devoured him, ἐπ' αὖν ἐὼς ΜΗ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΟΝ, ἀρπάσας ἕνα ΚΑΤΑΒΙΒΩΣΚΕ, that Œdipus, upon hearing it, solved it, Οἰκτιροῦς ἐὼς ἀκούσας ΕΛΥΣΕΝ, whereupon she cast herself headlong from the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, ΕΛΥΤΗΝ ΕΡΠΙΥΕΝ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως; which last words the learned Heyne thinks are an interpolation, a *malâ manu insertum*, as the mountain Phicius towards Onchestos, (*Pausan.* ix. 26.) was allowedly the haunt of the Sphinx. At the same time he observes, that she was supposed at times to approach the walls of the Cadmea in search of prey. (Euripid. *Phœniss.* 815, 816.) As Phicius was a mountain in the Theban territory, either that, or the Cadmea, might be termed the *Ismenian steep*, from the river Ismenus, which ran by Thebes; ὁ γὰρ Ἀσωπός, καὶ ὁ ἸΣΜΗΝΟΣ διὰ

Her riddle, and him who solv'd it not devour'd,
 That once found out and solv'd, for grief and spite
 Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep ; 575
 So, struck with dread and anguish, fell the Fiend,
 And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought
 (Joyless triumphals of his hop'd success,)
 Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,
 Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 580
 So Satan fell ; and straight a fiery globe
 Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
 Who on their plumy vans receiv'd him soft
 From his uneasy station, and upbore,

τοῦ πίδακος πέσσει τοῦ πρὸ τῶν Οἰθῶν. Strabo, ix. p. 408. *Ismenus* is thus frequently used by the Latin poets for *Theban*. DUNSTER.

Ver. 581. *So Satan fell ; and straight &c.*] Thus in G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, where Presumption is personified, and represented as in vain tempting our blessed Lord, st. xxxviii.

"But, when she saw her speech prevailed nought,
 "Herself she tumbled headlong to the floor ;
 "But him the Angels on their feathers caught,
 "And to an airy mountain nimbly bore." DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *and straight a fiery globe*

Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,

Who on their plumy vans &c.] There is a peculiar softness

and delicacy in this description, and neither circumstances nor words could be better selected to give the reader an idea of the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and to take from the imagination that horror and uneasiness which it is naturally filled with in contemplating the dangerous and uneasy situation he was left in. THYER.

So Psyche was carried down from the rock by Zephyrs, and laid lightly on a green and flowery bank, and there entertained with invisible musick. See *Apuleius*, Lib. iv. RICHARDSON.

Mr. Richardson might have added that Psyche was also entertained with a banquet ministered by Spirits. See the end of the fourth book of the *Metamorphoses*, and the beginning of the fifth. DUNSTER.

It should also be added that the *globe of Angels* was perhaps suggested by G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph*, st. 13.

————— "out there flies

"*A globe of winged Angels, swift as thought.*"

See also *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 512. TODD.

Ver. 583. *Who on their plumy vans receiv'd him soft*

From his uneasy station, and upbore,

As on a floating couch, through the blithe air ;] If this de-

scription is not from any famous painting, it is certainly a subject for one. But the grammatical inaccuracy here, I am afraid, cannot be palliated. *Him*, according to the common construction of language, certainly must refer to Satan, the person last mentioned. The intended sense of the passage cannot indeed be misunderstood ; but we grieve to find any inaccuracy in a part of the poem so eminently beautiful. DUNSTER.

As on a floating couch, through the blithe air ; 585
 Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
 On a green bank, and set before him spread
 A table of celestial food, divine
 Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
 And, from the fount of life, ambrosial drink, 590

Ver. 585. ————— *through the blithe air ;*] Which way soever I turn this term *blithe*, it conveys no idea to me suitable to the place it occupies : nor do my dictionaries aid me in the least. The place is certainly corrupted, and ought to run thus, “through the *lithe* air.” Milton uses the word in his *Par. Lost* in the sense required here, “and wreath'd his *lithe* proboscis,” B. iv. 447. I make no doubt of the certainty of this conjecture. SYMPSON.

I question whether others will have so good an opinion of this emendation. “Through the *blithe* air” I conceive to be much the same as if he had said “through the *glad* air,” and the propriety of such a metaphor wants no justification or explanation. NEWTON.

“*Blithe* air” is similar to “*buxom* air,” *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 842, B. v. 270. But I conceive it to have a farther meaning, *cheerful*, or *pleased with its burthen* ; and it strikes me as an intended contrast to a passage in the *Paradise Lost*, describing the flight of Satan, at the time he first rises from the burning lake, when *the dusky air is loaded with his weight*, B. i. 226.

DUNSTER.

I humbly apprehend that “*blithe* air” is not similar to “*buxom* air ;” for *buxom* signifies *yielding*, or *flexible*, and is, in this sense, the accustomed epithet to *air* among our elder poets : Mr. Sympson’s “*lithe* air” approaches nearer to “*buxom* air,” because *lithe* also means *flexible*. But the poet wrote “*blithe* air” in reference perhaps to the “fair morning after a dismal night ; the clouds being now chas’d, and the winds laid ;” and the air consequently *blithe*, light and pure ; the epithet *blithe* finely expressing what he says of the *pure air* of Paradise, *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 154.

————— “to the heart inspires
 “Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
 “All sadness but despair.”

Cowley uses the similar combination of “glad air” in his *Dauides*, B. i.

“Then flocks of birds through the *glad* air did flee.”

The Italian *lieto*, in like manner, sometimes signifies *fresh*. See Vocab. Della Crusca. TODD.

Ver. 587. ————— *and set before him spread*
A table of celestial food, &c.] Here is much resemblance to a stanza of G. Fletcher, *Christ’s Triumph* &c. st. 61.

“But to their Lord, now musing in his thought,
 “A heavenly volley of light Angels flew,
 “And from his Father him a banquet brought
 “Through the *fine element* ; for well they knew
 “After his lenten fast he hungry grew ;
 “And, as he fed, the holy quires combine
 “To sing a hymn of the celestial trine.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 589. *Ambrosial fruits, &c.]* Hesiod, *Theolog.* 639.

Νέκταρ τ’ ἀμβροσίην τε, τὰπερ θεοὶ αὐτοὶ εἶνυσσι. TODD.

That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
 What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
 Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelick quires
 Sung heavenly anthems of his victory
 Over Temptation and the Tempter proud. 595

True image of the Father; whether thron'd
 In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
 Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, enshrin'd
 In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,

Ver. 593. ————— *angelick quires*

Sung heavenly anthems of his victory &c.] As Milton in his *Paradise Lost* had represented the Angels singing triumph upon the Messiah's victory over the rebel Angels; so here again with the same propriety they are described celebrating his success against temptation, and to be sure he could not have possibly concluded his work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetick decorum. THYER.

Ver. 596. *True image of the Father; &c.]*

“Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii.”

All the poems that ever were written must yield, even *Paradise Lost* must yield, to the *Regained* in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terrour, on this full proof of his being the very Son of God, whose thunder forced him out of Heaven. The blessed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a sublime truth established, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the Temptation; and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the Tempter. CALTON.

Ibid. ————— *whether thron'd*

In the bosom of bliss,] Thus, in *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 238, the Son of God says to the Father;

“I, for his sake, will leave
 Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee;”

and the Father, in reply, ver. 305.

“Because thou hast, though thron'd in highest bliss
 Equal to God, &c.”

The Son of God, after having descended to earth to pass sentence on fallen man, is likewise similarly described returning to his Father in Heaven, B. x. 325. DUNSTER.

The Scripture suggested these expressions to the poet: “The only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father,” John, i. 18. TODD.

Ver. 598. ————— *enshrin'd*

In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,] St. John, i. 14. says, καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐΣΚΗΝΩΣΕΝ ἐν ἡμῖν, — which, literally translated, is, the word was made *flesh*, and *tabernacled* among us. St. Paul, 2 Cor. v. 1. terms the body or the “human form” our earthly house of *this tabernacle*, — ἡ ἐπίγειος ἡμῶν οἰκία τοῦ ΣΚΗΝΟΥΣ. Thus also our author, in his Ode *On the Passion*: —

Wandering the wilderness ; whatever place, 600
 Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
 The Son of God, with Godlike force endued
 Against the attempter of thy Father's throne,
 And thief of Paradise ! Him long of old
 Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast 605
 With all his army ; now thou hast aveng'd
 Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
 Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise,
 And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.
 He never more henceforth will dare set foot 610
 In Paradise to tempt ; his snares are broke :
 For, though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd,
 A fairer Paradise is founded now
 For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,
 A Saviour, art come down to re-install, 615
 Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
 Of Tempter and Temptation without fear.

" He, sovran Priest, stooping his regal head,
 " That dropp'd with odorous oil down his fair eyes,
 " Poor *fleshy tabernacle* entered."

And in his Poem, *In Obiit. Præs. El. v. 37.*

" *Animasque mole carnea reconditas.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 600. ——— *whatever place,*

Habit, or state, or motion,] I cannot think, with Dr. Newton,
 that this is an allusion to Horace, *Ep. I. xvii. 23.*

" *Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.*" JOS. WARTON.

No: the *habit, state, or motion*, here refer to the look, the mien, the
 " *habitus oris et vultus,*" of Cicero; and to the posture, or attitude, of
 the person. See *P. L. ix. 673*, and my note there: And so Quintilian:
 " *Ut in statu et atque picturis videmus variari habitus, vultus, status.*"
 TODD.

• Ver. 604. *And thief of Paradise !*] Thus, *Paradise Lost*, B. iv. 192,
 where Satan first enters *Paradise*: " So clomb this *first grand thief* into
 God's fold." DUNSTER.

The phrase probably owes its origin to St. John x. 1. " He that
 entereth not in by the door to the sheepfold, but *climbeth* up some other
 way, the same is a *thief* and a *robber*." I should add, that a *thief* is one
 of the titles which venerable Bede has expressly given to the Devil.
 See a list of these titles in Wierus *de Præstigiis Dæmon.* 1582, p. 109.
 TODD.

Ver. 605. *Thou didst debel,*] Virgil, *Æn. vi. 853.* "*Debellare*
superbos." NEWTON.

Ver. 611. ——— *his snares are broke :*] " Our soul is
 escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler ; *the snare is broken, &c.*"
 Psalm, cxxiv. 7. DUNSTER.

But thou, infernal Serpent! shalt not long
 Rule in the clouds; like an autumnal star, 619
 Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod down
 Under his feet: for proof, ere this thou feel'st
 Thy wound, (yet not thy last and deadliest wound,)
 By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell
 No triumph: in all her gates Abaddon rues
 Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe 625
 To dread the Son of God: He, all unarm'd,
 Shall chase thee, with the terrour of his voice,
 From thy demoniack holds, possession foul,

Ver. 619. ————— *like an autumnal star,*
Or lightning,] The poet here, as in other places, imitates
 profane authors and Scripture both together: 'Ἀστὴρ' ὅπως ἐναλίγκιον,
Il. v. 5. "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven." Luke x. 18.

NEWTON.

There is a peculiar propriety in comparing Satan to an *autumnal star*,
 on account of the mischiefs that autumnal stars, and Sirius in particular,
 were supposed to produce to mankind. See *Iliad*, x. 26, &c. and *Æneid*,
 x. 272. Milton had before compared him to a comet, that, "from his
 horrid hair shakes pestilence and war." *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 710. DUNSTER.

Ver. 620. ————— trod down

Under his feet:] "And the God of peace shall *bruise Satan*
under your feet," Romans, xvi. 20; where the marginal reading for *bruise*
 is *tread*. From whence in the *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 190. "Whom he
 shall *tread* at last *under our feet*." DUNSTER.

Ver. 624. ————— *in all her gates*] *Matt. xvi. 18. "The*
gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." DUNSTER.

It must be added, that the turn of the whole expression, "*Abaddon*
rues in all her gates," is also scriptural; for thus it is said of degenerate
 Zion, "*And her gates shall lament and mourn*," Isaiah iii. 26. TODD.

Ibid. ————— *Abaddon*] The name of the
 angel of the bottomless pit, *Rev. ix. 11*; here applied to the bottomless
 pit itself. NEWTON.

Ver. 626. ————— *all unarm'd.*] In *Vida's*
Christiad. i. 192, Satan describes himself as having been completely foiled
 and defeated by our Saviour thus *all unarm'd*;

—————"semper me reppulit ipse,
 "Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus:"

But *all unarm'd* seems here to be an intended contrast to that very fine
 description in *Paradise Lost*, of the Messiah completely armed, ascending
 "the chariot of paternal Deity," to accomplish the victory over the rebel
 Angels, and to drive them out of Heaven, B. vi. 760—766. DUNSTER.

Ver. 628. *From thy demoniack holds, possession foul,*] The δαιμονίζο-
 μίνοι, or *demoniacks* of the Gospel, are constantly rendered in our version
 "*possessed with a devil*." And Babylon is described "*the habitation of*
devils, and the hold of every foul spirit," *Rev. xviii. 2.* DUNSTER.

That is, Babylon is become a *desart*, as prefigured by the prophets
 Isaiah and Jeremiah. Wildernesses are often described as the accustomed

Thee and thy legions ; yelling they shall fly,
 And beg to hide them in a herd of swine, 630
 Lest he command them down into the deep,
 Bound, and to torment sent before their time.—
 Hail, Son of the Most High, heir of both worlds,
 Queller of Satan ! On thy glorious work
 Now enter ; and begin to save mankind. 635

Thus they the Son of God, our Saviour meek,
 Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refresh'd,
 Brought on his way with joy ; he, unobserv'd,
 Home to his mother's house private return'd.

haunts of devils. See Elsner in *Luc.* viii. 29. Thus also Tasso's forest, abounding with horrid demons, is termed "a charmed *hold*," Fairfax, B. xviii. st. 7. The demons of "desart wildernesses" are also alluded to in *Comus*, v. 209. In the same poem the *legions* of evil spirits are noticed, v. 603.

—————"all the grisly *legions* that troop
 "Under the sooty flag of Acheron."

So in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. xiii. st. 11.

"*Legions* of devils by thousands thither come." TODD.

Ver. 629. ————— *yelling they shall fly,*
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep,
Bound, &c.] See *Matt.* viii. 28, and four following verses ;
 and *Rev.* xx. 1, 2, 3. DUNSTER.

Ver. 634. Queller of Satan !] *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 311.

—————"who shall *quell*
 "*The adversary-serpent*, and bring back,
 "Through the world's wilderness, long-wander'd man,
 "Safe to eternal Paradise of rest." DUNSTER.

Alluding in both to the prophetic promise, "*The seed of the Woman shall bruise the head of the serpent.*" TODD.

Ver. 635. *Now enter ; &c.]* May I venture to say, that I think this line, the last of the triumphant Song of the Angels, would have been a fine and forcible conclusion of the poem without the addition of the four following, which are comparatively feeble. JOS. WARTON.

It has been argued, from the four concluding lines, that the Poem is not complete ; that is, that Milton had an idea of carrying it on further : Otherwise the hymn of the angels would have been a fine close. See Peck's *Memoirs of Milton*, p. 80. DUNSTER.

Ver. 636. ————— *our Saviour meek,]* "Learn of me, for I am meek, and lowly of heart." *Matt.* xi. 29. DUNSTER.

Ver. 637. ————— *from heavenly feast refresh'd,]* Milton formed his description of the *heavenly feast*, from the few words of *Matt.* iv. 11. "And behold, *Angels* came and ministered unto him." Compare v. 587, &c. Let it be added, that a more pleasing commentary on the expression of the Evangelist could not have been penned. TODD.

Paradise Regained has not met with the approbation that it deserves. It has not the harmony of numbers, the sublimity of thought, and the beauties of diction, which are in *Paradise Lost*. It is composed in a lower and less striking style; a style suited to the subject. Artful sophistry, false reasoning, set off in the most specious manner, and refuted by the Son of God with strong unaffected eloquence, is the peculiar excellence of this poem. Satan there defends a bad cause with great skill and subtlety, as one thoroughly versed in that craft;

“ Qui facere assuerat

“ Candida de nigris, et de candentibus atra.”

His character is well drawn. JORTIN.

If it be asked, *Whether the PARADISE REGAINED be complete or not?* Those who take the Affirmative, say, that as the action of the *Paradise Lost* was complete when the Fall of Man was complete; so the action of the *Paradise Regained* was complete when our Saviour had defeated the Tempter in the wilderness. Those, who take the Negative, say, that as the action of *Paradise Regained* was not complete till Christ was ascended up on high, and had *led captivity captive*; so this poem, as it doth not likewise carry on this history so far, cannot therefore be complete.

Milton's proposition at the beginning of the first book, and his hymn at the close of the fourth, incline one to the first of these opinions; but it may be replied on the other side, that the proposition is sometimes written last, or at least sometimes altered at last, to make it answer, not what the author really intended, but what he afterwards found time to perform: and that the same may be said of the hymn. And again, that the want of arguments to all the four books, and the four last lines of the fourth, make also for the Negative. The resolution of this question appearing a matter of some difficulty, I asked the opinion of a learned friend (William Cowper, Esq. Clerk of the Parliaments) whose answer is written with great judgement. Take it therefore in his own words.

“ For my opinion about the *PARADISE REGAINED*, *whether complete or not?* There is nobody less possessed of the means to decide such a critical question than myself; or indeed any other philological one; but if you will have it, I think it is so. And that, not merely because Milton himself seems to have thought so, by ending it there; but because I observe the *Iliad* to be finished by the death, &c. of Hector, and the *Æneid* by that of Turnus; that is, when the action had proceeded so far as to bring to pass the cardinal event upon which all that was to follow must happen; after Hector's death, Troy must fall; and, when Turnus was slain, Æneas must establish himself, by marrying Lavinia, &c. So, after the Tempter was defeated, Man was put into a state of *regainning Paradise*, as Christ thereby stood enabled to perform all the points of his mission and purposes, which were to be the ground of it. It is these breaks, and leaving things to be imagined, &c. that with the use of some other figures, make a poem differ from a dry history. In the first, 'tis enough to show the reader the promised land distinctly; the last ought to carry him thither, and put him in possession.”

The *Paradise Regained* is certainly a most admirable Poem, and breathes the very genius, and spirit, and soul of Milton in every line: and, in a word, is worthy, not only of him, but even of

“ Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd,

“ Whose poem Phæbus challeng'd for his own.” ПЕСК.

Whether Milton supposed the Redemption of Mankind, as he here represents it, was procured by Christ's Triumph over the Devil in the wilderness; or whether he thought that the scene of the desert opposed to that of Paradise, and the action of a temptation withstood, to a tempt-

ation fallen under, made *Paradise Regained* a more regular sequel to *Paradise Lost*: Or, if neither this nor that, whether it was his being tired out with the labour of composing *Paradise Lost*, which made him averse to another work of length, (and then he would never be at a loss for fanciful reasons to determine him in the choice of his plan,) is very uncertain. All that we can be sure of is, that the plan is a very unhappy one, and defective even in that narrow view of a sequel; for it affords the poet no opportunity of driving the Devil back again to Hell from his new conquests in the air. In the mean time nothing was easier than to have invented a good one; which should end with the Resurrection; and comprise *these four books*, somewhat contracted, in an episode; for which only the subject of them is fit. WARBURTON.

Confined as the subject of *Paradise Regained* was, I make no question that Milton thought it an epick poem as well as the *Paradise Lost*. For, in his invocation, he undertakes

————— “ to tell of deeds
“ Above heroic: ”

And he had no notion that an epick poem must of necessity be formed after the example of Homer, and according to the precepts of Aristotle. In the introduction to the second book of his *Reason of Church-Government* he thus delivers his sentiments. “ Time serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to give any certain account of what the mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope, and hardest attempting; whether that epick form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a *diffuse*, and the book of Job a *brief, model*: or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art, and use judgement, is no transgression, but an enriching of art.” We see that he looked upon the book of Job, as a *brief model of an epick poem*: and the subject of *Paradise Regained* is much the same as that of the book of Job, a good man triumphing over temptation; and the greatest part of it is in dialogue as well as the book of Job, and abounds with moral arguments and reflections, which were more natural to that season of life, and better suited Milton’s age and infirmities, than gay florid descriptions. For, by Mr. Elwood’s account, he had not thought of the *Paradise Regained*, till after he had finished the *Paradise Lost*: The first hint of it was suggested by Elwood, while Milton resided at St. Giles Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, during the plague in London; and afterwards, when Elwood visited him in London, he showed him the poem finished, so that he was not long in conceiving, or long in writing, it: And this is the reason why in the *Paradise Regained* there are much fewer imitations of, and allusions to, other authors, than in the *Paradise Lost*. The *Paradise Lost* he was long in meditating, and had laid in a large stock of materials, which he had collected from all authors ancient and modern: but in the *Paradise Regained* he composed more from memory, and with no other help from books, than such as naturally occurred to a mind so thoroughly tinctured and seasoned, as his was, with all kinds of learning. Mr. Thyer makes the same observation, particularly with regard to the Italian poets. From the very few allusions, says he, to the Italian poets, in this poem one may draw, I think, a pretty conclusive argument for the reality of those pointed out in the notes upon *Paradise Lost*, and show that they are not, as some may imagine, mere accidental coincidences of great geniuses writing upon similar subjects. Admitting them to be such only, no tolerable reason can be assigned why the same should not occur in the same manner in the *Paradise Regained*: whereas, upon the other supposition

of their being real, the difference of the two poems in this respect is easily accounted for. It is very certain, that Milton formed his first design of writing an epick poem very soon after his return from Italy, if not before, and highly probable that he then intended it after the Italian model, as he says, speaking of this design in his *Reason of Church Government*, that "he applied himself to that resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of Bembo, to fix all the art and industry he could unite to the adorning of his native tongue"—and again that he was then meditating "what king or knight before the Conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero, as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or Charlemain against the Lombards." This would naturally lead him to a frequent perusal of the choicest wits of that country; and although he dropt his first scheme, and was some considerable time before he executed the present work, yet still the impressions he had first received would be fresh in his imagination, and he would of course be drawn to imitate their particular beauties, though he avoided following them in his general plan. The case was far otherwise when the *Paradise Regained* was composed. As Mr. Elwood informs us, Milton did not so much as think of it till he was advanced in years; and it is not very likely, considering the troubles and infirmities he had long laboured under, that his studies had been much employed about that time among the sprightly Italians, or indeed any writers of that turn. Consistent with this supposition we find it of a quite different stamp; and, instead of allusions to poets either ancient or modern, it is full of moral and philosophical reasonings, to which sort of thoughts an afflicted old age must have turned our author's mind.

NEWTON.

If the *Paradise Regained* is inferiour, as indeed I think it must be allowed to be, to the *Paradise Lost*, it cannot justly be imputed, as some would have it, to any decay of Milton's genius, but to his being cramped down by a more barren and contracted subject. THYER.

Of *Paradise Regained* the general judgement seems now to be right, that it is in many parts elegant, and every where instructive. It was not to be supposed that the writer of *Paradise Lost* could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom. The basis of the Poem is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatick powers. Had this Poem been written not by Milton, but by some imitator, it would have claimed and received universal praise. JOHNSON.

Dr. Newton, in his Life of Milton, speaking of *this Poem*, says, "Certainly it is very worthy of the author, and, contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regained* as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferiour in poetry, I know not whether it is not superiour in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow." Mr. Thyer likewise remarks the barrenness of the subject. Dr. Warburton also pronounces the plan to be "a very unhappy and defective one." But none of these learned criticks [except Dr. Newton] seem to have considered what we may collect from our author himself; that he designed this poem for, what he terms, *the brief epick*, which he particularly distinguishes from the *great and diffuse epick*, of which kind are the great poems of Homer and Virgil, and his own *Paradise Lost*. From the

Introduction to the second Book of his *Reason of Church Government*, [cited in the preceding remark by Dr. Newton,] we may suppose his model to have been in a great measure the book of Job; and however the subject which he selected may have been considered as narrow ground, and one that cramped his genius, there is no reason to imagine that it was chosen hastily or inconsiderately. It was particularly adapted to the species of poem he meant to produce, namely, the *brief*, or *didactic*, Epick. The basis he thought perfectly adequate to the superstructure which he meant to raise; to the merit of which the lapse of time bears the material testimony of a gradually encreasing admiration.

Since the above was written, I am happy to add the opinion of a gentleman, whose judgement must have the greatest weight, if to have excelled eminently in poetry is, (as it should be supposed to be,) a title to judge of it in others. "Milton," says Mr. Hayley, "had already executed one extensive divine poem, peculiarly distinguished by richness and sublimity of description: In framing a second he naturally wished to vary its effect; to make it rich in moral sentiment, and sublime in its mode of unfolding the highest wisdom that man can learn; for this purpose it was necessary to keep all the ornamental parts of the poem in due subordination to the precept. This delicate and difficult point is accomplished with such felicity; they are blended together with such exquisite harmony and mutual aid; that, instead of arraigning the plan, we might rather doubt if any possible change could improve it. Assuredly there is no poem of an epick form, where the sublimest moral is so forcibly and so abundantly united to poetical delight: the splendour of the poet does not blaze indeed so intensely as in his larger production; here he resembles the Apollo of Ovid, softening his glory in speaking to his son, and avoiding to dazzle the fancy that he may descend into the heart." Hayley's *Life of Milton*. The same biographer, in another place, having spoken of the "uncommon energy of thought and felicity of composition apparent in Milton's two poems, however different in design, dimension, and effect," adds, "To censure the *Paradise Regained*, because it does not more resemble the *Paradise Lost*, is hardly less absurd, than it would be to condemn the Moon for not being a Sun, instead of admiring the two different luminaries, and feeling that both the greater and the less are equally the work of the same divine and inimitable power."

DUNSTER.

Doubtless the *Paradise Regained*, like the mild and pleasing brightness of the lesser luminary, will ever obtain its comparative admiration. The fine sentiments which it breathes; the pure morality, which it inculcates; and the striking imagery, with which it is frequently embellished; must commend the Poem, while taste and virtue are respected, to the grateful approbation of the world. The versification indeed wants the variety and animation, which so eminently distinguish the numbers of *Paradise Lost*. And it cannot but be acknowledged that the plan is faulty: For, to attribute the Redemption of Mankind solely to Christ's triumph over the temptations in the wilderness, is a notion not only contracted, but untrue. The gate of everlasting Life was opened, through the Death and Resurrection of our Lord. Dr. Bentley's remark has not yet been controverted: See the note on *Paradise Lost*, B. x. 182. I do not, however, think, that *Paradise Regained* is without "allusions to poets, either ancient or modern," as is insinuated in a preceding remark: It exhibits, on the contrary, several elegant imitations, interwoven with Milton's original graces, both of the classical and the romantick Muses. Mr. Hallam's judgement of this poem is, that "it was not popular with the world; was long believed to manifest a decay of the poet's genius; and, in spite of all which the critics have written, is still but the favourite of

some whose predilections for the Miltonic style are very strong. The subject is so much less capable of calling forth the vast powers of his mind, that we should be unfair in comparing it throughout with the greater poem : It has been called a model of the shorter epic, or action comprehending few characters and a brief space of time. The love of Milton for dramatic dialogue, imbibed from Greece, is still more apparent than in *Paradise Lost* ; the whole poem in fact may almost be accounted a drama of primal simplicity, the narrative and descriptive part serving rather to diversify and relieve the speeches of the actors, than their speeches, as in the legitimate epic, to enliven the narration. *Paradise Regained* abounds with passages equal to any of the same nature in *Paradise Lost* ; but the argumentative tone is kept up till it produces some tediousness, and perhaps on the whole less pains have been exerted to adorn and elevate even that which appeals to the imagination." *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, 1839, vol. iv. p. 428. TODD.

THE END OF PARADISE REGAINED.

SAMSON AGONISTES,

A DRAMATICK POEM.

Τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας, κ. τ. λ. — ARISTOT. Poet. Cap. 6.

Tragedia est imitatio actionis seriæ, &c., per misericordiam et metum
perficiens talium affectuum lustrationem.

OF THAT SORT OF DRAMATICK POEM WHICH IS CALLED
TRAGEDY.*

TRAGEDY, as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems: therefore said by Aristotle to be of power by raising pity and fear, or terroure, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, that is, to temper and reduce them to just measure with a kind of delight, stirred up by reading or seeing those passions well imitated. Nor is Nature wanting in her own effects to make good his assertion: ^bfor so, in physick, things of melancholick hue and quality are used against melancholy, sour against sour, salt to remove salt humours. Hence philosophers and other gravest writers, as Cicero, Plutarch, and others, frequently cite out of tragick poets, both to adorn and illustrate their discourse. The Apostle Paul himself thought it not unworthy to insert ^ca verse of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture,

^a *Of that sort of dramattick poem, called Tragedy.*] Milton, who was inclined to Puritanism, had good reason to think, that the publication of his *Samson Agonistes* would be very offensive to his brethren, who held poetry, and particularly that of the dramattick kind, in the greatest abhorrence. And, upon this account, it is probable, that, in order to excuse himself from having engaged in this proscribed and forbidden species of writing, he thought it expedient to prefix to his Play a formal *Defence of Tragedy*. T. WARTON.

^b *for so, in physick, &c.*] These expressions of Milton may be supposed to refer to the doctrine of Signatures then in vogue; which had been introduced by Paracelsus between the years 1530 and 1540, and which inferred the propriety of the use of any vegetable, or mineral, in medicine from the similarity of colour, shape, or appearance, which these remedies might bear to the part affected. Thus yellow things, as saffron, turmeric, &c. were given in liver complaints from their analogy of colour to the bile; and other remedies were given in nephritic disorders because the seed or leaf of the plant resembled the kidney. See Paracelsus. *Labyrinth. Med.* c. 8. And Dr. Pemberton's very elegant preface to the English edition of the London Dispensary. DUNSTER.

^c *a verse of Euripides*] The verse, here quoted, is *Evil communications corrupt good manners*: but I am inclined to think that Milton is mistaken in calling it a verse of *Euripides*; for Jerome and Grotius (who published

1 *Cor.* xv. 33; and Paræus, commenting on the Revelation, divides the whole book as a tragedy, into acts distinguished each by a chorus of heavenly harpings and song between. Heretofore men in highest dignity have laboured not a little to be thought able to compose a tragedy. Of that honour Dionysius the elder was no less ambitious, than before of his attaining to the tyranny. Augustus Cæsar also had begun his *Ajax*, but, unable to please his own judgement with what he had begun, left it unfinished. Seneca, the philosopher, is by some thought the author of those tragedies (at least the best of them) that go under that name. Gregory Nazianzen, a Father of the Church, thought it not unbecoming the sanctity of his person to write ^aa tragedy, which is entitled *Christ suffering*. This is mentioned to vindicate tragedy from the small esteem, or rather infamy, which in the account of many it undergoes at this day with other common interludes; happening through the poet's error ^eof intermixing

the fragments of Menander) and the best commentators, ancient and modern, say that it is taken from the Thais of *Menander*, and it is extant among the fragments of Menander, p. 79. Le Clerc's edit. *Φθίρονσιν ἦθη χρῆσθ' ὀμιλῖαι κακαί*. Such slips of memory may be found sometimes in the best writers. NEWTON.

Mr. Glasse, the learned translator of this tragedy into Greek Iambicks, agrees with Dr. Newton. Dr. Macknight, in his excellent Translation of the Epistles, is of opinion, that the sentiment is of elder date than the time of Menander; that it was one of the proverbial verses commonly received among the Greeks, the author of which cannot now be known. Clemens Alexandrinus calls it *Ἰαμβεῖον τραγικόν*, *Strom.* lib. i. And Socrates the historian expressly assigns it to Euripides, *Ecc. Hist.* lib. iii. cap. 16. ed. Vales. p. 189. It is extant indeed in the fragments of Euripides, as well as in those of the comick writer. Milton therefore is not to be charged with forgetfulness or mistake. TODD.

^a *a tragedy*, &c.] A very severe, but very just, criticism on this tragedy of Gregory, which has been too much applauded, has been given by the learned Valckenaer, Præfat. in Euripidis Hippolytum, p. 13. 4to. Lugd. Bat. 1768. JOS. WARTON.

It seems very extraordinary that Milton did not here likewise mention the tragedies of Grotius; his *Adamus Exul*, *Christus Patiens*, and *Sophomphanæus*; in his dedication of the last of which to Gerard Vossius, Grotius justifies the writing of tragedy with examples and arguments similar to those of Milton in this tragedy. DUNSTER.

^e *of intermixing comick stuff* &c.] This might refer to Shakspeare, or Beaumont and Fletcher, or other dramatick writers of that time. Dryden also, who, when *Samson* appeared, was the active play-wright of the age,

comick stuff with tragick sadness and gravity ; or introducing trivial and vulgar persons, which by all judicious hath been counted absurd ; and brought in without discretion, corruptly to gratify the people. And 'though Ancient Tragedy use no prologue, yet using sometimes, in case of self-defence, or explanation, that which Martial calls an epistle ; in behalf of this tragedy coming forth after the ancient manner, much different from what among us passes for best, thus much before-hand may be epistled ; that ^sChorus is here introduced after the Greek manner, ^hnot ancient only but modern, and

frequently at that period wrote Tragi-Comedies. His earliest piece of the kind was *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen*. In the preface to his *Spanish Friar* he defends this style of writing, at least he says the taste of the age required it. "The truth is," says he, "the audience are grown weary of continued melancholy scenes. And I dare venture to prophesy, that few tragedies, except those in verse, shall succeed in this age, if they are not enlightened with a course of mirth." The Spanish Friar was a particularly favourite play with Charles the Second ; to please whom Dryden perhaps first began to *enlighten* his tragedies *with a course of mirth* ; as the levity of the king's disposition would hardly have reconciled itself to five acts of continued melancholy scenes. Milton, we may well suppose, thought of these interludes, in which comick stuff was intermixed with tragick sadness, much in the same way as he did of their admirers ; whose vitiated taste, and weak levity of disposition, he most probably held in no small degree of contempt. DUNSTER.

' *though Ancient Tragedy use no prologue,*] That is, no prologue apologising for the poet, as we find the Ancient Comedy did. See Terence's Prologues. HURD.

* *Chorus is here introduced*] The reader will find a masterly account of the old Chorus in Mr. Cumberland's Observations on the tragedy. "But," to use the words of Dr. Warton, "what shall we say to the strong objections lately made by some very able and learned criticks of the use of the Chorus at all? The Criticks I have in view, are Metastasio, Twining, Pye, Colman, and Johnson ; who have brought forward such powerful arguments against this so important a part of the ancient drama, as to shake our conviction of its utility and propriety, founded on what Hurd, Mason, and Brumoy, have so earnestly and elegantly recommended on the subject." See Warton's Pope, vol. i. p. 158. TODD.

^h *not ancient only but modern, and still in use among the Italians.*] So, in *The Warres of Cyrus*, 1594, the Address to the Audience observes, that all "antickes, imitations, shews, or new devices sprung a late, are exilde from their magick stage, as trash, &c.

—————"For what they do
 "Instead of mournful plaints our CHORUS sings ;
 "Although it be against the vpstart guise,
 "Yet, warranted by *grave antiquitie*,
 "We will reuiue the which hath long beene done."

The obligations we owe to Italy in regard especially to Tragedy, as well as the history and nature of the Italian drama, are illustrated with great

still in use among the Italians. In the modelling therefore of this poem, with good reason, the Ancients and Italians are rather followed, as of much more authority and fame. The measure of verse used in the Chorus is of all sorts, called by the Greeks Monostrophick, or rather ¹Apolelymenon, without regard had to Strophe, Antistrophe, or Epode, which were a kind of stanzas framed only for the musick, then used with the Chorus that sung; not essential to the poem, and therefore not material; or, being divided into stanzas or pauses, they may be called Allæostropha. Division into act and scene referring chiefly to the stage (to which this work never was intended) is here omitted.

It suffices if the whole drama be found not produced beyond the fifth act. Of the style and uniformity, and that commonly called the plot, whether intricate or explicit, which is nothing indeed but such œconomy, or disposition of the fable as may stand best with verisimilitude and decorum; they only will best judge who are not unacquainted with Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the three tragick poets unequalled yet by any, and the best rule to all who endeavour to write tragedy. The circumscription of time, wherein the whole drama begins and ends, is, according to ancient rule, and best example, within the space of twenty-four hours.

learning, precision, and elegance, in an *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 4to. 1799, and in an *Historical and Critical Essay on the Revival of the Drama in Italy*, 8vo. 1805; both by Joseph Cooper Walker, Esq. to which I refer the reader for the fullest information on this subject.

TODD.

¹ *Apolelymenon*.] Free from the restraint of any particular measure, not from all measure whatsoever. HURD.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

ON

SAMSON AGONISTES.

It is required by Aristotle to the perfection of a tragedy*, and is equally necessary to every other species of regular composition, that it should have a beginning, a middle, and an end. "The beginning," says he, "is that which has nothing necessarily previous, but to which that which follows is naturally consequent; the end, on the contrary, is that which by necessity, or at least according to the common course of things, succeeds something else, but which implies nothing consequent to itself; the middle is connected on one side to something that naturally goes before, and on the other to something that naturally follows it."

Such is the rule, laid down by this great critick, for the disposition of the different parts of a well constituted fable. It must begin, where it may be made intelligible without introduction; and end, where the mind is left in repose, without expectation of any further event. The intermediate passages must join the last effect to the first cause, by a regular and unbroken concatenation; nothing must be therefore inserted which does not apparently arise from something foregoing, and properly make way for something that succeeds it.

This precept is to be understood in its rigour, only with respect to great and essential events, and cannot be extended in the same force to minuter circumstances and arbitrary decorations, which yet are more happy as they contribute more to the main design; for it is always a proof of extensive thought and accurate circumspection, to promote various purposes by the same act; and the idea of an ornament admits use, though it seems to exclude necessity.

Whoever purposes, as it is expressed by Milton, "*to build the lofty rhyme*," must acquaint himself with this law of poetical architecture, and take care that his edifice be solid as well as beautiful; that nothing stand single or independent, so as that it may be taken away without injuring the rest; but that from the foundation to the pinnacles one part rest firm upon another.

This regular and consequential distribution is among common authors frequently neglected; but the failures of those, whose example can have no influence, may be safely overlooked, nor is it of much use to recall obscure and unregarded names to memory, for the sake of sporting with their infamy. But if there is any writer whose genius can embellish impropriety, and whose authority can make error venerable, his works are the proper objects of critical inquisition. To expunge faults where there

* From Dr. Johnson's *Rambler*, vol. iii. No. 139, and No. 140.

are no excellencies, is a task equally useless with that of the chemist, who employs the arts of separation and refinement upon ore, in which no precious metal is contained to reward his operations.

The tragedy of *Samson Agonistes* has been celebrated as the second work of the great author of *Paradise Lost*, and opposed with all the confidence of triumph to the dramatick performances of other nations. It contains indeed just sentiments, maxims of wisdom, and oracles of piety, and many passages written with the ancient spirit of choral poetry, in which there is a just and pleasing mixture of Seneca's moral declamation with the wild enthusiasm of the Greek writers. It is therefore worthy of examination, whether a performance thus illuminated with genius, and enriched with learning, is composed according to the indispensable laws of Aristotelian criticism; and, omitting at present all other considerations, whether it exhibits a beginning, a middle, and an end.

The beginning is undoubtedly beautiful and proper*, opening with a graceful abruptness, and proceeding naturally to a mournful recital of facts necessary to be known. The soliloquy of Samson is interrupted by a Chorus, or company of men of his own tribe, who condole his miseries, extenuate his fault, and conclude with a solemn vindication of Divine Justice. So that, at the conclusion of the first act, there is no design laid, no discovery made, nor any disposition formed towards the subsequent event.

In the second act. Manoah, the father of Samson, comes to seek his son; and, being shown him by the Chorus, breaks out into lamentations of his misery, and comparisons of his present with his former state; representing to him the ignominy which his religion suffers, by the festival this day celebrated in honour of Dagon, to whom the idolaters ascribed his overthrow. Samson, touched with the reproach, makes a reply equally penitential and pious, which his father considers as the effusion of prophetic confidence.

Samson.

"God, be sure,

"Will not connive or linger, thus provok'd,

"But will arise and his great name assert:

"Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive

"Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him

"Of all these boasted trophies won on me.

Manoah. "With cause this hope relieves thee, and these words

"I as a prophecy receive; for God,

"Nothing more certain, will not long defer

"To vindicate the glory of his Name."

This part of the dialogue, as it might tend to animate or exasperate Samson, cannot, I think, be censured as wholly superfluous; but the succeeding dispute, in which Samson contends to die, and which his father breaks off, that he may go to solicit his release, is only valuable for its own beauties, and has no tendency to introduce any thing that follows it.

The next event of the drama is the arrival of Dalila, with all her graces, artifices, and allurements. This produces a dialogue, in a very high degree elegant and instructive, from which she retires, after she has exhausted her persuasions, and is no more seen or heard of; nor has her visit any effect but that of raising the character of Samson.

In the fourth act enters Harapha, the giant of Gath, whose name had

* As this work, says Dr. Newton, was not intended for the stage, it is not divided into acts; but if any critick should be disposed so to divide it, he may easily do it, by beginning the *second* act at the entrance of Manoah; the *third* at the entrance of Dalila; the *fourth* at the entrance of Harapha; and the *fifth* at the entrance of the Publick Officer: But the Stage is never empty or without persons, according to the model of the best written tragedies among the ancients.

never been mentioned before, and who has now no other motive of coming than to see the man whose strength and actions are so loudly celebrated. Samson challenges him to the combat; and, after an interchange of reproaches, elevated by repeated defiance on one side, and embittered by contemptuous insults on the other, Harapha retires; we then hear it determined, by Samson and the Chorus, that no consequence good or bad will proceed from their interview.

At last, in the fifth act, appears a Messenger from the lords assembled at the festival of Dagon, with a summons, by which Samson is required to come and entertain them with some proof of his strength. Samson, after a short expostulation, dismisses him with a firm and absolute refusal; but during the absence of the Messenger, having a while defended the propriety of his conduct, he at last declares himself moved by a secret impulse to comply, and utters some dark presages of a great event to be brought to pass by his agency, under the direction of Providence. While Samson is conducted off by the Messenger, his father returns with hopes of success in his solicitation, upon which he confers with the Chorus till their dialogue is interrupted, first by a shout of triumph, and afterwards by screams of horror and agony. As they stand deliberating where they shall be secure, a man, who had been present at the show, enters; and relates how Samson, having prevailed on his guide to suffer him to lean against the main pillars of the theatrical edifice, tore down the roof upon the spectators and himself. This is undoubtedly a just and regular catastrophe; and the poem, therefore, has a beginning and an end which Aristotle himself could not have disapproved; but it must be allowed to want a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson. The whole drama, if its superfluities were cut off, would scarcely fill a single act; yet this is the tragedy which ignorance has admired, and bigotry applauded.

It is common, says Bacon, to desire the end without enduring the means. Every member of society feels, and acknowledges, the necessity of detecting crimes; yet scarce any degree of virtue or reputation is able to secure an informer from publick hatred. The learned world has always admitted the usefulness of critical disquisitions; yet he that attempts to show, however modestly, the failures of a celebrated writer, shall surely irritate his admirers, and incur the imputation of envy, capriciousness, and malignity.

With this danger full in my view, I shall proceed to examine the sentiments of Milton's tragedy, which, though much less liable to censure than the disposition of his plan, are, like those of other writers, sometimes exposed to just exception for want of care, or want of discernment.

Sentiments are proper and improper as they consist more or less with the character and circumstances of the person to whom they are attributed, with the rules of the composition in which they are found, or with the settled and unalterable nature of things.

It is common among the tragick poets to introduce their persons alluding to events or opinions, of which they could not possibly have any knowledge. The barbarians of remote or newly discovered regions often display their skill in European learning. The god of love is mentioned in Tamerlane with all the familiarity of a Roman epigrammist; and a late writer has put Harvey's doctrine of the circulation of the blood into the mouth of a Turkish statesman, who lived near two centuries before it was known even to philosophers or anatomists.

Milton's learning, which acquainted him with the manners of the ancient eastern nations; and his invention, which required no assistance from the common cant of poetry; have preserved him from frequent outrages of local or chronological propriety. Yet he has mentioned *Chalybean steel*

(ver. 133.), of which it is not very likely that his Chorus should have heard; and has made *Alp* the general name of a mountain (ver. 628.), in a region where the *Alps* could scarcely be known. He has taught Samson the tales of Circe and the Syrens, at which he apparently hints in his colloquy with Dalila:

“Thy fair *enchanted cup*, and *warbling charms*,
“No more on me have power.”

But the grossest error of this kind is the solemn introduction of the phoenix in the last scene; which is faulty, not only as it is incongruous to the personage to whom it is ascribed, but it is so evidently contrary to reason and nature, that it ought never to be mentioned but as a fable in any serious poem.

Another species of impropriety is the unsuitableness of thoughts to the general character of the poem. The seriousness and solemnity of tragedy necessarily rejects all pointed or epigrammatical expressions, all remote conceits and opposition of ideas. Samson's complaint is therefore too elaborate to be natural.

“As in the land of darkness, yet in light,
“To live a life half dead, a living death,
“And buried; but O yet more miserable!
“Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave!
“Buried, yet not exempt,
“By privilege of death and burial,
“From worst of other evils, pains, and wrongs.”

All allusions to low and trivial objects, with which contempt is usually associated, are doubtless unsuitable to a species of composition, which ought to be always awful, though not always magnificent. The remark therefore of the Chorus on good and bad news, seems to want elevation:

Manoah. “A little stay will bring some notice hither.

Chorus. “Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner;
“For evil news *rides post*, while good news *bates*.”

But of all meanness, that has least to plead which is produced by mere verbal conceits; which, depending upon sounds, lose their existence by the change of a syllable. Of this kind is the following dialogue;

Chor. “But had we best retire? I see a *storm*.

Sams. “Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain.

Chor. “But this another kind of tempest brings.

Sams. “Be less abstruse, my riddling days are past.

Chor. “Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear
“The bait of honied words; a rougher tongue
“Draws hitherward; I know him by his stride,
“The giant Harapha.”

And yet more despicable are the lines in which Manoah's paternal kindness is commended by the Chorus:

“Fathers are wont to *lay up* for their sons,
“Thou for thy son art bent to *lay out* all.”

Samson's complaint of the inconveniences of imprisonment is not wholly without verbal quaintness:

————— “I, a *prisoner*, chain'd, scarce freely draw
“The air *imprison'd* also, close and damp.”

From the sentiments we may properly descend to the consideration of the language, which, in imitation of the ancients, is through the whole dialogue remarkably simple and unadorned, seldom heightened by epithets, or varied by figures; yet sometimes metaphors find admission, even where

their consistency is not accurately preserved. Thus Samson confounds loquacity with a shipwreck :

“ How could I once look up, or heave the head,
 “ Who, like a foolish *pilot*, have *shipwreck'd*
 “ My *vessel* trusted to me from above,
 “ Gloriously *rigg'd*; and for a word, a tear,
 “ Fool! have *divulg'd* the *secret gift* of God
 “ To a deceitful woman ? ”

And the Chorus talks of adding fuel to flame in a report :

“ He's gone, and who knows how he may *report*
 “ Thy words, by *adding fuel to the flame*.”

The versification is in the dialogue much more smooth and harmonious, than in the parts allotted to the Chorus, which are often so harsh and dissonant, as scarce to preserve, whether the lines end with or without rhymes, any appearance of metrical regularity.

Since I have thus pointed out the faults of Milton, critical integrity requires that I should endeavour to display his excellencies, though they will not easily be discovered in short questions, because they consist in the justness of diffuse reasonings, or in the contexture and method of continued dialogues; this play having none of those descriptions, similes, or splendid sentences, with which other tragedies are so lavishly adorned.

Yet some passages may be selected which seem to deserve particular notice, either as containing sentiments of passion, representations of life, precepts of conduct, or sallies of imagination. It is not easy to give a stronger representation of the weariness of despondency, than in the words of Samson to his father :

————— “ I feel my genial spirits droop,
 “ My hopes all flat ; Nature within me seems
 “ In all her functions weary of herself ;
 “ My race of glory run, and race of shame,
 “ And I shall shortly be with them that rest.”

The reply of Samson to the flattering Dalila affords a just and striking representation of the stratagems and allurements of feminine hypocrisy :

————— “ These are thy wonted arts,
 “ And arts of every woman false like thee,
 “ To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray,
 “ Then as repentant to submit, beseech,
 “ And reconciliation move with feign'd remorse,
 “ Confess, and promise wonders in her change ;
 “ Not truly penitent, but chief to try
 “ Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears,
 “ His virtue or weakness which way to assail :
 “ Then with more cautious and instructed skill
 “ Again transgresses, and again submits.”

When Samson has refused to make himself a spectacle at the feast of Dagon, he first justifies his behaviour to the Chorus, who charge him with having served the Philistines, by a very just distinction ; and then destroys the common excuse of cowardice and servility, which always confound temptation with repulsion :

Chor. “ Yet with thy strength thou serv'st the Philistines.

Sams. “ Not in their idol-worship, but by labour

“ Honest and lawful to deserve my food

“ Of those who have me in their civil power.

Chor. “ Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.

Sams. “ Where outward force constrains, the sentence holds ;

" But who constrains me to the temple of Dagon,
 " Not dragging ? The Philistine lords command.
 " Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,
 " I do it freely, venturing to displease
 " God for the fear of man, and man prefer,
 " Set God behind."

The complaint of blindness, which Samson pours out at the beginning of the tragedy, is equally addressed to the passions and the fancy. The enumeration of his miseries is succeeded by a very pleasing train of poetical images, and concluded by such expostulations and wishes, as reason too often submits to learn from despair.

Such are the faults, and such the beauties, of *Samson Agonistes*; which I have shown with no other purpose than to promote the knowledge of true criticism. The everlasting verdure of Milton's laurels has nothing to fear from the blasts of malignity; nor can any attempt produce any other effect than to strengthen their shoots by lopping their luxuriance.

JOHNSON.

When I remarked that Jonson, in his comedy of *The Fox**, was a close copier of the ancients, it occurred to me to say something upon the celebrated drama of *Samson Agonistes*; which, though less beholden to the Greek poets in its dialogue than the comedy above-mentioned, is in all other particulars as complete an imitation of the Ancient Tragedy, as the distance of times and the difference of languages will admit of.

It is professedly *built according to ancient rule and example*; and the author, by taking Aristotle's definition of tragedy for his motto, fairly challenges the critic to examine and compare it by that test. His close adherence to the model of the Greek tragedy is in nothing more conspicuous than in the simplicity of his diction; in this particular he has curbed his fancy with so tight a hand, that, knowing as we do the fertile vein of his genius, we cannot but lament the fidelity of his imitation; for there is a harshness in the metre of his Chorus, which to a certain degree seems to border upon pedantry and affectation; he premises that *the measure is indeed of all sorts*, but I must take leave to observe that in some places it is no measure at all, or such at least as the ear will not patiently endure, nor which any recitation can make harmonious. By casting out of his composition the strophe and antistrophe, those stanzas which the Greeks appropriated to singing, or in one word by making his Chorus monostrophick, he has robbed it of that lyric beauty, which he was capable of bestowing in the highest perfection; and why he should stop short in this particular, when he had otherwise gone so far in imitation, is not easy to guess; for surely it would have been quite as natural to suppose those stanzas, had he written any, might be sung, as that all the other parts, as the drama now stands with a Chorus of such irregular measure, might be recited or given in representation.

Now it is well known to every man conversant in the Greek theatre, how the Chorus, which in fact is the parent of the drama, came in process of improvement to be woven into the fable, and from being at first the whole grew in time to be only a part: The fable being simple, and the characters few, the striking part of the spectacle rested upon the singing and dancing of the interlude, if I may so call it, and to these the people were too long accustomed and too warmly attached, to allow of any reform for their exclusion; the tragick poet therefore never got rid of his Chorus, though the writers of the Middle Comedy contrived to dismiss theirs, and probably their fable being of a more lively character, their scenes were

* From Mr. Cumberland's *Observer*, vol. iv. No. 111.

better able to stand without the support of musick and spectacle, than the mournful fable and more languid recitation of the tragedians. That the tragick authors laboured against the Chorus, will appear from their efforts to expel Bacchus and his Satyrs from the stage, in which they were long time opposed by the audience, and at last by certain ingenious expedients, which were a kind of compromise with the publick, effected their point: This in part was brought about by the introduction of a fuller scene and a more active fable, but the Chorus with its accompaniments kept its place; and the poet, who seldom ventured upon introducing more than three speakers on the scene at the same time, qualified the sterility of his business by giving to the Chorus a share of the dialogue, who, at the same time that they furnished the stage with numbers, were not counted among the speaking characters according to the rigour of the usage above-mentioned. A man must be an enthusiast for antiquity, who can find charms in the dialogue-part of a Greek chorus, and reconcile himself to their unnatural and chilling interruptions of the action and pathos of the scene: I am fully persuaded they came there upon motives of expediency only, and kept their post upon the plea of long possession, and the attractions of spectacle and musick: In short, nature was sacrificed to the display of art, and the heart gave up its feelings that the ear and eye might be gratified.

When Milton therefore takes the Chorus into his dialogue, excluding from his drama the lyrick strophe and antistrophe, he rejects what I conceive to be its only recommendation, and which an elegant contemporary in his imitations of the Greek tragedy is more properly attentive to; at the same time it cannot be denied that Milton's Chorus subscribes more to the dialogues, and harmonizes better with the business of the scene, than that of any Greek tragedy we can now refer to.

I would now proceed to the review of the performance itself, if it were not a discussion, which the author of *The Rambler* has very ably prevented me in; respect however to an authority so high in criticism must not prevent me from observing, that when he says—*This is the tragedy which ignorance has admired and bigotry applauded*, he makes it meritorious in any future critick to attempt at following him over the ground he has trod, for the purpose of discovering what those blemishes are, which he has found out by superiour sagacity, and which others have so palpably overlooked, as to merit the disgraceful character of *ignorance and bigotry*.

The principal, and in effect the only, objection, which he states, is that *the poem wants a middle, since nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson*. This demands examination: The death of Samson I need not describe: it is a sudden, momentary, event; what can hasten or delay it, but the will of the person, who by an exertion of miraculous strength was to bury himself under the ruins of a structure, in which his enemies were assembled? To determine that will, depends upon the impulse of his own spirit, or it may be upon the inspiration of Heaven: If there be any incidents in the body of the drama, which lead to this determination, and indicate an impulse, either natural or preternatural, such must be called leading incidents; and those leading incidents will constitute a middle, or, in more diffuse terms, the middle business of the drama. Manoah in his interview with Samson, which the author of the *Rambler* denominates the second act of the tragedy, tells him

“ This day the Philistines a popular feast

“ Here celebrate in Gaza, and proclaim

“ Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud,

“ To Dagon, as their god—”

Here is information of a meeting of his enemies to celebrate their

idoltrous triumphs; an incident of just provocation to the servant of the living God, an opportunity perhaps for vengeance, either human or divine; if it passes without notice from Samson, it is not to be styled an incident; if, on the contrary, he remarks upon it, it must be one—but Samson replies,

“Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
 “Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him
 “Of all these boasted trophies won on me,
 “And with confusion blank his worshippers.”

Who will say the expectation is not here prepared for some catastrophe, we know not what, but awful it must be, for it is Samson which denounces the downfall of the idol, it is God who inspires the denunciation? the crisis is important, for it is that which shall decide whether God or Dagon is to triumph, it is in the strongest sense of the expression—*dignus vindice nodus*—and therefore we may boldly pronounce *Deus interit!*

That this interpretation meets the sense of the author, is clear from the remark of Manoah, who is made to say that *he receives these words as a prophecy*. Prophetick they are, and were meant to be by the poet, who, in this use of the sacred prophecy, imitates the heathen oracles, on which several of their dramattick plots are constructed, as might be shown by obvious examples. The interview with Manoah then is conducive to the catastrophe, and the drama is not in this scene devoid of incident.

Dalila next appears, and, if whatever tends to raise our interest in the leading character of the tragedy cannot rightly be called episodical, the introduction of this person ought not to be accounted such; for who but this person is the cause and origin of all the pathos and distress of the story? The dialogue of this scene is moral, affecting, and sublime; it is also strictly characteristick.

The next scene exhibits the tremendous giant Harapha, and the contrast thereby produced is amongst the beauties of the poem, and may of itself be termed an important incident: That it leads to the catastrophe I think will not be disputed, and, if it is asked in what manner, the Chorus will supply us with an answer—

“He will directly to the lords I fear,
 “And with malicious counsel stir them up
 “Some way or other further to afflict thee.”

Here is another prediction connected with the plot, and verified by its catastrophe; for Samson is commanded to come to the festival and entertain the revellers with some feats of strength: These commands he resists, but obeys an impulse of his mind by going afterwards, and thereby fulfils the prophetick declaration he had made to his father in the second act. What incident can show more management and address in the poet, than this of Samson's refusing the summons of the idolaters and obeying the visitation of God's Spirit?

And now I may confidently appeal to the judicious reader, whether the *Samson Agonistes* is so void of incident between the opening and conclusion as fairly to be pronounced *to want a middle*. Simple it is from first to last, simple perhaps to a degree of coldness in some of its parts; but to say that nothing passes between the first act and the last, *which hastens or delays the death of Samson*, is not correct, because the very incidents are to be found, which conduce to the catastrophe, and but for which it could not have come to pass.

The author of the Rambler professes to examine the *Samson Agonistes* according to the rule laid down by Aristotle for the disposition and perfection of a tragedy, and this rule he informs us is, that it should have a *beginning, a middle, and an end*. And is this the mighty purpose for

which the authority of Aristotle is appealed to? If it be thus the author of the Rambler has read *The Poeticks*, and this be the best rule he can collect from that treatise, I am afraid he will find it too short a measure for the poet he is examining, or the critick he is quoting. Aristotle had said that *every whole hath not amplitude enough for the construction of a tragick fable; now by a whole* (adds he in the way of illustration) *I mean that, which hath beginning, middle, and end.* This and no more is what he says upon beginning, middle, and end; and this, which the author of the Rambler conceives to be a rule for tragedy, turns out to be merely an explanation of the word *whole*, which is only one term amongst many employed by the critick in his professed and complete definition of tragedy. I should add that Aristotle gives a further explanation of the terms, beginning, middle, and end, which the author of the Rambler hath turned into English, but in so doing he hath inexcusably turned them out of their original sense as well as language; as any curious critick may be convinced of, who compares them with Aristotle's words in the eighth chapter of the *Poeticks*.

Of the poetick diction of the *Samson Agonistes* I have already spoken in general; to particularize passages of striking beauty would draw me into too great a length: at the same time, not to pass over so pleasing a part of my undertaking in absolute silence, I will give the following reply of Samson to the Chorus:

“ Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd
 “ Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure
 “ With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
 “ I drank, from the fair milky juice allaying
 “ Thirst, and refresh'd; nor envied them the grape,
 “ Whose heads that turbulent liquor fills with fumes.”

Of the character I may say in few words, that Samson possesses all the terrific majesty of *Prometheus chained*, the mysterious distress of *Ædipus*, and the pitiable wretchedness of *Philoctetes*. His properties, like those of the first, are something above human; his misfortunes, like those of the second, are derivable from the pleasure of Heaven, and involved in oracles; his condition, like that of the last, is the most abject which human nature can be reduced to from a state of dignity and splendour.

Of the catastrophe there remains only to remark, that it is of unparalleled majesty and terrour. CUMBERLAND.

THE ARGUMENT.

*Samson**, made captive, blind, and now in the prison at Gaza, there to labour as in a common work-house, on a festival day, in the general cessation from labour, comes forth into the open air, to a place nigh, somewhat retired, there to sit a while and bemoan his condition. Where he happens at length to be visited by certain friends and equals of his tribe, which make the Chorus, who seek to comfort him what they can; then by his old father Manoah, who endeavours the like, and withal tells him his purpose to procure his liberty by ransom; lastly, that this feast was proclaimed by the Philistines as a day of thanksgiving for their deliverance from the hands of Samson, which yet more troubles him. Manoah then departs to prosecute his endeavour with the Philistine lords for Samson's redemption; who in the mean while is visited by other persons; and lastly by a publick officer to require his coming to the feast before the lords and people, to play or show his strength in their presence; he at first refuses, dismissing the publick officer with absolute denial to come; at length, persuaded inwardly that this was from God, he yields to go along with him, who came now the second time with great threatenings to fetch him: The Chorus yet remaining on the place, Manoah returns full of joyful hope, to procure ere long his son's deliverance: in the midst of which discourse a Hebrew comes in haste, confusedly at first, and afterward more distinctly, relating the catastrophe, what Samson had done to the Philistines, and by accident to himself; wherewith the tragedy ends.

* *Samson, made captive, blind, &c.*] Mr. Upton is the first critick who has observed, what yet is obvious, that in this tragedy Samson "imprisoned and blind, and the captive state of Israel, livelily represent our blind poet with the republican party, after the Restoration, afflicted and persecuted." See his *Crit. Observ. on Shakspeare*, 1748, p. 144. I must add, that Milton, who artfully envelopes much of his own history and of the times in this drama, had long before used the character and situation of Samson for a temporary allegory in *The Reason of Church Government*, B. ii. Conclusion. He supposes Samson to be a king, who, being disciplined in temperance, grows perfect in strength, his illustrious and sunny locks being the Laws. While these are undiminished and unshorn, with the jaw-bone of an ass, that is, with the word of his meanest officer, he defeats thousands of his adversaries. But, reclining his head on the lap of flattering prelates, while he sleeps, they cut off those bright tresses of his Laws and Prerogatives, once his ornament and defence, delivering him over to violent and oppressive counsellors; who, like the Philistines, extinguish the eyes of his natural discernment, forcing him to grind in the prison-house of their insidious designs against his power. "Till he, knowing this prelatial razor to have bereft him of his wonted might, nourish again his puissant hair, the golden beams of Law and Right; and they, sternly shook, thunder with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself." T. WARTON.

The younger Richardson, in his manuscript observations on this tragedy, has noticed the allusions of the poet to the history of himself and of his own days. "The poem," he remarks, "was written when the Saints were oppressed, and in little appearance of ever seeing their own times again. Therefore the conclusion is with a view to comfort them, as well as himself, by so great an example of Providence, *Aye watching o'er his Saints with eye unscene*, as he writes on the glass window at Chalfont. This Milton loves to allude to in all his writings, and is the great moral of this tragedy; as Mr. Pope observed to me. And, considering this point further some days afterwards, I am persuaded Milton must have a view to himself in Samson." TODD.

THE PERSONS.

SAMSON.

MANOAH, *the Father of Samson.*

DALILA, *his Wife.*

HAARAPHA *of Gath.*

Publick Officer.

Messenger.

Chorus of Danites.

The Scene before the Prison in Gaza.

Samson, [Attendant leading him.]

A LITTLE onward lend thy guiding hand
To these dark steps, a little further on ;

* *Samson Agonistes*.] That is, *Samson an actor* ; *Samson*, being represented in a play. *Ἀγωνιστής*, ludio, histrio, actor, scenicus. NEWTON.

Ἀγωνιστής is here rather *athleta*. The subject of the drama is *Samson* brought forth to exhibit his athletick powers. See ver. 1314. That such was Milton's intended sense of *Agonistes*, may further be collected from his use of the word *antagonist*, ver. 1628. Besides, as Milton entitled his *Samson* a tragedy, he certainly never adjoined the word *Agonistes* to signify *Samson represented in a play*. But this distinguishing title of *Agonistes* is, in fact, applied in conformity to the ancient usage of the tragick poets, who often, in the titles of their pieces, limited their hero to the immediate situation in which they found him. Among the remaining tragedies of *Æschylus* we have the *ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ*, *Prometheus CHAINED, in a state of punishment* ; which title of *ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ* was intended to distinguish it from a preceding drama, *on the subject of his offence*, entitled *ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΠΥΡΦΟΡΟΣ* ; and from a subsequent one, *ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΑΥΟΜΕΝΟΣ*, which completed the subject in representing *his release*. The ancients had very commonly a series of plays on the progressive parts of the same subject. Milton had also designed a previous part of *Samson's* story as a tragedy, under the title of *Samson Περσέφορος* or *Υέρσις*, *Samson after his first marriage revenging himself on the Philistines*. So that *Agonistes*, when first adopted by Milton as a title, was most probably meant to distinguish it from the preceding drama on a previous part of *Samson's* story. DUNSTER.

In the application of *Agonistes* to *Samson*, Milton might be thought to have followed the authority of Hieronymus Zieglerus, if credit could be given to Lauder, who pretends that Ziegler wrote a tragedy, with this characteristick title, printed at Augsburg, in 1547. I find Ziegler's tragedy of *Samson*, published indeed in the first volume of *Dramata Sacra*, Aug. 1547, but not with the title of *Agonistes*, nor even with a single admission of the word into it ! TODD.

Ver. 1. *A little onward &c.*] Milton, after the example of the Greek tragedians, whom he professes to imitate, opens his drama with introducing one of its principal personages explaining the story upon which it is founded. THYER.

Ibid. *A little onward lend thy guiding hand*

To these dark steps,] So Tiresias in Euripides, *Phænissæ*, ver. 841.

Ἠγοῦ πάραυτε, θύγατερ, ὡς ΤΥΦΛΩ ΠΟΔΙ, κ. τ. λ. RICHARDSON.

For yonder bank hath choice of sun or shade :
 There I am wont to sit, when any chance
 Relieves me from my task of servile toil, 5
 Daily in the common prison else enjoin'd me,
 Where I, a prisoner, chain'd, scarce freely draw
 The air imprison'd also, close and damp,
 Unwholesome draught : but here I feel amends, 9
 The breath of Heaven fresh blowing, pure and sweet,
 With day-spring born ; here leave me to respire.—
 This day a solemn feast the people hold
 To Dagon their sea-idol, and forbid
 Laborious works ; unwillingly this rest
 Their superstition yields me ; hence with leave 15
 Retiring from the popular noise, I seek
 This unfrequented place to find some ease,
 Ease to the body some, none to the mind
 From restless thoughts, that, like a deadly swarm
 Of hornets arm'd, no sooner found alone, 20
 But rush upon me thronging, and present

Ver. 3. *For yonder bank*] The scene of this tragedy is much the same as that of *Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ* in Sophocles, where blind Oedipus is conducted in like manner, and represented sitting upon a little hill near Athens : but yet I think there is scarcely a single thought the same in the two pieces, and I am sure the Greek tragedy can have no pretence to be esteemed better, but only because it is two thousand years older.

NEWTON.

Ver. 13. *To Dagon their sea-idol*] Milton, as Dr. Newton observes, both here and in the *Paradise Lost*, follows the opinion of those, who describe this idol as part man, part fish, B. i. 462. Some also describe the idol as part woman, and part fish :

“ Desinit in piscem mulier formosa superne,”

according to Calmet ; but see Selden on this subject, and particularly the elaborate account of Dagon in the *Curiositates Inaudite* Jacobi Gaffarelli, Hamb. 1676, p. 46—57, Notæ ; to which a representation of the idol is prefixed. TODD.

Ver. 19. *From restless thoughts, that, like a deadly swarm*

Of hornets arm'd, &c.] Compare ver. 623. And such also is the exclamation of Macbeth, A. iii. S. ii. “ O, full of scorpions is my mind ! ” But Milton's whole expression resembles a passage in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 164. “ A new swarm of thoughts stinging her mind.” See also Poems at the end of Shakspeare's Poems, 12mo. Printed by T. Cotes. “ An allegorical allusion of melancholy thoughts to bees.

“ Come, you swarms of thoughts, and bring

“ To this crazie hive of mine,

“ Not your hony, but your sting ;

“ Naked I my heart resigne.” TODD.

Times past, what once I was, and what am now.
 O, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold
 Twice by an Angel, who at last in sight
 Of both my parents all in flames ascended 25
 From off the altar, where an offering burn'd,
 As in a fiery column charioting
 His Godlike presence, and from some great act
 Or benefit reveal'd to Abraham's race?
 Why was my breeding ordered and prescrib'd 30
 As of a person separate to God,
 Design'd for great exploits; if I must die
 Betray'd, captiv'd, and both my eyes put out,
 Made of my enemies the scorn and gaze;
 To grind in brazen fetters under task 35
 With this Heaven-gifted strength? O glorious strength,
 Put to the labour of a beast, debas'd
 Lower than bond-slave! Promise was that I
 Should Israel from Philistian yoke deliver;
 Ask for this great deliverer now, and find him 40

Ver. 22. ——— *what once I was, and what am now.*] As in *Par. Lost*, Book iv. 23.

————— "Now conscience wakes despair
 "That slumber'd, wakes the bitter memory
 "Of what he was, what is." TODD.

Ver. 24. *Twice by an Angel.*] Once to his mother, and again to his father Manoah and his mother both; and the second time the Angel ascended in the flame of the altar, *Judges* xiii. 3, 11, 20. NEWTON.

Ver. 27. *As in a fiery column charioting.*] So Josephus says: τὰ δὲ, λαμβάνοντες πυρὸς, ἅμα τοῖς ἄρτοις ἱκαίετο· καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΗΝΟΥ ὉΣΙΗΡ ὈΧΗΜΑΤΟΣ ἀνίων εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῖς φανερός ἦν. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. v. cap. 10. TODD.

Ver. 28. ——— and *from some great act.*] Mr. Sympson says that the true reading is "*as from some great act:*" but the poet would hardly say "*As in a fiery column &c.*" "*as from some great act &c.*" and therefore we may retain *and*, and *as* may be understood though not expressed. *And as from some great act &c.* NEWTON.

Ver. 33. *Betray'd, captiv'd.*] *Captiv'd* is accented on the last syllable here, and in verse 694, as by Spenser, *Faër. Qu.* ii. iv. 16.

"Thus when as Guyon Furor had *captiv'd*."
 And by Fairfax, B. xix. st. 95.

"Free was Erminia, but *captiv'd* her heart." NEWTON.

Ver. 40. *Ask for this great deliverer now, &c.*] This may be considered as political, referring to the prospects there were, not long before, of the republican party overturning monarchy; and to that lately victorious

Eyeless in Gaza at the mill with slaves,
 Himself in bonds under Philistian yoke :
 Yet stay, let me not rashly call in doubt
 Divine prediction ; what if all foretold
 Had been fulfill'd but through mine own default, 45
 Whom have I to complain of but myself?
 Who this high gift of strength committed to me,
 In what part lodg'd, how easily bereft me,
 Under the seal of silence could not keep,
 But weakly to a woman must reveal it, 50
 O'ercome with importunity and tears.
 O impotence of mind, in body strong !
 But what is strength without a double share
 Of wisdom ? vast, unwieldy, burdensome,
 Proudly secure, yet liable to fall 55
 By weakest subtleties, not made to rule,
 But to subserve where wisdom bears command !
 God; when he gave me strength, to show withal
 How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.
 But peace, I must not quarrel with the will 60
 Of highest dispensation, which herein
 Haply hath ends above my reach to know :

party being now completely itself overcome, and subject to the yoke which it had once apparently removed and trampled on. DUNSTER.

Ver. 53. *But what is strength without a double share
Of wisdom ? &c.*] Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 363.

"Tu vires sine mente geris"

" tu tantum corpore prodes,

"Nos animo; quantôque ratem qui temperat, &c." JORTIN.

And Horace, *Od.* III. iv. 65.

"Vis consili expers mole ruit sua." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 55. *Proudly secure, yet liable to fall
By weakest subtleties,*] Sophocles, *Ajax*, v. 1099.

Ἄλλ' ἀνὴρα χρὴ κὰν σῶμα γυνήσῃ μίχα,

Δοκεῖν πεπεῖν ἄν, κὰν ἀπὸ σμικροῦ κακοῦ. TODD.

Ver. 58. ————— *to show withal*

How slight the gift was, hung it in my hair.] In the character of Samson, as delineated in "Patriarchæ sive Christi Servatoris Genealogia per Mundi Ætates traducta, 12mo. Lond. 1657," the same remark occurs :

"At Martius ille spiritus capillis illigatur ;

"Ut scias, quàm caducum sit donum juvenile robur,

"Cum tenui admodùm de filo pendent." TODD.

Suffices that to me strength is my bane,
 And proves the source of all my miseries ;
 So many, and so huge, that each apart 65
 Would ask a life to wail ; but chief of all,
 O loss of sight, of thee I most complain !
 Blind among enemies, O worse than chains,
 Dungeon, or beggery, or decrepit age !
 Light, the prime work of God, to me is extinct, 70
 And all her various objects of delight
 Annull'd, which might in part my grief have eas'd,
 Inferiour to the vilest now become
 Of man or worm ; the vilest here excel me ;
 They creep, yet see ; I, dark in light, expos'd 75
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,
 Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
 In power of others, never in my own ;
 Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.

Ver. 68. *Blind among enemies, O worse than chains
 Dungeon, or beggery, or decrepit age !* Milton, in a letter to
 Oldenburgh, dated Jul. 6. 1654, speaking of some intended work, says,
 "siquidem per valetudinem et hanc luminum orbitatem omni senectute
 graviolem licuerit, &c." As in the text before us, where Calton proposes
 to read "beggery in decrepit age." But the Latin passage ascertains
 Milton's idea, and proves the present reading to be right. To say
 nothing, that the alteration weakens the context ; the force of which con-
 sists in an abrupt accumulation of things detached. *Beggery* therefore
 and *age* should not be blended. T. WARTON.

Ver. 69. ——— or *decrepit age !* So it is printed in the first
 edition ; the latter editors have omitted *or*, concluding I suppose that it
 made the verse a syllable too long. NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 reads exactly the same as Milton's own edition.
 TODD.

Ver. 75. ——— *I, dark in light, expos'd
 To daily fraud, contempt, abuse, and wrong,
 Within doors, or without, still as a fool,
 In power of others, never in my own ;*

Scarce half I seem to live, dead more than half.] In these
 lines the poet seems to paint himself. The litigation of his will produced
 a collection of evidence relating to the testator, which renders the dis-
 covery of those long-forgotten papers peculiarly interesting : they show
 very forcibly, and in new points of view, his domestick infelicity, and his
 amiable disposition. The tender and sublime poet, whose sensibility and
 sufferings were so great, appears to have been almost as unfortunate in
 his daughters as the Lear of Shakspeare. A servant declares in evidence,
 that her deceased master, a little before his last marriage, had lamented
 to her the ingratitude and cruelty of his children. He complained that
 they combined to defraud him in the economy of his house, and sold

O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon, 80
 Irrecoverably dark, total eclipse
 Without all hope of day!
 O first created Beam, and thou great Word,
 "Let there be light, and light was over all;"
 Why am I thus bereav'd thy prime decree? 85
 The sun to me is dark
 And silent as the moon,
 When she deserts the night,
 Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.

several of his books in the basest manner. His feelings on such an outrage, both as a parent and a scholar, must have been singularly painful: perhaps they suggested to him these very pathetick lines. HAYLEY.

As it appears, from the latest discoveries relating to the domestic life of Milton, that his wife was particularly attentive to him, and treated his infirmities with much tenderness, this passage seems to restrict the time when this drama was written to a period previous to his last marriage, or at least nearly to that immediate time, while the singular ill treatment of his daughters was fresh in his memory. This also coincides with what Mr. Hayley has observed respecting its being written immediately after the execution of Sir Henry Vane, which took place June 14, 1662. Milton was then in his fifty-fourth year, in which we are told he married his third wife. This would make the *Agonistes* at least three years anterior to the *Paradise Regained*, of which we know he had not thought previous to the Summer of 1665; when, on account of the plague raging in London, he retired to Chalfont, where an accidental expression of Elwood, on returning him the copy of *Paradise Lost*, laid the foundation of the second poem. DUNSTER.

Ver. 80. *O dark, dark, dark, amid the blaze of noon,
 Irrecoverably dark.*] This is far more pathetick than the exclamation of Oedipus, which the poet perhaps had now in mind, *Oed. Tyr.* v. 1337.

Ἰὼ σκότου νέφος ἐμὸν
 Ἀπόρρυπον, ἐπιπλόμενον,
 Ἄφατον, ἀιάμαστον τε,
 Καὶ ἐνσούρυστον. TODD.

Ver. 87. *And silent as the moon.*] *Silens luna* is the moon at or near the change, and in conjunction with the sun. Plin. i. Lib. xvi. cap. 39. The interlunar cave is here called *vacant*, "quia luna ibi vacat opere et ministerio suo," because the moon is idle, and useless, and makes no return of light. MEADOWCOURT.

Dante expresses the absence of the sun in the same manner as Milton describes that of the moon, *Inferno*, c. i.

"Mi ripingeva là, dove 'l sol tace."

See also the *Inferno*, c. v.

"I' venni in luogo d' ogni luce muto."

Catullus has the expression, "*cùm tacet nox*," VII. 7. But Seneca seems also to have been in Milton's eye, *Hippolyt.* 308.

"Arsit obscuri dea clara mundi

"*Nocte deserta.*" TODD.

Since light so necessary is to life, 90
 And almost life itself, if it be true
 That light is in the soul,
 She all in every part; why was the sight
 To such a tender ball as the eye confin'd,
 So obvious and so easy to be quench'd? 95
 And not, as feeling, through all parts diffus'd,
 That she might look at will through every pore?
 Then had I not been thus exil'd from light,
 As in the land of darkness, yet in light,
 To live a life half dead, a living death, 100
 And buried; but, O yet more miserable!
 Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave;
 Buried, yet not exempt,

Ver. 100. *To live a life half dead, a living death.*] This phrase, a *living death*, which the poet also uses in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 788, appears to have been very common amongst our elder poets. Thus, in Sackville's *Induction*, of Sleep personified,

————— “as a *living death*,
 “So, dead alive, of life he drew the breath.”

Again, in Drummond's *Poems*, part 2d. Edinb. 1616.

“O woefull Life! Life? No, but *living death*.”

Again, in *Wily Beguiled*, 1623.

“My heart's wo makes this life a *living death*.”

Again, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Love Progress*, A. v. S. i.

“A life? I style it false; a *living death*.”

Shakspeare applies it to the power of a lady's eyes, *Rich. III.* A. i. S. ii.

————— “they kill me with a *living death*.”

So does Sylvester, *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 613.

“Whose every glance darts me a *living death*.”

Daniel, in one of his *Sonnets*, applies it to Love;

“If this be Love, to live a *living death*,

“Then do I love.”

This conceit, used by others also, may have been adopted from the Italian; as Petrarch thus speaks of Love, *Sonet.* 102, parte prima.

“O *viva morte*, o diletto male.”

Among the modern poets, I find Pope in his *Rape of the Lock*, and Moore in his twelfth *Fable*, adopting the phrase before us. Todd.

Ver. 101. *And buried;*] In Donne's *Poems*, 1633, p. 9. is the same phrase, a “*living buried man*.” Todd.

Ver. 102. *Myself my sepulchre, a moving grave;*] The expression, “a *living grave*,” is in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352. The same phrase is in Sylvester's *Du. Bartas*, 1621. p. 493. And in Sir Robert Howard's *Vestal Virgin*, 1665, is the phrase, “I seem nothing but a *walking grave*.” Todd.

By privilege of death and burial,
 From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs ; 105
 But made hereby obnoxious more
 To all the miseries of life,
 Life in captivity
 Among inhuman foes.
 But who are these? for with joint pace I hear 110
 The tread of many feet steering this way ;
 Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare
 At my affliction, and perhaps to insult,
 Their daily practice to afflict me more.

[Enter] *Chorus.*

Chor. This, this is he ; softly a while, 115
 Let us not break in upon him :

Ver. 110. ————— with joint pace I hear
 The tread of many feet] Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 731.

————— “subitò cùm creber ad aures
 “Visus adesse pedùm sonitus.” TODD.

Ver. 111. ————— steering this way:] If this be the
 right reading, the metaphor is extremely hard and abrupt. A common
 man would have said “bearing this way.” WARBURTON.

I believe *steering* is the right reading. So, in the *Ode on the Nativ.*
 ver. 146.

“With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering.”

The old writers use it simply for *moving*. Thus Chaucer, in *The Flower
 and the Leaf* :

“Stering so fast, that all the earth trembled.” HURD.

The reading of *steering* is also confirmed by Milton’s manuscript of
Comus, ver. 310.

“Without sure *steerage* of well-practiz’d feet.” TODD.

Ver. 112. *Perhaps my enemies, who come to stare
 At my affliction,*] See the *Ajax* of Sophocles, v. 79.

Οὐκοῦν γέλως ἡϊστός εἰς ἐχθροῖς γέλαν.

Again, where *Ajax* himself is the speaker, v. 368.

᾽Ω μοι γέλωτος, οἶον ἰέριστην ἄρα. TODD.

Ver. 115. ————— softly a while,

Let us not break in upon him:] Thus, in the *Orestes* of
 Euripides, *Electra* warns the *Chorus* to move softly for fear of waking her
 brother when asleep in the interval of his sufferings :

᾽Ω φίλταται γυναῖκες, ἨΣΥΧΩ ΠΟΔΙ
 ΧΩΠΕΙΤΕ τε, μὴ ψοφεῖτε, μὴδ’ ἔστω κτύπος.

And thus the *Chorus*, when they approach :

Σίγα, σίγα, λεπτὸν ἵχνος ἀρβύλης
 Τιθεῖτε, κ. τ. λ. DUNSTER.

O change beyond report, thought, or belief!
 See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,
 With languish'd head unpropt,
 As one past hope, abandon'd, 120
 And by himself given over;
 In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds
 O'er-worn and soil'd;
 Or do my eyes misrepresent? Can this be he,
 That heroick, that renown'd, 125
 Irresistible Samson? whom unarm'd
 No strength of man, or fiercest wild beast, could with-
 stand;
 Who tore the lion, as the lion tears the kid;
 Ran on embattled armies clad in iron;
 And, weaponless himself, 130
 Made arms ridiculous, useless the forgery
 Of brazen shield and spear, the hammer'd cuirass,
 Chalybean temper'd steel, and frock of mail

Ver. 118. ————— *carelessly diffus'd,*] This beautiful application of the word *diffus'd* Milton has borrowed from the Latins. So Ovid *Ex Ponto*. III. iii. 7.

“Publica me requies curarum somnus habebat,
 “*Fusâque erant toto languida membra toro.*” THYER.

Diffus'd may be also termed a Grecism. See Euripides, *Heraclicl.* v. 75. edit. Barnes.

“Ἰδετε τὸν γέροντα
 Μᾶλλον ἐπὶ πίδαρ
 ΧΥΜΕΝΟΝ.

Compare Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. vii. 7.

“Yet goodly court he made still to his dame,
 “*Pour'd out* in loosnesse on the grassy ground.”

Again, *Faer. Qu.* ii. v. 32.

“There he him found all *carelessly displaid*
 “In secret shadow &c.” TODD.

Ver. 128. ————— *as the lion tears the kid;*] Varying, by the simile only, from the sacred text. See *Judges* xiv. 5, 6. TODD.

Ver. 129. ————— clad in iron:] So, in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. viii. st. 75.

“And Baldwin first well *clad in iron* hard.”

See also Hor. *Od.* IV. xiv.

“Ut barbarorum Claudius *agmina*
 “*Ferrata vasto diruit impetu.*” TODD.

Ver. 130. ————— weaponless] We have in Spenser “a knight standing with empty hands all *weaponless*,” *Faer. Qu.* v. v. 14. TODD.

Ver. 133. Chalybean *temper'd steel,*] That is, the best tempered steel

Adamantéan proof?

But safest he who stood aloof, 135
 When insupportably his foot advanc'd,
 In scorn of their proud arms and warlike tools,
 Spurn'd them to death by troops. The bold Ascalonite
 Fled from his lion ramp; old warriors turn'd
 Their plated backs under his heel; 140

by the *Chalybes*, who were famous among the ancients for their iron works. Virg. *Georg.* i. 58. "At Chalybes nudi ferrum." The adjective should be pronounced *Chalybéan* with the third syllable long according to Heinsius's reading of that verse of Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 405.

"Æs erat in pretio: Chalybeia massa latebat:"

but Milton makes it short by the same poetical liberty, with which he had before used *Ægean* for *Ægean*, and *Thyéstean* for *Thyestean*.

NEWTON.

It is not necessary to suppose that Milton in this place meant the word to be read *Chalybean*. As he often cuts off or contracts the *y* in the middle of words, he might have given it *Chal'bean*. Or he might have justified the anapest by Virgil's

"Fluviōrum rex Eridanus—" DUNSTER.

Ver. 134. Adamantéan proof?] Dr. Johnson thinks the word *adamantean* peculiar to Milton. Perhaps he coined it from Ovid, *Met.* vii. 104.

"Ecce adamanteis Vulcanum naribus &c." TODD.

Ver. 136. When insupportably his foot advanc'd.] For this nervous expression Milton was probably indebted to the following lines of Spenser, *Faery Queen*, i. vii. 11.

"That when the knight he spied, he 'gan advance

"With huge force, and insupportable main." THYER.

Ver. 138. ————— The bold Ascalonite] The inhabitant of *Ascalon*, one of the five principal cities of the Philistines, mentioned 1 *Sam.* vi. 17. NEWTON.

Ver. 139. ————— his lion ramp;] His attack like that of a lion rampant. *Rampant* is an heraldick term. But see *Par. L. B.* vii. 466. And compare *Par. L. B.* iv. 343, &c. where the fiercest and largest animals "gambolled before Adam and Eve:"

"Sporting the lion RAMP'D, and in his paw

"Dandled the kid:"

That is, he gambolled, standing on his two hind legs. Hence perhaps to *romp*, to *gambol*. But *ramp* is most commonly used in a sense of rage and violence, as in the text. And in the *Psalms*: "A RAMPING and a roaring lion." See Lye's Jun. Etymolog. in V. And Spenser, *F. Q.* i. viii. 12. "Came ramping forth, &c." Sylvester has the "ramping (or spreading) vine," like our author's "gadding vine" in Lycidas, *Du Bart.* ed. 4to. p. 220. T. WARTON.

Ver. 139. ————— old warriors turn'd

Their plated backs &c.] The deeds of valorous knights were now in Milton's mind. Artegall is thus described, "like a lion,"

Or, grovelling, soil'd their crested helmets in the dust.
 Then with what trivial weapon came to hand,
 The jaw of a dead ass, his sword of bone,
 A thousand fore-skins fell, the flower of Palestine,
 In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day. 145
 Then by main force pull'd up, and on his shoulders bore
 The gates of Azza, post, and massy bar,
 Up to the hill by Hebron, seat of giants old,
 No journey of a sabbath-day, and loaded so ;
 Like whom the Gentiles feign to bear up Heaven. 150
 Which shall I first bewail,
 Thy bondage or lost sight,
 Prison within prison
 Inseparably dark ?
 Thou art become (O worst imprisonment !) 155
 The dungeon of thyself ; thy soul,
 (Which men enjoying sight oft without cause complain,)

“ Hewing and slashing shields and helmets bright,
 “ And beating downe whatever nigh him came,
 “ That every one 'gan shun his dreadful sight,
 “ No lesse than Death &c.” *Faer. Qu.* iv. iv. 41.

See a similar account of Marinell, *Faer. Qu.* v. iii. 8. Compare also *The Warres of Cyrus*, bl. l. 4to. 1594.

“ Is this the hand that plighted faith to me ?
 “ The hand, that aye hath managed kingly armes,
 “ And brought whole troops of mighty warriors down.”

As Samson did, ver. 138. TODD.

Ver. 141. ————— crested helmets] “ *Galeæ cristatæ quæ speciem magnitudini corporum adderent.*” LÍV. ix. 40. And Ovid, *Met.* viii. 25. “ *Cristatu casside.*” DUNSTER.

Ver. 145. *In Ramath-lechi, famous to this day.*] Judges xv. 17. “ He cast away the jaw-bone out of his hand, and called that place *Ramath-lechi*, that is, *the lifting up of the jaw-bone*, or *casting away of the jaw-bone*, as it is rendered in the margin of our Bibles. NEWTON.

Ver. 147. *The gates of Azza,*] Another name for *Gaza*. Sandys, speaking of this city, says, “ *Gaza* or *Aza* signifieth *strong*: In the Persian language, *a treasury*.” *Travels*, fol. 1615, p. 149. TODD.

Ver. 148. ————— *Hebron, seat of giants old,*] For Hebron was the city of Arba, the father of Anak, and the seat of the Anakims, *Josh.* xv. 13, 14. And the Anakims were giants, which come of the giants, *Numb.* xiii. 33. NEWTON.

Ver. 157. ————— *oft without cause complain*)] So Milton himself corrected it, but all the editions continue the old erratum *complained*. NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 corrected the error, before Doctor Newton. TODD.

Imprison'd now indeed,
 In real darkness of the body dwells,
 Shut out from outward light 160
 To incorporate with gloomy night ;
 For inward light, alas !
 Puts forth no visual beam.
 O mirrour of our fickle state,
 Since man on earth, unparallel'd ! 165
 The rarer thy example stands,
 By how much from the top of wonderous glory,
 Strongest of mortal men,
 To lowest pitch of abject fortune thou art fallen.
 For him I reckon not in high estate 170
 Whom long descent of birth,
 Or the sphere of fortune, raises ;
 But thee whose strength, while virtue was her mate,
 Might have subdued the earth,
 Universally crown'd with highest praises. 175

Ver. 158. *Imprison'd now indeed,*
In real darkness of the body dwells,] Perhaps an allusion to
Matt. vi. 23. " If the light that is in thee be darkness, *how great is that*
darkness !" So, in *Comus*, " he, that hides a *dark soul* and foul thoughts,
 " *Benighted* walks under the mid-day sun,
 " Himself is his own dungeon." TODD.

Ver. 162. *For inward light alas !*
Puts forth no visual beam.] The expression is fine, and
 means the *ray of light*, which occasions *vision*. Pope has borrowed the
 expression in one of his juvenile poems,

" He from thick films shall purge the *visual ray*,
 " And on the sightless eye-ball pour the day."

Either he mistook his original, and supposed Milton meant by *visual ray*
 the *sight*, or at least thought himself at liberty to use it in that highly
 figurative sense. See what is said on the passage in my edition of Pope's
 works. WARBURTON.

Ver. 164. *O mirrour of our fickle state, &c.*] There is a fine resem-
 blance in the remainder of these pathetick reflections to those of the
 Chorus, on the fate of *Œdipus Tyrannus*, in the play of that name by
 Sophocles, v. 1211.

ἢ γενεαὶ βροτῶν, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

Ver. 171. — long descent of birth,] *Juv. Sat. viii. 1.*

———— " quid prodest, Pontice, *longo*
 " *Sanguine censeri ?*" TODD.

Ver. 172. *Or the sphere of fortune,*] Fortune is painted on a globe,
 which by her influence is in a perpetual rotation on its axis. WARBURTON.

Sams. I hear the sound of words ; their sense the air
Dissolves unjointed ere it reach my ear.

Ch. He speaks, let us draw nigh. Matchless in might,
The glory late of Israel, now the grief ; 179
We come, thy friends and neighbours not unknown,
From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,
To visit or bewail thee ; or, if better,
Counsel or consolation we may bring,
Salve to thy sores ; apt words have power to swage

Ver. 178. *He speaks,*] We have followed Milton's own edition : Most of the others have it " *He spake.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 179. *The glory late of Israel, now the grief ;*] The turn of the expression resembles the following in P. Fletcher's *Pisc. Eclogues*, 1633, p. 27.

" The well known fisher-boy —

" Which from the Muses' spring, and churlish Chame,

" Was fled ; *his glory late, but now his shame.*" TODD.

Ver. 181. *From Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale,*] These were two towns of the tribe of Dan, *Josh.* xix. 41 : the latter the birth-place of Samson, *Judg.* xiii. 2 ; and they were near one another. " *And the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol.*" *Judg.* xiii. 25. And they were both situated in the valley, *Josh.* xv. 33 ; and therefore the poet with great exactness says *Eshtaol and Zora's fruitful vale.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 182. *To visit or bewail thee ;*] The poet dictated " To visit and bewail thee ;" The purpose of their visit was to *bewail him ; or, if better*, (that is if they found it more proper) to *advise or comfort him*. " *Veni-ebat autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui propter odium fructum oculis ex ejus casu capere vellent, [See above, ver. 112. to stare at my affliction] et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolari-que cuperent.*" *Corn. Nepos in Vita Eumenis.* CALTON.

Ver. 184. *Salve to thy sores ;*] This expression often occurs in our elder poetry. Thus in *The Testament of John Lydgate* &c. bl. l. no date, emprinted by Pynson :

" Mekely with Davyd have mercy vpon me,

" *Salve* all my soores that they nat cancred be."

Again, in the *Paradise of Daintie Devises*, &c. fol. 31.

" Of trobled mynds in euery sore, swete Musicke hathe a *salve* in store."

Again, in *Harrington's Orl. Fur.* 1607, B. xxv. st. 36.

" But nought could *salve* that sore, nor swage her woes."

Thus also in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 27. " But no outward cherishing could *salve* the inward sore of her minde." Spenser often uses the phrase. See *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 36, v. vii. 38, and particularly vi. vi. 5. " Give *salves* to every sore, but *counsell* to the mind." TODD.

Ver. 184. ——— *apt words have power to swage* &c.] Alluding to these lines in *Æschylus, Prom. Vinc.* v. 377.

Οἴκουν Προμηθεὺ τοῦτο γινώσκεις, ὅτι
Ὀργῆς νοσοῦσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι.

The tumours of a troubled mind, 185
And are as balm to fester'd wounds. *

Sams. Your coming, Friends, revives me ; for I learn
Now of my own experience, not by talk,
How counterfeit a coin they are who friends
Bear in their superscription, (of the most 190
I would be understood ;) in prosperous days
They swarm, but in adverse withdraw their head,
Not to be found, though sought. Ye see, O Friends,
How many evils have enclos'd me round ;
Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me, 195
Blindness ; for had I sight, confus'd with shame,
How could I once look up, or heave the head,
Who, like a foolish pilot, have shipwreck'd

Or to this passage in Menander.

Λόγος γάρ ἐστι λύπης φάρμακον μόνον. *THYER.*

Or perhaps to Horace, *Epist.* I. i. 34.

"Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem

"Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem." *NEWTON.*

Rather to the figurative language of Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* i. x. 24, where
Patience, to the "*soul-diseased* knight, applies relief of salves and medi-
cines,

"And thereto added *words of wondrous might*,

"By which to ease him he recured brief,

"And much *asswag'd* the passion of his plight."

See also *Faer. Qu.* ii. viii. 26. *TODD.*

Ver. 189. *How counterfeit a coin &c.*] The groundwork of this pas-
sage is perhaps the following in the *Mirror for Magistrates*:

"A golden treasure is the tried *friend* ;

"But who may gold from *counterfeits* defend ?"

Or in Shakspeare's *Two Gent. Veron.* A. v. S. 4. "Thou *counterfeit* to
thy true *friend* !" *DUNSTER.*

Ver. 195. *Yet that which was the worst now least afflicts me,*] There is
no inconsistency in this with what he had said before, ver. 66.

—————"but chief of all,

"O loss of sight, of thee I most complain."

When he was by himself, he considered his blindness as the *worst* of evils ;
but *now*, upon his friends coming in and seeing him in this wretched
condition, it *least afflicts me*, says he ; as being some cover to his shame
and confusion. *NEWTON.*

Ver. 198. *Who, like a foolish pilot, have shipwreck'd*

My vessel &c.] Dr. Johnson observes that "metaphors
sometimes find admission, where their consistency is not accurately pre-
served. Thus," he adds, with a reference to this passage, "Samson
confounds loquacity with a shipwreck." Surely this is not criticising
very accurately. The fact is, Samson ascribes his own ruin, or *shipwreck*,
to a very natural cause, his own indiscretion. The Greek writers use

My vessel trusted to me from above,
 Gloriously rigg'd; and for a word, a tear, 200
 Fool! have divulg'd the secret gift of God
 To a deceitful woman? tell me, Friends,
 Am I not sung and proverb'd for a fool
 In every street? do they not say, how well
 Are come upon him his deserts? yet why? 205
 Immeasurable strength they might behold
 In me, of wisdom nothing more than mean;
 This with the other should, at least, have pair'd,
 These two, proportion'd ill, drove me transverse.
Chor. Tax not divine disposal; wisest men 210

NΑΥΑΓΓΕΩ, to suffer shipwreck, in a metaphorical sense. It is particularly thus used by St. Paul for *shipwreck*, or the most fatal ruin, when caused immediately by misconduct: "Holding faith and a good conscience; which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck," ΕΝΑΥΑΓΗΣΑΝ. In the *Table of Cebes*, it is said of foolish and wicked men, ΝΑΥΑΓΓΟΥΣΙΝ ἐν βίῃ, "they suffer shipwreck in life." Compare Spenser's description of those who are wrecked on the rock of vile reproach; and who,

—————"Having all their substance spent
 "In wanton ioyes and lust intemperate,
 "Did afterwards make shipwrack violent
 "Both of their life and fame, &c." F. Q. ii. xii. 7.

It may be observed also that St. James compares the tongue to the *helm of a ship*, Ch. iii. 4, and that Samson suffered all he had undergone in consequence of not duly governing his tongue. The metaphor then is so far also scriptural. DUNSTER.

Ver. 203. *Am I not sung and proverb'd for a fool &c.*] "And now I am their song, yea, I am their by-word," Job xxx. 9. See also *Psalms* lxix. 11, 12. *Proverb'd*, Mr. Dunster remarks, is a verb used by Shakspeare, but not in the sense given it by Milton, *Rom. and Jul.* A. i. S. 3. "For I am proverb'd with a grandsire's saying;" where to be *proverb'd*, is to be provided with a proverb. Sylvester, he adds, uses *proverbiz'd* in Milton's sense, speaking of Xenophon, *Du Bart.* 1621. p. 152.

"He that, for his honey-steeped style,
 "Was proverbiz'd the attick muse." TODD.

Ver. 210. ————— wisest men

Have err'd, &c.] He may allude to Solomon; or to the following passage in 1 *Esdras*, iv. 27. "Many also have perished, have erred and sinned for women." But the poet seems to have been fond of asserting, that wisest men have thus erred. Thus, at v. 759.

"The wisest and best men, full oft beguill'd &c."

Again, v. 1034.

"Whate'er it be to wisest men and best &c."

And in his *Tetrachordon*, speaking of marriage-choices, he says, "The best and wisest men, amidst the sincere and most cordial designs of their hearts, do daily err in choosing." TODD.

Have err'd, and by bad women been deceiv'd ;
 And shall again, pretend they ne'er so wise.
 Deject not then so overmuch thyself,
 Who hast of sorrow thy full load besides :
 Yet truth to say, I oft have heard men wonder 215
 Why thou should'st wed Philistian women rather
 Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair,
 At least of thy own nation, and as noble.

Sams. The first I saw at Timna, and she pleas'd
 Me, not my parents, that I sought to wed 220
 The daughter of an infidel : They knew not
 That what I motion'd was of God ; I knew

Ver. 216. ———— *Philistian women rather*] So it is printed in Milton's own edition ; and *woman* is a mistake of the other editions ; for more than one are mentioned afterwards. *The first I saw at Timna*, ver. 219. *The next I took to wife*, ver. 227. NEWTON.

The error of *woman* had been before corrected in Tonson's edition of 1747. TODD.

Ver. 219. *The first I saw at Timna, and she pleas'd Me, not my parents, &c.*] None of the critics have observed that Milton here alludes to some of the particulars of his *first match*. See also notes on the Nuncupative Will of Milton. 'The Chorus had just before remarked,

————— " I oft have heard men wonder
 " Why thou shouldst wed Philistian women rather
 " Than of thine own tribe fairer, or as fair."

To say nothing of the dissatisfaction Milton's first wife had conceived at her husband's unsocial and philosophical system of life, so different from the convivial cheerfulness and plenty of her father's family, it is probable that the quarrel was owing to party, which also might operate mutually. But when Cromwell's faction proved victorious, her father, who had taken a very forward part in assisting the king during the siege of Oxford, finding his affairs falling into distress, for prudential reasons strove to bring about an agreement between the separated couple. And thus the reconciliation was interested ; nor was it effected but by her unsolicited and apparently humble submission, and after the most earnest entreaties which the husband for some time resisted. On the whole therefore we may suppose that not much real or uninterrupted cordiality followed. And I think it clear that Milton's own experience, in the course of this marriage, furnished the substance of the sentiments in another Speech of Samson, ver. 750. to ver. 763. Phillips says that Milton was inclined to pardon his repudiated bride "partly from his own *generous* nature, more inclinable to reconciliation than to *perseverance in anger and revenge*."

T. WARTON.

Ver. 222. *That what I motion'd was of God ;*] It was printed *men-tion'd*, which is sense indeed, but Milton himself in the table of Errata substituted *motion'd*, which is better ; but the first error hath still prevailed in all the editions. NEWTON.

From intimate impûlse, and therefore urg'd
 The marriage on ; that by occasion hence
 I might begin Israel's deliverance, 225
 The work to which I was divinely call'd.
 She proving false the next I took to wife
 (O that I never had ! fond wish too late,)
 Was in the vale of Sorec, Dalila,
 That specious monster, my accomplish'd snare. 230
 I thought it lawful from my former act,
 And the same end ; still watching to oppress
 Israel's oppressours : of what now I suffer
 She was not the prime cause, but I myself, 234
 Who, vanquish'd with a peal of words, (O weakness !)
 Gave up my fort of silence to a woman.

Chor. In seeking just occasion to provoke
 The Philistine, thy country's enemy,
 Thou never wast remiss, I bear thee witness :
 Yet Israël still serves with all his sons. 240

Motion'd is more poetical ; and thus Adam to Eve, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 229.

" Well hast thou *motion'd*, well thy thoughts compar'd,

" How we might best fulfil the work &c."

And thus Ben. Jonson, in his *Fox*, A. ii. S. vi.

—————" Sir, the thing

" (But that I would not seem to counsel you)

" I should have *motion'd* to you at the first."

Milton also uses the word in his treatise *Of Reformation* &c. ; " O Thou that, &c. when we were quite breathlesse, of Thy free grace didst *motion* peace, &c." I observe likewise that *motion'd* is here the reading of an edition preceding that of Dr. Newton, viz. Tonson's in 1747. TODD.

Ver. 226. ——— divinely] Lat. *divinitus*. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 230. *That specious monster*,] In the Latin sense of *specious*, handsome, captivating. The whole expression seems to refer to the Echidna of Hesiod. DUNSTER.

Ibid. ——— *my accomplish'd snare*.] There seems to be a quibble in the use of this epithet. WARBURTON.

It rather appears to be irony, as in Euripid. *Medea* :

————— *θανμαστὸν ἔε σε*

" Ἐχω πόσιν καὶ πιστὸν ἢ τύλαιν' ἰγώ. JOHN WARTON.

Ver. 235. *Who, vanquish'd with a peal of words*,

Gave up my fort &c.] This allusion to modern artillery, in the mouth of Samson, may appear no less objectionable than his references to the Grecian mythology. But the truth is, the poet was now thinking of his beloved Shakspeare. See the note on v. 404, *Tongue-batteries*. TODD.

Sams. That fault I take not on me, but transfer
 On Israel's governours and heads of tribes,
 Who, seeing those great acts which God had done
 Singly by me against their conquerours,
 Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd, 245
 Deliverance offer'd : I on the other side
 Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds ;
 The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the
 doer :

But they persisted deaf, and would not seem
 To count them things worth notice, till at length 250
 Their lords the Philistines with gather'd powers
 Enter'd Judea seeking me, who then
 Safe to the rock of Etham was retir'd ;
 Not flying, but fore-casting in what place
 To set upon them, what advantag'd best : 255
 Mean while the men of Judah, to prevent
 The harrass of their land, beset me round ;
 I willingly on some conditions came
 Into their hands, and they as gladly yield me,
 To the uncircumcis'd a welcome prey, 260
 Bound with two cords ; but cords to me were threads
 Touch'd with the flame : on their whole host I flew
 Unarm'd, and with a trivial weapon fell'd
 Their choicest youth ; they only liv'd who fled.
 Had Judah that day join'd, or one whole tribe, 265
 They had by this possess'd the towers of Gath,

Ver. 241. *That fault &c.*] Milton certainly intended to reproach his countrymen indirectly, and as plainly as he dared, with the Restoration of Charles II., (which he accounted the restoration of slavery,) and with the execution of the Regicides. He pursues the same subject again v. 678 to v. 700. I wonder how the Licensers of those days let it pass.

JORTIN.

It is the more to be wondered at, as some passages in his *History of England*, containing indirect remarks on his country, were struck out by the Licensor, in the same year. They were afterwards printed in a quarto pamphlet, in 1681 ; and in the edition of his *Prose Works* in 1738 are admitted into their place in the third book of his *History*. TODD.

Ver. 247. *Us'd no ambition*] *Going about with studiousness and affection to gain praise*, as Mr. Richardson says ; alluding to the origin of the word in Latin. NEWTON.

Ver. 253. *Safe to the rock of Etham &c.*] Judges xv. 8. NEWTON.

And lorded over them whom they now serve ;
 But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt,
 And by their vices brought to servitude,
 Than to love bondage more than liberty, 270
 Bondage with ease than strenuous liberty ;
 And to despise, or envy, or suspect
 Whom God hath of his special favour rais'd
 As their deliverer ? if he aught begin,
 How frequent to desert him, and at last 275
 To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds ?

Chor. Thy words to my remembrance bring
 How Succoth and the fort of Penuel
 Their great deliverer contemn'd,
 The matchless Gideon, in pursuit 280
 Of Madian and her vanquish'd kings :
 And how ingrateful Ephraim
 Had dealt with Jephtha, who by argument,

Ver. 268. *But what more oft, in nations grown corrupt, &c.*] Here Mr. Thyer has anticipated me, by observing that Milton is very uniform, as well as just, in his notions of liberty, always attributing the loss of it to vice and corruption of morals : but in this passage he very probably intended also a secret satire upon the English nation, which, according to his republican politicks, had, by restoring the king, chosen *bondage with ease* rather than *strenuous liberty*. And let me add, that the sentiment is very like that of *Æmilius Lepidus* the consul in his oration to the Roman people against *Sulla*, preserved among the fragments of *Sallust*—“*Annuite legibus impositis; accipite otium cum servitio;*”—but for myself—“*potior visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio.*” *NEWTON.*

Ver. 274. ————— *if he aught begin,*
How frequent to desert him, &c.] Is there any allusion here to the last ineffectual efforts of the republican General *Lambert* against *Monk* and the Restoration, when he was deserted by the people, and at last taken prisoner by his old partizan *Ingoldby* ? *DUNSTEE.*

Ver. 278. *How Succoth and the fort of Penuel &c.*] The men of *Succoth*, and of the tower of *Penuel*, refused to give loaves of bread to *Gideon* and his three hundred men pursuing after *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, kings of *Midian*. See *Judges* viii. 4—9. *NEWTON.*

Ver. 282. *And how ingrateful Ephraim &c.*] *Jephthah* subdued the children of *Ammon* ; and he is said to have defended *Israel* by argument not worse than by arms on account of the message which he sent unto the king of the children of *Ammon*. *Judg.* xi. 15—27. For his victory over the *Ammonites* the *Ephraimites* envied and quarrelled with him ; and threatened to burn his house with fire : but *Jephthah* and the men of *Gilead* smote *Ephraim*, and took the passages of *Jordan* before the *Ephraimites*, and there slew those of them who could not rightly pronounce the word *Shibboleth* ; and there fell at that time two and forty thousand of them. See *Judg.* xii. 1—6. *NEWTON.*

Not worse than by his shield and spear,
 Defended Israel from the Ammonite, 285
 Had not his prowess quell'd their pride
 In that sore battle, when so many died
 Without reprieve, adjudg'd to death,
 For want of well pronouncing Shibboleth.

Sams. Of such examples add me to the roll ; 290
 Me easily indeed mine may neglect,
 But God's propos'd deliverance not so.

Chor. Just are the ways of God,
 And justifiable to men ;
 Unless there be, who think not God at all : 295
 If any be, they walk obscure ;
 For of such doctrine never was there school,
 But the heart of the fool,
 And no man therein doctor but himself. 299

Yet more there be, who doubt his ways not just,
 As to his own edicts found contradicting,
 Then give the reins to wandering thought,
 Regardless of his glory's diminution ;
 Till, by their own perplexities involv'd,
 They ravel more, still less resolv'd, 305
 But never find self-satisfying solution.

As if they would confine the Interminable,

Ver. 294. *And justifiable to men ;*] As in *P. L.* i. 26.

" And justify the ways of God to men." TODD.

Ver. 298. *But the heart of the fool,*] Alluding to *Psalms* xvi. 1. And the sentiment is not very unlike that of a celebrated divine, "*The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God* : and who but a fool would have said so ?" NEWTON.

Ver. 299. *And no man therein doctor but himself.*] There is something rather too quaint and fanciful in this conceit, and it appears the worse, as this speech of the Chorus is of so serious a nature, and filled with so many deep and solemn truths. THYER.

Ver. 303. ————— *his glory's diminution* :] This expression is strong, as anciently understood. *Cic. de Orat.* ii. 39. "*Majestatem* pop. Rom. *minuere*" is the same as "*crimen læsæ majestatis*." And *Corn. Nepos, Ages.* iv. "*Religionem minuere*" is "*violare*." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 307. ————— *the Interminable,*] Him, whom *no bound or limit* can confine ; a word finely expressing the immensity of God. Chaucer uses it for *boundless* : "*Eternite then is perfitte possession and all together of life interminable*." *Boeth. lib. v. pros. vi.* TODD.

And tie him to his own prescript,
 Who made our laws to bind us, not himself,
 And hath full right to exempt 310
 Whom so it pleases him by choice
 From national obstriction, without taint
 Of sin, or legal debt ;
 For with his own laws he can best dispense.

He would not else, who never wanted means, 315
 Nor in respect of the enemy just cause,
 To set his people free,
 Have prompted this heroick Nazarite,
 Against his vow of strictest purity,
 To seek in marriage that fallacious bride, 320
 Unclean, unchaste.

Down, reason, then ; at least vain reasonings, down ;
 Though reason here aver,
 That moral verdict quits her of unclean :
 Unchaste was subsequent, her stain not his. 325

But see here comes thy reverend Sire
 With careful steps, locks white as down,
 Old Manoah : Advise
 Forthwith how thou ought'st to receive him.

Ver. 319. ———— *vow of strictest purity,*] Not a vow of celibacy, but of strictest purity from Mosaic and legal uncleanness.

WARBURTON.

Ver. 324. *That moral verdict quits her of unclean :*] That is, By the law of nature a Philistine woman was not unclean, yet the law of Moses held her to be so. I don't know why the poet thought fit to make his hero scepticise on a point, as irreconcilable to reason, which may be very well accounted for by the best rules of human prudence and policy. The institution of Moses was to keep the Jewish people distinct and separate from the nations. This the lawgiver effected by a vast variety of means : one of which was to hold all other nations under a legal *impurity* ; the best means of preventing intermarriages with them. WARBURTON.

Ver. 326. ———— *reverend Sire*] An expression, repeated ver. 1456 ; used also in *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 719 ; and brought from his *Lycidas*. Cowley, in his *Davideis*, Pope, in his first *Moral Essay*, and Parnell, in his *Hermit*, have made use of this expression : which (it may be added) is of older poetical authority than that of Milton. Thus, in *A Courtlie Controversie of Cupid's Cautels*, 4to. 1578. p. 15.

“ The *reuerend* aged sires

“ Obeye these lawlesse mates, &c. TODD.

Sams. Ay me! Another inward grief, awak'd 330
With mention of that name, renews the assault.

[Enter] *Manoah*.

Man. Brethren and men of Dan, for such ye seem,
Though in this uncouth place; if old respect,
As I suppose, towards your once gloried friend,
My son, now captive, hither hath inform'd 335
Your younger feet, while mine cast back with age
Came lagging after; say if he be here.

Chor. As signal now in low dejected state,
As erst in highest, behold him where he lies.

Man. O miserable change! is this the man, 340
That invincible Samson, far renown'd,
The dread of Israel's foes, who with a strength
Equivalent to Angels walk'd their streets,
None offering fight; who single combatant
Duell'd their armies rank'd in proud array, 345

Ver. 330. *Ay me! Another inward grief, awak'd*
With mention of that name, renews the assault.] So Philoctetes, in the play of that name by Sophocles, to the Chorus, v. 1185.

Ἰδὼν τὰντα παύει
Ἄνθρωπος ἐν μαστῶν μὲν
ἄλγεσι τὰν ποτ' ἰσχυρῶν. TOWN.

Ver. 333. *Though in this uncouth place;*] So Browne, as Mr. Dunster also notices, *Britann. Pastorals*, B. i. S. 3. ed. 1616. "An uncouth place fit for an uncouth mind." See also my note on *L'Allegro*, ver. 5. TOWN.

Ver. 336. ——— *while mine cast back with age*] This is very artfully and properly introduced, to account for the Chorus coming to Samson before Manoah; for it is not to be supposed that any of his friends should be more concerned for his welfare, or more desirous to visit him than his father. NEWTON.

Ver. 340. *O miserable change! &c.*] This speech of Manoah's is, in my opinion, very beautiful in its kind. The thoughts are exactly such as one may suppose would occur to the mind of the old man, and are expressed with an earnestness and impatience very well suited to that anguish of mind he must be in, at the sight of his son under such miserable afflicted circumstances. It is not at all unbecoming the pious grave character of Manoah, to represent him, as Milton does, even complaining and murmuring at this disposition of Heaven, in the first bitterness of his soul. Such sudden starts of infirmity are ascribed to some of the greatest personages in Scripture, and it is agreeable to that well known maxim, that religion may regulate, but can never eradicate, natural passions and affections. THYER.

Ver. 345. *Duell'd*] I have seen it asserted that the verb *duel* is of

Himself an army, now unequal match
 To save himself against a coward arm'd
 At one spear's length. O ever-failing trust
 In mortal strength! and oh! what not in man
 Deceivable and vain? Nay, what thing good 350
 Pray'd for, but often proves our woe, our bane?
 I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness
 In wedlock a reproach; I gain'd a son,
 And such a son as all men hail'd me happy;—
 Who would be now a father in my stead? 355
 O wherefore did God grant me my request,
 And as a blessing with such pomp adorn'd?

Milton's coinage. But it is of older authority. See Ritson's *Eng. Metr. Romances*, vol. iii. p. 297.

"With the king of France *duelled* he."

I may add that it was in use in Milton's own time, before this tragedy was printed. Thus in Baron's *Cyprian Academy*, 8vo. 1648, p. 23. "We come not hither to debate, but to combat; not to cavill, but to *duel*, &c." And in J. Boden's *Alarime beat up in Sion*, &c. 4to. 1644, p. 13. "Not that I would encourage any man to *duell* it, in his own avengement, or for his private honour, &c." TODD.

Ver. 352. *I pray'd for children, and thought barrenness*

In wedlock a reproach;] Some lines from a fragment of Euripides may be introduced here. They are very beautiful, and not impertinent. See edit. Barnes, p. 443.

Γίναι, φίλον μὲν φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε.
 Καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦρ' ἰδεῖν εὐήμεμον,
 Γῆρ' ἡρινὸν θάλλουσα, πλούσιόν δ' ὕδωρ
 Πολλῶν τ' ἔπαινόν ἐστί μοι λέξαι καλῶν.
 'Αλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω λαμπρόν, οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλόν,
 Ὃς τοῖς ἄπαισι, καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις,
 Παίδων νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος. CALTON.

Ver. 354. *And such a son as &c.*] It is very hard that the editors of Milton have never taken the pains to correct the errors of the first edition, which he had himself corrected. This verse at first was printed imperfect, and it has been followed in all the editions,

"Such a son as all men hail'd me happy."

And was wanting in the beginning,

"*And such a son &c.*"

So Milton himself corrected it, and so Mr. Jortin and Mr. Sympson conjectured it should be read. And, at the time of writing this, in all probability the author remembered the happy father in Terence, *Andria* i. i. 69.

"Cum id mihi placebat, tum uno ore omnes omnia

"Bona dicere, et laudare fortunas meas,

"Qui gnatum haberem tali ingenio præditum." NEWTON.

Tonson's edition of 1747 had rectified the mistake, of which Dr. Newton afterwards complains. TODD.

Why are his gifts desirable, to tempt
 Our earnest prayers, then, given with solemn hand
 As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind? 360
 For this did the Angel twice descend? for this
 Ordain'd thy nurture holy, as of a plant
 Select, and sacred, glorious for a while,
 The miracle of men; then in an hour
 Ensnares'd, assaulted, overcome, led bound, 365
 Thy foes' derision, captive, poor, and blind,
 Into a dungeon thrust, to work with slaves?
 Alas! methinks whom God hath chosen once
 To worthiest deeds, if he through frailty err,
 He should not so o'erwhelm, and as a thrall 370
 Subject him to so foul indignities,
 Be it but for honour's sake of former deeds.

Sams. Appoint not heavenly disposition, Father;
 Nothing of all these evils hath befallen me
 But justly; I myself have brought them on, 375

Ver. 359. ————— *then, given with solemn hand*

As graces, draw a scorpion's tail behind?] He has raised this beautiful imagery on the following text, *Luke*, xi. 12. "If a son shall ask of his father an egg, will he offer him a scorpion?" He was not always so happy. WARBURTON.

He has been peculiarly happy in the use of this imagery. Thus again, "A most deadly and *scorpion-like gift*," *Prose-W.* vol. i. p. 304. ed. 1698. Again, in his *Tetrachordon*: "It is man's perverse cooking who hath turned this *bounty of God into a scorpion*." *Ibid.* p. 335. TODD.

Ver. 362. ————— *as of a plant*] This is a frequent scriptural metaphor. See *Isaiah*, v. 7, liii. 2. Homer describes Thetis thus speaking of her son Achilles, *Il.* xviii. 57.

ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμεν ἔρνεϊ ἴσος,
 Τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ Σρίψασα, ΦΥΤΟΝ ὥς γουνοῦ ἀλωῆς.

Theocritus also speaks in similar language of Hercules, *Idyll.* xxiv. 101. DUNSTER.

Ver. 365. *Ensnared, assaulted, &c.*] The succession of participles renders the description more pathetick, as in ver. 563.

"Now blind, *dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonour'd, quell'd*."

An example of similar effect occurs in the poet's description of the fallen angels, after their defeat, *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 851.

————— "of their wonted vigour—*drain'd,*
"Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fullen." TODD.

Ver. 373. *Appoint*] That is, *arraign, summon to answer*. WARBURTON.

Perhaps *limit*, or *direct*: or rather, according to an old acception of the word, *blame, lay the fault upon*. See Barret's *Alvearie*, 1580. *Appoynt*, col. 2. No. 497. TODD.

Sole author I, sole cause : If aught seem vile,
 As vile hath been my folly, who have profan'd
 The mystery of God given me under pledge
 Of vow, and have betray'd it to a woman,
 A Canaanite, my faithless enemy. 380
 This well I knew, nor was at all surpris'd,
 But warn'd by oft experience : Did not she
 Of Timna first betray me, and reveal
 The secret wrested from me in her highth
 Of nuptial love profess'd, carrying it straight 385
 To them who had corrupted her, my spies,
 And rivals ? In this other was there found
 More faith, who also in her prime of love,
 Spousal embraces, vitiated with gold,
 Though offer'd only, by the scent conceiv'd 390
 Her spurious first-born, treason against me ?
 Thrice she assay'd with flattering prayers and sighs,
 And amorous reproaches, to win from me
 My capital secret, in what part my strength 394
 Lay stor'd, in what part summ'd, that she might know ;
 Thrice I deluded her, and turn'd to sport
 Her importunity, each time perceiving
 How openly, and with what impudence
 She purpos'd to betray me, and (which was worse
 Than undissembled hate) with what contempt 400
 She sought to make me traitor to myself ;
 Yet the fourth time, when, mustering all her wiles,

Ver. 391. ———— *treason against me ?*] By our laws called petty treason. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 392. *Thrice she assay'd &c.*] So, in *Pur. Lost*, B. i. 619.

"Thrice he assay'd &c." T. WARTON.

Ver. 394. *My capital secret,*] I am afraid this is an intended pun ; if so, it is a most indefensible expression ; and yet resembling what is said, *Pur. L.* B. xii. 383.

"Needs must the serpent now his *capital* bruise

"Expect with pain ;"

where the reference certainly is to the "seed of the woman bruising the head of the serpent." DUNSTER.

Ver. 401. *She sought*] So it is in Milton's own edition ; in most of the others "*She thought.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 402. ———— *mustering all her wiles,*] So, in his *Prose*

With blandish'd parlies, feminine assaults,
 Tongue-batteries, she surceas'd not, day nor night,
 To storm me over-watch'd, and wearied out, 405
 At times when men seek most repose and rest,
 I yielded, and unlock'd her all my heart,
 Who, with a grain of manhood well resolv'd,
 Might easily have shook off all her snares :
 But foul effeminacy held me yok'd 410
 Her bond-slave ; O indignity, O blot
 To honour and religion ! servile mind
 Rewarded well with servile punishment !
 The base degree to which I now am fallen,
 These rags, this grinding is not yet so base 415

Works, vol. i. edit. Amst. 1698. p. 196. "Like a *crafty* adultress, she forgot not all her *smooth looks, and enticing words*." Josephus relates, that the attacks of Dalila were artfully made *παρὰ πόνον καὶ τοιαύτην συνουσίαν*.

Todd.

Ver. 403. *With blandish'd parlies,*] Dr. Johnson says he never met with this word before. It is common in our old writers. Thus in Chaucer, *Boethius*, lib. ii. pros. prin. "For thou wert wont to hurtelen and dispisen her with many words, whan she was *blandishying* and present &c." Again, in Lewis's *Hist. of Translations of the Bible*, p. 13. "In this psalme he spekith of Crist and his follewris *blandishying* to us." So, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, S. xiii. p. 220. edit. 1622. "And how she, *blandishying*, by Dunsmore drives along." Todd.

Ver. 404. *Tongue-batteries, &c.*] The phrase was probably suggested by Shakspeare, *K. Hen. VI. P. i. A. iii. S. iii.*

"I am *vanquish'd*; these haughty words of hers

"Have *batter'd* me like roaring cannon-shot, &c."

That this passage was in the poet's mind, may be further proved, I think, from ver. 235.

"Who, *vanquish'd* with a peal of words,

"Gave up my *fort*."

Compare also the following passage in an old drama, entitled *The History of the tryall of Cheualry, &c.* s. d. 4to.

—————"cares—

"Pearst with the *volley* of thy *battring words*."

The scriptural account is this. "And it came to pass, when *she pressed him daily with her words*, and urged him so that his soul was vexed unto death, that *he told her all his heart*," Judg. xvi. 16, 17. Todd.

Ver. 411. ————*O indignity, O blot &c.*] Nothing could give the reader a better idea of a great and heroick spirit in the circumstances of Samson, than this sudden gust of indignation and passionate self-reproach upon the mentioning of his weakness. Besides, there is something vastly grand and noble in his reflection upon his present condition on this occasion,

"These rags, this grinding is not yet so base &c." THYER.

As was my former servitude, ignoble,
 Unmanly, ignominious, infamous,
 True slavery, and that blindness worse than this,
 That saw not how degenerately I serv'd. 419

Man. I cannot praise thy marriage-choices, Son,
 Rather approv'd them not ; but thou didst plead
 Divine impulsion prompting how thou might'st
 Find some occasion to infest our foes.
 I state not that ; this I am sure, our foes
 Found soon occasion thereby to make thee 425
 Their captive, and their triumph ; thou the sooner
 Temptation found'st, or over-potent charms,
 To violate the sacred trust of silence
 Deposited within thee ; which to have kept
 Tacit, was in thy power : true ; and thou bear'st 430
 Enough, and more, the burden of that fault ;
 Bitterly hast thou paid, and still art paying,
 That rigid score. A worse thing yet remains ;
 This day the Philistines a popular feast
 Here celebrate in Gaza ; and proclaim 435
 Great pomp, and sacrifice, and praises loud,
 To Dagon, as their god who hath deliver'd
 Thee, Samson, bound and blind into their hands,
 Them out of thine, who slew'st them many a slain.
 So Dagon shall be magnified, and God, 440
 Besides whom is no god, compar'd with idols,
 Disglorified, blasphem'd, and had in scorn

Ver. 434. *This day the Philistines a popular feast &c.*] *Judges* xvi. 23.
 " Then the lords of the Philistines gathered them together, for to offer a
 great sacrifice unto Dagon their god, and to rejoice ; for they said, *Our*
god hath delivered Samson our enemy into our hand, &c." This incident
 the poet has finely improved, and with great judgement he has put this
 reproach of Samson into the mouth of his father, rather than any other of
 the dramatis personæ. NEWTON.

Ver. 442. *Disglorified,*] That is, deprived of glory. So, in his *Areopagi-*
ctica, Milton uses *disexercising* for *depriving of exercise* ; " by *disexercising*
 and blunting our abilities in what we know already : " And, in the same
 tract, *disinured* for *deprived of practice* ; " Thus much we are hindered
 and *disinured*, by this course of licensing, toward the true knowledge
 of what we seem to know." Milton is fond of words thus compound-
 ed. We have *disallied*, in this drama, ver. 1022 ; *disespoused*, *Par. L.*
B. ix. 17 ; *disconsenting*, *Of Prelat. Episcopacy* ; *disgospelling*, *Apol.*

By the idolatrous rout amidst their wine ;
 Which to have come to pass by means of thee,
 Samson, of all thy sufferings think the heaviest, 445
 Of all reproach the most with shame that ever
 Could have befallen thee and thy father's house.

Sams. Father, I do acknowledge and confess
 That I this honour, I this pomp, have brought
 To Dagon, and advanc'd his praises high 450
 Among the Heathen round ; to God have brought
 Dishonour, obloquy, and op'd the mouths
 Of idolists, and atheists ; have brought scandal
 To Israel, diffidence of God, and doubt
 In feeble hearts, propense enough before 455
 To waver, or fall off and join with idols ;
 Which is my chief affliction, shame and sorrow,
 The anguish of my soul, that suffers not
 Mine eye to harbour sleep, or thoughts to rest.
 This only hope relieves me, that the strife 460
 With me hath end ; all the contest is now
 'Twixt God and Dagon ; Dagon hath presum'd,
 Me overthrown, to enter lists with God,
 His deity comparing and preferring
 Before the God of Abraham. He, be sure, 465
 Will not connive, or linger, thus provok'd,
 But will arise, and his Great Name assert :
 Dagon must stoop, and shall ere long receive
 Such a discomfit, as shall quite despoil him
 Of all these boasted trophies won on me, 470
 And with confusion blank his worshippers.

for Smeectymnuus ; *disworship*, Doct. and Discip. of Divorce, *disalleige*,
 Observ. on the Art. of Peace between the E. of Ormond and the Irish.
 TODD.

Ver. 453. ——— *idolists*,] Milton uses the adjective *idolish*, in his
Reason of Ch. Gov. B. 2. Conclusion. " Their *idolish* temples." And
 the substantive *idolism*, Par. Reg. B. iv. 234. TODD.

Ver. 471. ——— blank *his worshippers*.] That is, *confound*.
 So, in *Hamlet*, A. ii. S. ii.

" Each opposite that *blanks* the face of joy."

Milton often uses the adjective *blank* also in the sense of *confounded*.

TODD

Man. With cause this hope relieves thee, and these words

I as a prophecy receive ; for God,
Nothing more certain, will not long defer
To vindicate the glory of his Name 475
Against all competition, nor will long
Endure it doubtful whether God be Lord,
Or Dagon. But for thee what shall be done ?
Thou must not, in the mean while here forgot,
Lie in this miserable loathsome plight, 480
Neglected. I already have made way
To some Philistian lords, with whom to treat
About thy ransom : well they may by this
Have satisfied their utmost of revenge
By pains and slaveries, worse than death, inflicted 485
On thee, who now no more canst do them harm.

Sams. Spare that proposal, Father ; spare the trouble
Of that solicitation ; let me here,
As I deserve, pay on my punishment ;
And expiate, if possible, my crime, 490
Shameful garrulity. To have reveal'd
Secrets of men, the secrets of a friend,
How heinous had the fact been, how deserving
Contempt, and scorn of all, to be excluded
All friendship, and avoided as a blab, 495
The mark of fool set on his front ! But I

Ver. 472. ————— and these words

I as a prophecy receive ;] This method of one person's taking an omen from the words of another, was frequently practised among the ancients ; and in these words the downfall of Dagon's worshippers is artfully presignified, as the death of Samson is in other places ; but Manoah, as it was natural, accepts the good omen, without thinking of the evil that is to follow. NEWTON.

So Æneas snatches and secures the omen from his son Ascanius's mouth, *Æn.* vii. 117.

————— “ *Ea vox audita laborum*

“ *Prima tulit finem ; primamque loquentis ab ore*

“ *Eripuit pater, ac stupefactus numine pressit.*” TODD.

Ver. 496. *The mark of fool set on his front !*

But I God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret] So it is in almost all the editions. Mr. Warton believes the Alexandrine verse was not left so by the author, and therefore reads, with Hawkey's Dublin edition of 1752, —

God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret
 Presumptuously have publish'd, impiously,
 Weakly at least, and shamefully ; a sin
 That Gentiles in their parables condemn 500
 To their abyss and horrid pains confin'd.

Man. Be penitent, and for thy fault contrite ;
 But act not in thy own affliction, Son :
 Repent the sin ; but, if the punishment
 Thou canst avoid, self-preservation bids ; 505
 Or the execution leave to high disposal,
 And let another hand, not thine, exact
 Thy penal forfeit from thyself : perhaps
 God will relent, and quit thee all his debt ;
 Who ever more approves, and more accepts, 510
 (Best pleas'd with humble and filial submission,)
 Him, who, imploring mercy, sues for life,

" *The mark of fool set on his front ! But I*

" *God's counsel have not kept, his holy secret*

" *Presumptuously have published, &c."*

There was also an instance in *Paradise Lost* of a needless Alexandrine, and of the deficiency of a foot in the preceding verse, which Tickell first rectified, B. x. 989. TODD.

Ver. 500. *That Gentiles in their parables condemn &c.*] Alluding to the story of Tantalus, who for revealing the secrets of the gods was condemned to pains in Hell. Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* iv. 16. "Poetæ impendere apud inferos saxum Tantalus faciunt ob scelera, animique impotentiam, et superbiloquentiam." Euripides assigns the same punishment, and for the same reason. *Orestes*, v. 8.

— ὅτι θεοῖς ἀνθρώπος ὦν

λοινῆς τραπίλης αἰετωμ' ἔχων ἴσον,

'Ακόλαστον ἴσχε γλώσσαν, πίσχιστην νόσον.

Mr. Warburton's remark is that "the ancient mystagogues taught, that the gods punished both the revealers, and the violators, of their mysteries. Milton had here in his eye that fine passage of Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 617.

— "sedet, æternūque sedebit

" Infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes

" Admonet," &c. NEWTON.

The passage, cited by Dr. Newton from the Tusculan Questions, does not explain the story of Tantalus as here referred to. Neither does the passage from Euripides, without its gloss from the Scholiast ; where indeed it is said that Tantalus was punished for revealing the mysteries of the gods, *ἐκτεπὼν τοῖς βροτοῖς τὰ θεῶν ἀπόρρητα, τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσται τὸ Ακόλαστον ἴσχε γλώσσαν.* But the classical authority in Milton's mind I suppose to have been that of Ovid, who expressly ascribes the punishment of Tantalus to his shameful garrulity, which is said to be a grievous crime, *De Art. Amandi*, ii. 601, &c. DUNSTER.

Than who, self-rigorous, chooses death as due ;
 Which argues over-just, and self-displeas'd
 For self-offence, more than for God offended. 515
 Reject not then what offer'd means, who knows
 But God hath set before us, to return thee
 Home to thy country and his sacred house,
 Where thou mayst bring thy offerings, to avert
 His further ire, with prayers and vows renew'd. 520
Sams. His pardon I implore ; but as for life,
 To what end should I seek it? when in strength
 All mortals I excell'd, and great in hopes
 With youthful courage, and magnanimous thoughts
 Of birth from Heaven foretold, and high exploits, 525
 Full of divine instinct, after some proof
 Of acts indeed heroick, far beyond
 The sons of Anak, famous now and blaz'd,
 Fearless of danger, like a petty god
 I walk'd about admir'd of all and dreaded 530
 On hostile ground, none daring my affront.
 Then swollen with pride into the snare I fell
 Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,
 Soften'd with pleasure and voluptuous life ;
 At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge 535

Ver. 516. *Reject not then what offer'd means,*] That is, *those means which* who knows but God hath set before us: *what for those which*. The expression is a little hard, but to this effect: "Reject not these means of ransom, which, for any thing one can tell, God may have set before us, or suggested to us, in order to return thee &c." HURD.

Ver. 532. ————— *into the snare I fell*
Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains,] See Fairfax's translation of Tasso, B. iv. 26. where Hedroart, sending Armida to seduce the Christian host, and, if possible its leader, bids her

"Frame snares of looks, trains of alluring speech." DUNSTER.

Ver. 535. *At length to lay my head and hallow'd pledge*

Of all my strength in the lascivious lap

Of a deceitful concubine,] Compare Spenser, *Faerie Queene*,

ii. vi. 14.

"Thus when shee had his eyes and senses fed
 "With false delights, and fill'd with pleasures vayne,
 "Into a shady vale she soft him led,
 "And layd him downe upon a grassy playn ;—
 "She sett beside, *laying his head disarm'd*
 "In her loose lap." TODD.

Of all my strength in the lascivious lap
 Of a deceitful concubine, who shore me
 Like a tame wether, all my precious fleece,
 Then turn'd me out ridiculous, despoil'd,
 Shaven, and disarm'd among mine enemies. 540

Chor. Desire of wine and all delicious drinks,
 Which many a famous warrior overturns,
 Thou could'st repress; nor did the dancing ruby
 Sparkling, out-pour'd, the flavour, or the smell,
 Or taste that cheers the heart of gods and men, 545
 Allure thee from the cool crystalline stream.

Sams. Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd

Ver. 543. ————— *the dancing ruby &c.*] Dr. Newton and Mr. Thyer remark, that the poet probably alludes to *Prov.* xxiii. 31. "Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup, when it moveth itself aright." Milton has also "*rubied nectar*," *Par. Lost*, B. v. 633. And *dancing* he has transferred hither from his *Comus*, v. 673.

"And first, behold this cordial julep here,
 "That flames and dances in his crystal bounds." TODD.

Ver. 545. *Or taste that cheers the heart of gods and men,*] *Judges* ix. 13. "Wine which cheereth god and man." Milton says *gods*, which is a just paraphrase, meaning the hero-gods of the Heathen. Jotham is here speaking to an idolatrous city, that *ran a whoring after Baalim and made Baul-berith their god*: A god sprung from among men, as may be partly collected from his name, as well as from diverse other circumstances of the story. Hesiod, in a similar expression, says that the *vengeance of the Fates pursued the crimes of gods and men*, *Theog.* v. 220.

Αἶτ' ἀνὶ πῶν τε ζῶν τε, κ. τ. λ. WARBURTON.

"Gods and men" is the reading of Milton's own edition, and more agreeable to the text of Scripture than in the common editions "gods or men." NEWTON.

The edition of 1747 follows Milton's own edition. TODD.

Ver. 547. *Wherever fountain or fresh current flow'd*
Against the eastern ray, &c.] This circumstance was very probably suggested to our author by the following lines of Tasso's poem *del Mondo creato*, *Giorna* iii. st. 8.

"O liquidi cristalli, onde s' estingua
 "L' ardente sete a miseri mortali:
 "Ma più salubre è, se tra viue pietre
 "Rompendo l' argentate, e fredde corna,
 "Incontra il nuouo sol, che il puro argento
 "Co' raggi indora." THYER.

Mr. Geddes, in his learned and entertaining *Essay on the Composition &c. of Plato*, considers these lines of Milton as possessing much of the same spirit, though applied to another thing, with a passage in the philosopher's *Io*, p. 533, 534, tom. i. edit. Serran. where, speaking of the poets, he says, "As soon as they enter the winding mazes of harmony, they become lymphatic, and rove like the furious Bacchanals, who in their frenzy

Against the eastern ray, translucent, pure
 With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,
 I drank, from the clear milky juice allaying 550
 Thirst, and refresh'd : nor envied them the grape
 Whose heads that turbulent liquour fills with fumes.

Chor. O madness, to think use of strongest wines
 And strongest drinks our chief support of health,
 When God with these forbidd'n made choice to rear
 His mighty champion, strong above compare, 556
 Whose drink was only from the liquid brook.

Sams. But what avail'd this temperance, not complete
 Against another object more enticing?
 What boots it at one gate to make defence, 560
 And at another to let in the foe,
 Effeminately vanquish'd? by which means,
 Now blind, dishearten'd, sham'd, dishonour'd, quell'd,
 To what can I be useful, wherein serve
 My nation, and the work from Heaven impos'd, 565
 But to sit idle on the household hearth,
 A burdensome drone; to visitants a gaze,
 Or pitied object, these redundant locks
 Robustious to no purpose clustering down,

draw honey and milk out of the rivers. The Poets tell us the same thing of themselves &c." *Essay*, 1748, p. 184. TODD.

Ver. 549. *With touch ethereal of Heaven's fiery rod,*] This description of the first ray of light at the moment of sun-rise, is eminently bold and beautiful. We might trace it to Euripides, *Suppl.* 652.

Λαμπρὰ μὲν ἀκτὶς ἡλίου κανὼν σαφὴς
 Ἐβαλλε γαῖαν

to which Dr. Hurd refers Milton's "long-levell'd rule of streaming light," *Com.* ver. 340. The *fiery rod* is perhaps more immediately the λαμπρὰ μὲν ἀκτὶς ἡλίου κανὼν σαφὴς, where κανὼν is *rod* (*virga*) as well as *rule*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 557. *Whose drink* &c.] Samson was a Nazarite. *Judges* xiii. 7; therefore to drink no wine, nor shave his head. See *Numb.* vi. *Amos* ii. 12.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 566. *But to sit idle on the household hearth, &c.*] It is supposed, with probability enough, that Milton chose Samson for his subject, because he was fellow-sufferer with him in the loss of his eyes; however one may venture to say, that the similitude of their circumstances has enriched the poem with several very pathetick descriptions of the misery of blindness. THYER.

Ver. 569. *Robustious*] An old word signifying *violent* or *forcible*, as in Drayton's *Barons Warres*, 1627, c. v. st. 85.

"Cast from my seat in some *robustious* course." TODD.

Vain monument of strength ; till length of years 570
 And sedentary numness craze my limbs
 To a contemptible old age obscure ?
 Here rather let me drudge, and earn my bread ;
 Till vermin, or the draff of servile food,
 Consume me, and oft-invoked death 575
 Hasten the welcome end of all my pains.

Man. Wilt thou then serve the Philistines with that
 gift

Which was expressly given thee to annoy them ?
 Better at home lie bed-rid, not only idle,
 Inglorious, unemploy'd, with age outworn. 580
 But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer
 From the dry ground to spring, thy thirst to allay
 After the brunt of battle, can as easy
 Cause light again within thy eyes to spring,
 Wherewith to serve him better than thou hast ; 585
 And I persuade me so ; why else this strength
 Miraculous yet remaining in those locks ?
 His might continues in thee not for nought,
 Nor shall his wonderous gifts be frustrate thus. 589

Ver. 571. ——— craze *my limbs*] He uses the word *craze* much in the same manner as in the *Par. Lost*, B. xii. 210. Where see the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 574. ——— draff] *The refuse.* See *Par. Lost*, B. x. 630. Thus Chaucer, *Prolog. to the Parsones Tale*.

“ Why should I sowen *draff* out of my fist,

“ When I may sowen whete, if that me liste ?”

And Shakspeare, 1 *Hen.* IV. A. iv. S. 2. “ You would think I had a hundred and fifty tatter'd prodigals, lately come from swine-keeping, from eating *draff* and husks.” DUNSTER.

Ver. 575. ——— oft-invoked *death*] Some editions read “ oft-invoked death ;” which destroys the metre. TODD.

Ver. 581. *But God, who caus'd a fountain at thy prayer*

From the dry ground to spring, &c.] See *Judges* xv. 18, 19.

But Milton differs from our translation of the Bible. The translation says, that *God clave an hollow place that was in the jaw* : Milton says, that *God caus'd a fountain from the dry ground to spring*, and herein he follows the Chaldee paraphrast and the best commentators, who understand it that God made a cleft in some part of the ground or rock, in the place called *Lehi* ; *Lehi* signifying both a jaw, and a place so called. NEWTON.

Ver. 588. *His might continues &c.*] A fine preparative which raises our expectation of some great event to be produced by his strength.

WARBURTON.

Sams. All otherwise to me my thoughts portend,
 That these dark orbs no more shall treat with light,
 Nor the other light of life continue long,
 But yield to double darkness nigh at hand :
 So much I feel my genial spirits droop,
 My hopes all flat, Nature within me seems 595
 In all her functions weary of herself ;
 My race of glory run, and race of shame,
 And I shall shortly be with them that rest.

Man. Believe not these suggestions, which proceed
 From anguish of the mind and humours black, 600

Ver. 594. *So much I feel my genial spirits droop, &c.*] Here Milton, in the person of Samson, describes exactly his own case, what he felt, and what he thought, in some of his melancholy hours. He could not have written so well but from his own feeling and experience; and the very flow of the verses is melancholy, and excellently adapted to the subject. As Mr. Thyer expresses it, there is a remarkable solemnity, and air of melancholy, in the very sound of these verses; and the reader will find it very difficult to pronounce them without that grave and serious tone of voice which is proper for the occasion. NEWTON.

Ver. 600. ———— *and humours black,*

That mingle with thy fancy.] This very just notion of the mind or fancy's being affected, and as it were tainted with the vitiated humours of the body, Milton had before adopted in his *Paradise Lost*, where he introduces Satan in the shape of a toad at the ear of Eve, B. iv. 804.

“ Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
 “ The animal *spirits* &c.”

So again in *Comus*, v. 809.

————— “ 'tis but the *lees*
 “ And *settlings* of a *melancholy blood*.” THYER.

In all these notions Milton has followed the authority of others; for, in the passage cited from *Par. Lost*, he might allude to Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 189, where the Tempter is described “troubling Eve's spirit,” and where it is observed also

“ The cuill Angels slide too easily,
 “ As subtle spirits, *into our fantasie*.”

In the passage from *Comus*, the same book might have suggested the expressions, ed. supr. p. 21.

————— “ the *mass of blood*,
 “ The Sanguine Aire commands: the clutted mud,
 “ Sunk down in *lees*, Earth's *melancholy* showes.”

Or Shakspeare, *K. John*, A. iii. S. v.

“ Or if that surly spirit, *melancholy*,
 “ Had bak'd thy *blood*, and made it *heavy-thick*.”

Here perhaps he was guided by Burton's *Anat. of Melancholy*: “Galen imputeth all to the cold that is *black*; and thinks, that, the *spirits being darkened*, and the substance of the braine cloudy and darke, all the objects

That mingle with thy fancy. I however
 Must not omit a father's timely care
 To prosecute the means of thy deliverance
 By ransom, or how else : mean while be calm,
 And healing words from these thy friends admit. 605
[Exit.]

Sams. O that Torment should not be confin'd
 To the body's wounds and sores,
 With maladies innumerable
 In heart, head, breast, and reins ;
 But must secret passage find 610
 To the inmost mind,
 There exercise all his fierce accidents,
 And on her purest spirits prey,
 As on entrails, joints, and limbs,
 With answerable pains, but more intense, 615
 Though void of corporal sense.

My griefs not only pain me
 As a lingering disease,
 But, finding no redress, ferment and rage ;
 Nor less than wounds immedicable 620

thereof appear terrible, and the *mind itself*, by those darke, obscure, grosse fumes, *ascending from black humors*, is in continual darknesse, fear, and sorrow ; divers terrible monstrous *fictions* in a thousand shapes and apparitions occurre, *with violent passions*, by which the *braine* and *phantasy* are troubled and eclipsed." Edit. Oxon. 1624, p. 178. TODD.

Ver. 601. ——— *I however*

Must not omit &c.] Such is also the language of Oceanus to his nephew Prometheus, Æschyl. *Prom. Vincit.*

Καὶ νὺν ἰγὼ εἰμι, καὶ πειράσσομαι,
 'Εάν ἰόνωμαι, τῶντί σ' ἐκλυσσεῖ πόνων.
 Σὺ δ' ἡσύχαζε. DUNSTER.

Ver. 605. *And healing words*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 290.

"To whom with *healing words* Adam replied."

The phrase is from Euripides, *Hippol.* v. 478.

Εἰσὶν δ' ἐπιφῆλαι καὶ λοιοὶ θεακτῆριοι. TODD.

Ver. 606. *O that Torment should not be confin'd &c.*] Milton, no doubt, was apprehensive that this long description of Samson's grief and misery might grow tedious to the reader, and therefore here with great judgement varies both his manner of expressing it, and the versification. These sudden starts of impatience are very natural to persons in such circumstances, and this rough and unequal measure of the verse is very well suited to it. THYER.

Ver. 620. ——— *wounds immedicable*] Ovid. *Met.* x. 189. "Erat im-

Rankle, and fester, and gangrene,
 To black mortification.
 Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly stings,
 Mangle my apprehensive tenderest parts,
 Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise
 Dire inflammation, which no cooling herb
 Or med'cinal liquour can assuage,

625

medicabile vulnus." Whence also in Tasso's *Aminta Englisht*, 1628, A. ii. S. i.

"So deadly and immedicable wounds." TODD.

Ver. 623. *Thoughts, my tormenters, arm'd with deadly stings, Mangle &c.*] This descriptive imagery is fine and well pursued. The idea is taken from the effects of poisonous salts in the stomach and bowels, which stimulate, tear, inflame, and exulcerate the tender fibres, and end in a mortification, which he calls *death's benumbing opium*, as in that stage the pain is over. WARBURTON.

This imagery may have been adopted in imitation of Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iii. ii. 39. or rather *F. Q.* vi. vi. 5.

"One day as he was searching of their wounds,
 "He found that they had *festered* privily;
 "And, *ranckling* inward with unruly stounds,
 "The *inner parts* now gan to *putrify*,
 "That quite they seem'd *past helpe of surgery*;
 "And rather needed to be discipline
 "With holesome reade of sad sobriety,
 "To rule the stubborne rage of passion blinde:
 "Give salves to every sore, but counsell to the minde."

The moral sentence, at the conclusion of this stanza, illustrates also ver. 184. of this drama. Compare also the lamentation of Io in the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, ver. 884. ed. Schütz.

Ἵπὸ μ' αὐτὸ σφάκελος καὶ φρενοπληγῆς
 Μανίαι θάλπουσ' οἷστρον ἔ' ἀρδῆς
 Χρίει μ' ἄπυρος,
 Κραδία δὲ φύβῳ φρένα λακτιζέει.

"*Mangled mind*," I must observe, is a phrase in Sidney's *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 352.

"My *mangled minde* huge horrors still do fright."

After all, Milton might have had an eye to the impassioned exclamation of *Macbeth*, A. v. S. iii.

"Canst thou not minister to a *mind diseas'd*;
 "Pluck from the memory a *rooted sorrow*; &c."

Compare also Milton's *Prose-Works*, where he speaks of "a smooth and easy lesson, which, received, hath the virtue to soften and dispel *rooted* and knotty sorrows," vol. i. ed. 1698. p. 281. TODD.

Ver. 627. *Or med'cinal liquour*] Here *medicinal* is pronounced with the accent upon the last syllable but one, as in Latin; which is more musical than as we commonly pronounce it *medicinal* with the accent upon the last syllable but two, or *med'cinal* as Milton has used it in *Comus*. The same pronunciation occurs in Shakspeare, *Othello*, A. v. S. x.:—

Nor breath of vernal air from snowy Alp.
 Sleep hath forsook and given me o'er
 To death's benumbing opium as my only cure : 630
 Thence faintings, swoonings of despair,
 And sense of Heaven's desertion.

I was his nursling once, and choice delight,
 His destin'd from the womb,
 Promis'd by heavenly message twice descending. 635
 Under his special eye
 Abstemious I grew up, and thriv'd amain ;
 He led me on to mightiest deeds,
 Above the nerve of mortal arm,
 Against the uncircumcis'd, our enemies : 640
 But now hath cast me off as never known,

" Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees

" Their *medicinal* gum." NEWTON.

Medicinal is not the reading of Milton's own edition : In that it is *medcinal*. The supposed emendation of *medicinal* is made in the folio of 1688, and it has been since invariably followed. But Milton intended the word to be *medcinal*, and to be pronounced hastily, as in *Comus*, v. 636.

" And yet more *médcināl* is it than that Moly ;"

for it must be observed that the verse here consists of *only four feet*, corresponding with the alternate verses, to the end of the paragraph.—Mr. Steevens, in a note on the passage of *Othello*, cited by Dr. Newton, observes that *medicinal* occurs in the works of two of our greatest poets, Milton and Dryden. I apprehend, not in the poetry of Milton. I even find, that in his own editions of his Prose-Works, Milton repeatedly spells the word, as in the text, *medcinal*. TODD.

Ver. 628. *Nor breath of vernal air*] So, in that most delightful passage in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 264.

—————" *airs, vernal airs,*

" *Breathing the smell of field and grove.*" TODD.

Ibid. ————— *from snowy Alp.*] He uses *Alp* for mountain in general, as in *Par. Lost*, B. ii. 620. *Alp*, in the strict etymology of the word, signifies a mountain white with snow. We have indeed appropriated the name to the high mountains which separate Italy from France and Germany ; but any high mountain may be so called, and so Sidonius Apollinaris calls mount Athos, speaking of Xerxes cutting through it, *Carm.* ii. 510. NEWTON.

Milton took this use of the word from the Italian poets, amongst whom it was very common. HURD.

Ver. 633. *I was his nursling once, &c.*] This part of Samson's speech is little more than a repetition of what he had said before, v. 23.

" O, wherefore was my birth from Heaven foretold

" Twice by an Angel &c."

But yet it cannot justly be imputed as a fault to our author. Grief, though eloquent, is not tied to forms ; and is besides apt in its own nature frequently to recur to, and repeat, its source and subject. THYER.

And to those cruel enemies,
 Whom I by his appointment had provok'd,
 Left me all helpless with the irreparable loss
 Of sight, reserv'd alive to be repeated 645
 The subject of their cruelty and scorn.
 Nor am I in the list of them that hope ;
 Hopeless are all my evils, all remediless :
 This one prayer yet remains, might I be heard,
 No long petition, speedy death, 650
 The close of all my miseries, and the balm.

Chor. Many are the sayings of the wise,
 In ancient or in modern books inroll'd,
 Extolling patience as the truest fortitude ;
 And to the bearing well of all calamities, 655
 All chances incident to man's frail life,
 Consolatories writ
 With studied argument, and much persuasion sought
 Lenient of grief and anxious thought :
 But with the afflicted in his pangs their sound 660
 Little prevails, or rather seems a tune

Ver. 654. ——— *patience as the truest fortitude ;*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 31. "the better fortitude of patience." TORD.

Ver. 656. *All chances incident to man's frail life,*] There is a full stop at the end of this line in all the editions, but there should be only a comma, as the sense evinces, the construction being *And consolatories writ with &c. to the bearing well &c.* Milton himself corrected it in the first edition ; but when an error is once made, it is sure to be perpetuated through all the editions. NEWTON.

Ver. 658. ——— *and much persuasion sought*] I suppose an error of the press for *fraught*. WARBURTON.

I conceive the construction to be, Consolatories *are* writ with studied argument, and much persuasion *is* sought, &c. NEWTON.

But *sought* may mean *collected studiously* or *with pains* ; or, it may be used in the sense of *recherché* in French, *curious, refined, far-fetched*.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 659. *Lenient of grief*] Expressed from what we quoted before from Horace, *Ep. I. i. 34*.

"Sunt verba et voces, quibus hunc lenire dolorem

"Possis." NEWTON.

Ver. 660. *But with the afflicted*] Here was another error perpetuated through all the editions, "*But to the afflicted*." Milton himself corrected it. NEWTON.

Ver. 661. ——— *or rather seems a tune*

Harsh, and of dissonant mood &c.] Alluding to *Ecclus. xxii.*

6. "A tale out of season is as musick in mourning." TYLER.

Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his complaint ;
 Unless he feel within
 Some source of consolation from above,
 Secret refreshings, that repair his strength, 665
 And fainting spirits uphold.

God of our fathers, what is man !
 That thou toward him with hand so various,
 Or might I say contrarious, 669
 Temper'st thy providence through his short course,
 Not evenly, as thou rul'st
 The angelick orders, and inferiour creatures mute,
 Irrational and brute.
 Nor do I name of men the common rout,
 That wandering loose about 675
 Grow up and perish, as the summer-fly,
 Heads without names no more remembered ;
 But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
 With gifts and graces eminently adorn'd,
 To some great work, thy glory, 680

See also the *Mir. for Magistrates*, ed. 1610, p. 708.

“ The sage instructions of the wise man's mouth,

“ Do sound harsh musike in the cares of youth.” TODD.

Ver. 667. *God of our fathers, what is man ! &c.*] This, and the following paragraph, to ver. 705. seem to be an imitation of the Chorus in Seneca's *Hippolytus*, where the immature and undeserved fate of that young hero is lamented, A. iv. 971.

————— “ sed cur idem,
 “ Qui tanta regis, sub quo vasti
 “ Pondera mundi librata suos
 “ Ducunt orbes, hominum nimium
 “ Securus ades ; non sollicitus
 “ Prodesse bonis, nocuisse malis ? ”
 &c. to the end. THYER.

Ver. 669. *Or might I say contrarious,*] *Adverse*. So, in the *Weakest goeth to the Wall*, 1600. “ Like a *contrarious* tempest.” And in Chaucer's *Leg. of Dido*, v. 435. edit. Urr.

“ Sens that the goddes ben *contrarious* to me.” TODD.

Ver. 676. ————— *as the summer-fly,*] So, in Shakspeare, *K. Hen. VI.* P. iii. A. ii. S. vi.

“ The common people swarm like *summer-flies*.” TODD.

Ver. 677. *Heads without name no more remember'd ;*] Milton here probably had in view the Greek term for this lower class of mortals. They style them *ἀνρίθμοι* or *ἀνρίθμητοι*, *men not numbered*, or *not worth the numbering*. THYER.

And people's safety, which in part they effect :
 Yet toward these thus dignified, thou oft,
 Amidst their highth of noon,
 Changest thy countenance, and thy hand, with no regard
 Of highest favours past 685
 From thee on them, or them to thee of service.

Nor only dost degrade them, or remit
 To life obscur'd, which were a fair dismissal,
 But throw'st them lower than thou didst exalt them high ;
 Unseemly falls in human eye, 690
 Too grievous for the trespass of omission ;
 Oft leav'st them to the hostile sword
 Of heathen and profane, their carcasses
 To dogs and fowls a prey, or else captiv'd ;
 Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times, 695

Ver. 682. *Yet toward these thus dignified, thou oft,*
Amidst their highth of noon,
Changest thy countenance,] There is a fine passage in the
 Fragments of Euripides, which Milton perhaps now remembered. See
Incert. Trag. Eurip. v. 12. edit. Barnes.

Πολλοῖς ὁ Δαίμων, οὐ κατ' εὐνοίαν φέρων,
 Μεγάλα δίδωσιν εὐτυχίματ', ἀλλ' ἵνα
 Τὰς συμφορὰς λάβωσιν ἐμφανέστερας. TODD.

Ver. 683. *Amidst their highth of noon,]* This forcible expression is
 applied in the same manner by Sandys, in his *Paradise upon Job*, ed. 1648,
 p. 34.

“ When men are from *their noon of glory* thrown.”

Again, in his *Paraphrase upon the Psalms*, ed. supr. p. 127.

“ Thou hast on slippery *heights* their greatness plac'd ;

“ Down headlong from *their noon of glory* cast. TODD.

Ver. 693. ——— *their carcasses*

To dogs and fowls a prey,] Plainly alluding to Homer,
Il. i. 4.

——— αὐτοὺς δὲ ἰλῶρια τεῦχε κύνεσσιν,
 Οἰωνοῖσι τε πᾶσι. NEWTON.

Ver. 695. *Or to the unjust tribunals, under change of times, &c.]* Here,
 no doubt, Milton reflected upon the trials and sufferings of his party after
 the Restoration ; and probably he might have in mind particularly the
 case of Sir Harry Vane, whom he has so highly celebrated in one of his
 Sonnets. *If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty &c.* ; this was his own
 case ; he escaped with life, but lived in poverty, and though he was always
 very sober and temperate, yet he was much afflicted with the gout and
 other *painful diseases in crude old age, cruda senectus*, when he was not
 yet a very old man :

“ Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
 “ The punishment of dissolute days.”

And condemnation of the ingrateful multitude.
 If these they 'scape, perhaps in poverty
 With sickness and disease thou bow'st them down,
 Painful diseases and deform'd,
 In crude old age ;

700

Some time after I had written this, I had the pleasure to find that I had fallen into the same vein of thinking with Mr. Warburton : but he has opened and pursued it much further, with a penetration and liveliness of fancy peculiar to himself. "*God of our fathers*," to ver. 704, is a bold expostulation with Providence for the ill success of the *good old cause*.

" But such as thou hast solemnly elected,
 " With *gifts and graces* eminently adorn'd
 " To some great work thy glory."

In these three lines are described the characters of the Heads of the Independent Enthusiasts : "which *in part* they effect:" that is, by the overthrow of the monarchy, without being able to raise their projected republic.

" Yet toward these thus dignified, thou oft,
 " Amidst their highth of noon,
 " Changest thy countenance—"

After Richard had laid down, all power came into the hands of the enthusiastick Independent Republicans, when a sudden revolution, by the return of Charles II., broke all their measures :

———" with no regard
 " Of highest favours past
 " *From thee on them, or them to thee of service ;*"

that is, without any regard of those favours shown by thee to them in their wonderful successes against tyranny and superstition, [Church and State,] or of those services they paid to thee in declaring for religion and liberty, [Independency and a Republick.]

" Nor only dost degrade &c.
 " Too grievous for the *trespass* or *omission ;*"

By the *trespass* of these precious saints Milton means the quarrels among themselves : and by the *omission*, the not making a clear stage in the constitution, and new-modelling the *law*, as well as national religion, as Ludlow advised. "*Captiv'd*:" Several were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, as Lambert and Martin. "*Or to the unjust tribunals &c.*" The trials and condemnation of Vane and the Regicides. The concluding verses describe his own case,

" If these they 'scape, perhaps in *poverty*—
 " *Painful diseases and deform'd*—
 " Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
 " *The punishment of dissolute days :*"

his losses in the Excise, and his gout not caused by intemperance. But Milton was the most heated enthusiast of his time ; speaking of Charles the first's murder in his Defence of the people of England, he says—
 " *Quamquam ego hæc divino potius instinctu gesta esse crediderim, quoties memoria repeto, &c.*" NEWTON.

Ver. 700. *In crude old age ;*] *Crude* old age in Virgil, and in other writers, is *strong* and *robust*,—"cruda Deo viridisque senectus." But Milton uses here *crude* for *premature* and *coming before its time*, as "*cruda*

Though not disordinate, yet causeless suffering
 The punishment of dissolute days : in fine,
 Just, or unjust, alike seem miserable,
 For oft alike both come to evil end. 704

So deal not with this once thy glorious champion,
 The image of thy strength, and mighty minister.
 What do I beg? how hast thou dealt already!
 Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn
 His labours, for thou canst, to peaceful end.—

But who is this, what thing of sea or land? 710
 Female of sex it seems,
 That so bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,

funera" in Statius : Old age brought on by poverty and by sickness, as Hesiod says, *Erg.* v. 93.

Αἰψά γάρ ἐν κακότητι βροτοὶ καταγῆράσκουσι. JORTIN.

Dr. Jortin might have added, that Hesiod has the expression, *crude old age*, in the same sense as Milton here. *Erg.* v. 703.

ἦντ' ἀνέρα καὶ ἰψὺμόν περ ἰοντα
 Εὖναι ἀτὲρ δαλοῦ, καὶ ΩΜΩ ΓΗΡΑΙ ἔδωκεν.

And so has Homer, *Odys.* xv. 356. DUNSTER.

Ver. 704. *For oft alike both come to evil end.*] This may seem a strange sentiment to come from the Chorus ; but was proper to console Samson, who suffered chiefly from those *thoughts his tormenters*, which represented his calamity as a decisive mark of his superiour guilt, and of Heaven's resentment. Hence those *swoonings of despair, and sense of Heaven's desertion*, for which there was no cause, if the *just* might sometimes thus suffer. This condescension is of the character of the Chorus : "*Ille bonis faveat et consilietur amice !*" We are not to consider the sentiment simply in itself, but as adapted to present circumstances. The purpose of the Chorus was not to calumniate Providence, but to soothe the unhappy sufferer. Besides, the general moral of the piece, enforced by the Chorus itself at the end ; *All is best, though we oft doubt, &c.*" rectifies all, and counteracts any ill impression from this carnal sentiment. HURD.

Ver. 708. *Behold him in this state calamitous, and turn His labours, for thou canst, to peaceful end.*] The concluding verses of this beautiful Chorus appear to me particularly affecting, from the persuasion that Milton, in composing them, addressed the two last immediately to Heaven, as a prayer for himself. If the conjecture of this application be just, we may add, that never was the prevalence of a righteous prayer more happily conspicuous ; and let me here remark, that however various the opinions of men may be concerning the merits or demerits of Milton's political character, the integrity of his heart appears to have secured to him the favour of Providence ; since it pleased the Giver of all good not only to turn his labours to a peaceful end, but to irradiate his declining life with the most abundant portion of those pure and sublime mental powers, for which he had constantly and fervently prayed, as the choicest bounty of Heaven. HATLEY.

Ver. 712. *That so bedeck'd, ornate, and gay,*] In his *Tractate on Education*, he has "a graceful and ornate Rhetorick." This word occurs in

Comes this way sailing
Like a stately ship
Of Tarsus, bound for the isles
Of Javan or Gadire
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,

715

Caxton's Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos*, 1490; "Not in rude and old language, but in polyshed and *ornate* terms." TODD.

Ver. 714. *Like a stately ship* &c.] The thought of comparing a woman to a ship is not entirely new. Plautus has it in his *Penulus*, I. II. i.

"Negotii sibi qui volet vim parare,

"Navem et mulierem, hæc duo comparat, &c."

Mr. Warburton, in a note on the *Merry W. of Windsor*, A. iii. S. viii., speaking of *the ship-tire*, says "it was an open head-dress, with a kind of scarf depending from behind. Its name of *ship-tire* was, I presume, from its giving the wearer some resemblance of a ship, as Shakspeare says, *in all her trim*; with all her pendants out, and flags and streamers flying. Thus Milton paints Dalila. This was an image familiar with the poets of that time. Thus, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Wit without Money*: She *preaches* *sattens* as the king's ships do *cunias*." NEWTON.

Thus in Barnabe Rhye's *Revenge for a Gentleman*, &c. 4to. 1609, "When a lady is out of the new fashion, she is like a *shippe* that is out of trim; hee will never steare well." Ed. 40. a. And compare Parrot's *Springs of Wits*, 12mo. 1613. Epigr. 89. Lib. I.

"When Mistress Win did first her waistcoat weare,

"She scarcely could that carriage then maintaine,

"But now on *flout* herselfe aloft doth beare,

"With *flags* and *top-sails* launching forth amaine."

Milton, ridiculing the dress of the clergy, speaks of them, with similar allusion, "*under sail*, in all their lawn and sarcenet, their shrouds and tackle." *Of Reformation*, B. ii. TODD.

Ver. 715. *Of Tarsus*.] There is frequent mention in Scripture of the ships of *Tarshish*, which Milton, as well as some commentators, might conceive to be the same as *Tarsus*, in Cilicia: *bound for the isles of Javan*, that is, Greece; for *Javan* or Ion, the fourth son of Japhet, is said to have peopled Greece and Ionia, or *Gadire*, *Taiipa*, Gades, Cadiz.

NEWTON.

Ver. 717. *With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,*

Sails fill'd, &c.] Gray has also drawn a beautiful comparison of a ship in *gallant trim*, in his *Bard*, v. 71, &c. A similar description of remarkable elegance, is in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie*, B. ii. st. 35.

"Like as a ship, in which no ballance lies,

"Without a pilot, on the sleeping waves,

"Fairly along with winde and water flies,

"And painted masts with silken sails *embraves*,

"That Neptune's self the bragging vessel saves,

"To laugh awhile at her so proud array;

"Her waving streamers loosely she lets play,

"And flagging colours shine as bright as smiling day."

Where *embraves* is *decorates*, as *bravery* in the text is *finery* or *ornament*; in which sense the word is commonly used by our old poets. TODD.

Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,
 Courted by all the winds that hold them play,
 An amber scent of odorous perfume 720
 Her harbinger, a damsel train behind ;
 Some rich Philistian matron she may seem ;
 And now at nearer view, no other certain
 Than Dalila thy Wife.

Sams. My Wife! my Traitress: let her not come
 near me. 725

Chor. Yet on she moves, now stands and eyes thee
 fix'd,
 About to have spoke ; but now, with head declin'd,
 Like a fair flower surcharg'd with dew, she weeps,
 And words address'd seem into tears dissolv'd,

Ver. 719. *Courted by all the winds*] This precise expression is applied to Eve in the *Adamo* of Pona, p. 41. "Seruita dall' aure, corteggiata da' venti &c." TODD.

Ver. 720. *An amber scent &c.*] A favourite perfume with the Ladies, in the seventeenth century. Thus in Jonson's *Neptune's Triumph*, Proteus thus addresses the Ladies, "Why doe you smell of *amber-gris*?" And in Herrick's address *To his Mistresses*, 1648, p. 18.

"Put on your silks ; and piece by piece

"Give them the *scent of amber-greece*."

And even with the beaus of the times, as in Sylvester's *Du Bart*. 1621, p. 311. "Soft carpet-knights all *scenting* musk and *amber*." TODD.

Ver. 726. *Yet on she moves, &c.*] Like Ismene in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 532.

Καὶ μὴν πρὸ πυλῶν ἦν Ἰσμήνη
 Φιλάδελφα κάτω εὐκρυ' εἰβομένη.
 Νεφέλη δ' ὀφρύων ἔπερ, αἵματόεν
 ῥέθος αἰσχύνει,
 Τέγγουσ' εὐῶπα παρειάν.

Mr. Jortin and Mr. Thyer both concurred in the same observation, and therefore it is more likely to be true. NEWTON.

Ver. 727. ——— *but now, with head declin'd,*
Like a fair flower &c.] Probably from Homer, *Il.* viii. 306.

Μήκων δ' ὤς, ἐτίρωσε κάρη βάλεν, ἦτ' ἐνὶ κήπῳ
 Καρπῷ βριθομένη νοτίῃσι τε εἰαρινῇσιν.

Dryden, in his *Aureng-zebe*, has almost literally copied Milton,

"Your head declin'd, as hiding grief from view,
 "Droops, like a rose surcharg'd with morning-dew."

Phineas Fletcher is fond of this classical allusion, as in his *Purp. Island*, c. xi. st. 30, and st. 38. TODD.

Ver. 729. *And words address'd &c.*] This verse is printed imperfect in most of the editions,—

Wetting the borders of her silken veil : 730
But now again she makes address to speak.

[Enter] *Dalila*.

Dal. With doubtful feet and wavering resolution
I came, still dreading thy displeasure, Samson,
Which to have merited, without excuse,
I cannot but acknowledge ; yet, if tears 735
May expiate, (though the fact more evil drew
In the perverse event than I foresaw,)
My penance hath not slacken'd, though my pardon
No way assur'd. But conjugal affection,
Prevailing over fear and timorous doubt, 740
Hath led me on, desirous to behold
Once more thy face, and know of thy estate,
If aught in my ability may serve
To lighten what thou suffer'st, and appease
Thy mind with what amends is in my power, 745
Though late, yet in some part to recompense
My rash, but more unfortunate, misdeed.

Sams. Out, out, Hyæna ! these are thy wonted arts,

“ And words address'd seem tears dissolv'd,”

that being wanted which is in the first edition,

“ And words address'd seem *into* tears dissolv'd.”

Mr. Jortin conjectured it should be so read, without seeing the first edition. NEWTON.

Ver. 732. *With doubtful feet &c.*] The scene between Samson and Dalila is drawn up with great judgement, and particular beauty. One cannot conceive a more artful, soft, and persuasive, eloquence than that which is put into the mouth of Dalila ; nor is the part of Samson less to be admired for that stern and resolute firmness which runs through it. What also gives both parts a great additional beauty, is their forming so fine a contrast to each other. THYER.

Ver. 748. *Out, out, Hyæna !*] The hyæna is a creature somewhat like a wolf, and is said to imitate a human voice so artfully as to draw people to it, and then devour them. So Solinus, the transcriber of Pliny, cap. 27. “ Multa de ea mira : primum, quod sequitur stabula pastorum, et auditu assiduo addiscit vocamen, quod exprimere possit *imitatione vocis humanæ*, ut in hominem astu accitum nocte sæviat.” A celebrated tragick writer makes use of the same comparison, *Orphan*, A. iii.

“ 'Tis thus the false hyæna makes her moan,

“ To draw the pitying traveller to her den ;

“ Your sex are so, such false dissemblers all, &c.”

And arts of every woman false like thee,
 To break all faith, all vows, deceive, betray, 750
 Then as repentant to submit, beseech,
 And reconciliation move with feign'd remorse,
 Confess, and promise wonders in her change ;
 Not truly penitent, but chief to try
 Her husband, how far urg'd his patience bears, 755
 His virtue or weakness which way to assail :
 Then with more cautious and instructed skill
 Again transgresses, and again submits ;
 That wisest and best men, full oft beguil'd,
 With goodness principled not to reject 760
 The penitent, but ever to forgive,
 Are drawn to wear out miserable days,
 Entangled with a poisonous bosom snake,
 If not by quick destruction soon cut off,
 As I by thee, to ages an example. 765

Milton applies it to a woman, but Otway to the men ; which with the greater justice let the criticks and the ladies determine. NEWTON.

An old dramattick writer has in different places of his play entitled *The Cobbler's Prophecie*, 1594, compared *both* sexes to the hyæna. I find another reflection of this kind in Greene's *Never too late*, 1616, pt. 2d. "She weepes with the crocodile, and smiles with the *hiena*, and flatters with the panther." But Milton seems to have had in mind B. Jonson's *Fox*, A. iv. S. vi.

"Out, thou chameleon harlot! now thine eyes
 Vie tears with the *hyæna*." TODD.

Ver. 748. ———— *these are thy wonted arts,*] From Ovid :

"Credidimus lacrymis, an et hæ simulare docentur ?

"Hæ quoque habent artes, quæque jubentur eunt." TODD.

Ver. 750. Almost the whole of the paragraph is closely copied, or imitated, by Dryden in his *Aureng-zebe*, A. ii. S. i. TODD.

Ver. 759. *That wisest and best men, full oft beguil'd,*

With goodness &c.] Milton had reason to lament that excess of indulgence, with which he forgave and received again his disobedient and long-alienated wife ; since their re-union not only disquieted his days, but gave birth to daughters, who seem to have inherited the perversity of their mother. These pathetick lines strike me as a forcible allusion to his own connubial infelicity. HAYLEY.

Ver. 762. *Are drawn to wear out miserable days,*

If not by quick destruction soon cut off,] He makes the same reflection, in his *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, on "two persons *ill embarkt in wedlock*. What folly is it to stand combating and battering against invincible causes and effects, with evil upon evil, *till either the best of our days be lingered out, or ended with some speeding sorrow*." B. i. 10. TODD.

Dal. Yet hear me, Samson ; not that I endeavour
 To lessen or extenuate my offence,
 But that on the other side, if it be weigh'd
 By itself, with aggravations not surcharg'd,
 Or else with just allowance counterpois'd, 770
 I may, if possible, thy pardon find
 The easier towards me, or thy hatred less.
 First granting, as I do, it was a weakness
 In me, but incident to all our sex,
 Curiosity, inquisitive, impórtune 775
 Of secrets, then with like infirmity
 To publish them, both common female faults :
 Was it not weakness also to make known
 For importunity, that is for nought,
 Wherein consisted all thy strength and safety? 780
 To what I did thou show'd'st me first the way.
 But I to enemies reveal'd, and should not :
 Nor should'st thou have trusted that to woman's frailty :
 Ere I to thee, thou to thyself wast cruel.
 Let weakness then with weakness come to parle, 785
 So near related, or the same of kind,
 Thine forgive mine ; that men may censure thine
 The gentler, if severely thou exact not
 More strength from me, than in thyself was found.
 And what if love, which thou interpret'st hate, 790
 The jealousy of love, powerful of sway
 In human hearts, nor less in mind towards thee,
 Caus'd what I did? I saw thee mutable
 Of fancy, fear'd lest one day thou would'st leave me
 As her at Timna, sought by all means therefore 795
 How to endear, and hold thee to me firmest :

Ver. 785. ————— come to parle,] In *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 296, *parle* is *talk* ; here it is *treaty* or *reconciliation*, as in Shakspeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, A. i. S. i. "Though the nature of our quarrel never yet brook'd *parle*, know now, upon advice, it touched us both, &c." So, in *Par. Reg.* B. iv. 529. "By *parle* or composition." *Parle* is said to have been one of the affected words introduced into our language by Lyly. See Steevens's Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. 15, p. 10. Milton also uses it as a verb, *Hist. of Eng.* B. vi. "Knute, finding himself too *weak*, began to *parle*," that is, to *treat*. Todd.

No better way I saw than by importuning
 To learn thy secrets, get into my power
 Thy key of strength and safety : thou wilt say,
 Why then reveal'd ? I was assur'd by those 800
 Who tempted me, that nothing was design'd
 Against thee but safe custody, and hold :
 That made for me ; I knew that liberty
 Would draw thee forth to perilous enterprises,
 While I at home sat full of cares and fears, 805
 Wailing thy absence in my widow'd bed ;
 Here I should still enjoy thee, day and night,
 Mine and love's prisoner, not the Philistines',
 Whole to myself, unhazarded abroad,
 Fearless at home of partners in my love. 810
 These reasons in love's law have past for good,
 Though fond and reasonless to some perhaps ;
 And love hath oft, well meaning, wrought much woe,
 Yet always pity or pardon hath obtain'd.
 Be not unlike all others, not austere 815
 As thou art strong, inflexible as steel.
 If thou in strength all mortals dost exceed,
 In uncompassionate anger do not so. *

Sams. How cunningly the sorceress displays
 Her own transgressions, to upbraid me mine ! 820
 That malice, not repentance, brought thee hither,
 By this appears ; I gave, thou say'st, the example,
 I led the way ; bitter reproach, but true ;
 I to myself was false ere thou to me ;
 Such pardon therefore as I give my folly, 825

Ver. 808. *Mine and love's prisoner.*] These few words express the substance of Juliet's beautiful speech to Romeo :

" 'Tis almost morning, I would have thee gone ;
 " And yet no further than a wanton's bird ;
 " Who lets it hop a little from her hand,
 " Like a poor *prisoner* in his twysted gyves,
 " And with a silk thread plucks it back again,
 " *So loving-jealous of his liberty.*" TORD.

Ver. 825. *Such pardon therefore as I give my folly,*
Take to thy wicked deed ; &c.] These sentiments of self-condemnation are expressed with wonderful dignity. They reflect all the noble and resolute virtue of the poet's own highly-principled mind. DUNSTER.

Take to thy wicked deed ; which when thou seest
 Impartial, self-severe, inexorable,
 Thou wilt renounce thy seeking, and much rather
 Confess it feign'd : Weakness is thy excuse,
 And I believe it ; weakness to resist 830
 Philistian gold : If weakness may excuse,
 What murderer, traitor, parricide,
 Incestuous, sacrilegious, but may plead it ?
 All wickedness is weakness : that plea therefore
 With God or man will gain thee no remission. 835
 But love constrain'd thee ; call it furious rage
 To satisfy thy lust : love seeks to have love ;
 My love how could'st thou hope, who took'st the way
 To raise in me inexpiable hate,
 Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ? 840
 In vain thou striv'st to cover shame with shame,
 Or by evasions thy crime uncover'st more.

Dal. Since thou determin'st weakness for no plea
 In man or woman, though to thy own condemning,
 Hear what assaults I had, what snares besides, 845
 What sieges girt me round, ere I consented ;
 Which might have aw'd the best-resolv'd of men,
 The constantest, to have yielded without blame.
 It was not gold, as to my charge thou lay'st, 849
 That wrought with me : Thou know'st the magistrates

Ver. 840. *Knowing, as needs I must, by thee betray'd ?*] The same manner of speaking, as in *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 792.

" And knew not eating death."

Where see Mr. Richardson's note. NEWTON.

Ver. 842. *Or &c.*] This is the reading of the old editions, and particularly of Milton's own : the later ones have "*For by evasions,*" which is not so plain and intelligible. NEWTON.

Ver. 850. ——— *Thou knowest the magistrates &c.*] Judges xvi. 5. "*And the lords of the Philistines came up unto her, and said &c.*" So exact is Milton in all the particulars of the story, and improves every incident. NEWTON.

Compare the account, related by Sallust, of Cicero, who secured the harlot Fulvia to his interest ; and through her means gained, by the force of promises, his intelligence of Catiline's machinations from Q. Curius, who was engaged in the conspiracy, and with whom Fulvia was criminally connected : "*A principio consulatus sui, multa per Fulviam pollicendo, effecerat, ut Q. Curius (cui cum Fulvia stupri vetus consuetudo) consilia Catilinæ sibi proderet.*" TOWN.

And princes of my country came in person,
 Solicited, commanded, threaten'd, urg'd,
 Adjur'd by all the bonds of civil duty
 And of religion, press'd how just it was,
 How honourable, how glorious, to entrap 855
 A common enemy, who had destroy'd
 Such numbers of our nation : and the priest
 Was not behind, but ever at my ear,
 Preaching how meritorious with the gods
 It would be to ensnare an irreligious 860
 Dishonourer of Dagon : what had I
 To oppose against such powerful arguments ?
 Only my love of thee held long debate,
 And combated in silence all these reasons 864
 With hard contest : at length that ground'd maxim,
 So rife and celebrated in the mouths
 Of wisest men, that to the publick good
 Private respects must yield, with grave authority
 Took full possession of me, and prevail'd ;
 Virtue, as I thought, truth, duty, so enjoining. 870
Sams. I thought where all thy circling wiles would
 end ;
 In feign'd religion, smooth hypocrisy !
 But had thy love, still odiously pretended,
 Been, as it ought, sincere, it would have taught thee
 Far other reasonings, brought forth other deeds. 875
 I, before all the daughters of my tribe
 And of my nation, chose thee from among
 My enemies, lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st ;

Ver. 857. ————— and the priest

Was not behind, &c.] The character of the priest, which makes a conspicuous figure here, is the poet's own addition to the scriptural account. It is obviously a satire on the ministers of the church.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 864. ————— all these reasons] We follow the reading of Milton's own edition, and not of the others "all their reasons."

NEWTON.

The folio of 1688 reads "*these reasons.*" TODD.

Ver. 878. ————— lov'd thee, as too well thou knew'st ;] There is an inconsistency here with what Samson had said before. Here he professes a violent affection for Dalila, as the sole motive of his marrying her ;

Too well ; unbosom'd all my secrets to thee,
 Not out of levity, but over-power'd 880
 By thy request, who could deny thee nothing ;
 Yet now am judg'd an enemy. Why then
 Did'st thou at first receive me for thy husband,
 Then, as since then, thy country's foe profess'd ?
 Being once a wife, for me thou wast to leave 885
 Parents and country ; nor was I their subject,
 Nor under their protection but my own,
 Thou mine, not theirs : If aught against my life
 Thy country sought of thee, it sought unjustly,
 Against the law of nature, law of nations ; 890
 No more thy country, but an impious crew
 Of men conspiring to uphold their state
 By worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends
 For which our country is a name so dear ; 894
 Not therefore to be obey'd. But zeal mov'd thee ;
 To please thy gods thou didst it ; gods unable
 To acquit themselves and prosecute their foes
 But by ungodly deeds, the contradiction
 Of their own deity, gods cannot be ;
 Less therefore to be pleas'd, obey'd, or fear'd. 900
 These false pretexts and varnish'd colours failing,
 Bare in thy guilt, how foul must thou appear !

whereas he had before asserted that he was in a certain degree determined to it by hopes of finding occasion thereby to oppress the Philistines, ver. 234. Manoah likewise says, that Samson pleaded "divine compulsion" for both his marriages, ver. 422. But Milton may be understood to have imagined Samson in his marriage with Dalila acting merely from inclination, and (as people, who do so, are apt to reason falsely in their own vindication,) *falsely* attributing and ascribing it to divine impulse. This is consistent with what is said, ver. 532, where Samson describes himself "sworn with pride," that is, at his superiour strength, and on that account as it seems deserted by God, and falling into the "snare of fair fallacious looks, &c." So that what he here says to Dalila is true ; and the real motives of his marrying her were that he "loved her," as he himself says, "too well." DUNSTER.

Ver. 898. ——— *by ungodly deeds, the contradiction*

Of their own deity, gods cannot be ;] So, in Baruch's description of the Babylonian idols, chap. vi. 44. "Whatsoever is done among them *is false* : how may it then be thought or said *that they are gods ?*" TODD.

Ver. 901. ——— *and varnish'd colours failing,]* See his *Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 161, ed. 1698. "*Painting his lewd and deceitful*

Dal. In argument with men a woman ever
Goes by the worse, whatever be her cause. 904

Sams. For want of words no doubt, or lack of breath;
Witness when I was worried with thy peals.

Dal. I was a fool, too rash, and quite mistaken
In what I thought would have succeeded best.
Let me obtain forgiveness of thee, Samson;
Afford me place to show what recompence 910
Towards thee I intend for what I have misdone,
Misguided; only what remains past cure
Bear not too sensibly, nor still insist
To afflict thyself in vain: though sight be lost,
Life yet hath many solaces, enjoy'd 915
Where other senses want not their delights
At home in leisure and domestick ease,
Exempt from many a care and chance, to which
Eye-sight exposes daily men abroad.
I to the lords will intercede, not doubting 920
Their favourable ear, that I may fetch thee
From forth this loathsome prison-house, to abide
With me, where my redoubled love and care
With nursing diligence, to me glad office,
May ever tend about thee to old age 925
With all things grateful cheer'd, and so supplied,
That, what by me thou hast lost, thou least shall miss.

Sams. No, no; of my condition take no care;
It fits not; thou and I long since are twain;
Nor think me so unwary or accurs'd, 930
To bring my feet again into the snare
Where once I have been caught: I know thy trains,
Though dearly to my cost, thy gins, and toils;

principles with a smooth and glossy *varnish* in a doctrinall way, to bring about his wickedest purposes." I apprehend that Milton might employ the expression, in allusion to St. James's description of the tongue, which is called ὁ ΚΟΣΜΟΣ τῆς ἀδικίας, "the *varnish* of iniquity," as it should be rendered. See Wetstein in *Jac.* iii. 6. Todd.

Ver. 914. ———— *though sight be lost, &c.*] We have a similar sentiment in Cicero, *Tusc. Quæst.* "Animo autem multis modis variisque delectari licet, etiam si non adhibeatur aspectus." L. v. C. 38.
DUNSTER.

Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,
 No more on me have power ; their force is null'd ; 935
 So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd,
 To fence my ear against thy sorceries.
 If in my flower of youth and strength, when all men
 Lov'd, honour'd, fear'd me, thou alone could'st hate me
 Thy husband, slight me, sell me, and forego me ; 940
 How wouldst thou use me now, blind, and thereby
 Deceivable, in most things as a child
 Helpless, thence easily contemn'd, and scorn'd,
 And last neglected ! How would'st thou insult,
 When I must live uxorious to thy will 945
 In perfect thralldom ; how again betray me,
 Bearing my words and doings to the lords
 To gloss upon, and, censuring, frown or smile !
 This jail I count the house of liberty
 To thine, whose doors my feet shall never enter. 950
Dal. Let me approach at least, and touch thy hand.
Sams. Not for thy life, lest fierce remembrance wake
 My sudden rage to tear thee joint by joint.
 At distance I forgive thee ; go with that ;
 Bewail thy falsehood, and the pious works 955

Ver. 934. *Thy fair enchanted cup, and warbling charms,*] Alluding, no doubt, to the story of Circe and the Syrens : but did not our author's fondness for Greek learning make him here forget that it is a little out of character to represent Samson acquainted with the mythology of that country ? It seems the more odd, as the allusion to the adder, immediately following, is taken from Scripture. *THYER.*

He might as well be supposed to know the story of Circe and the Syrens, as of Tantalus, &c. before, v. 500 ; and there is no more impropriety in the one than in the other. *NEWTON.*

Mr. Thyer's observation is, however, just ; and *Dr. Johnson* has not forgotten to notice the impropriety of all these allusions. *Mr. Glasse*, in his translation, and *Mr. Penn*, in his alteration, of this tragedy, have omitted these objectionable passages. *TODD.*

Ver. 936. *So much of adder's wisdom I have learn'd,*] The allusion is to *Psalms* lviii. 4, 5. "They are like the deaf adder, that stoppeth her ear ; which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely." *NEWTON.*

Ver. 953. ————— *to tear thee joint by joint.*] *Milton* perhaps recollected blind *Polymestor's* desire of revenge upon *Hecuba*, in the play of that name by *Euripides*, v. 1125, ed. *Barnes.*

εἰπὲ ποῦ 'σθ', ἵν' ἀρπάσαις χερσὶν
 Διασπᾶσθαι καὶ καθαιμάξω χροῖα. *TODD.*

It hath brought forth to make thee memorable
Among illustrious women, faithful wives!
Cherish thy hasten'd widowhood with the gold
Of matrimonial treason! so farewell.

Dal. I see thou art implacable, more deaf 960
To prayers than winds and seas; yet winds to seas
Are reconcil'd at length, and sea to shore:
Thy anger, unappeasable, still rages,
Eternal tempest, never to be calm'd.
Why do I humble thus myself, and, suing 965
For peace, reap nothing but repulse and hate;
Bid go with evil omen, and the brand
Of infamy upon my name denounc'd?
To mix with thy concernments I desist
Henceforth, nor too much disapprove my own. 970
Fame, if not double-fac'd, is double-mouth'd,
And with contráry blast proclaims most deeds;
On both his wings, one black, the other white,

Ver. 956. ————— to make thee memorable

Among illustrious women, faithful wives!] This irony may have been suggested by Homer, speaking of Clytemnestra, *Odys.* xi. 431.

— ή δ' ἔξοχα λύγρ' εἰδυνία,
'Ηγε κατ' αἶσχος ἔχενε, καὶ ἑσσομένησιν ὀπίσσω
Θηλυτέρῃσι γυναιξί. TODD.

Ver. 960. *I see thou art implacable, &c.*] Dryden has transferred the simile into his *Aureng-zebe*, A. i. S. i. The same classical allusion is introduced in Glaphorne's *Albertus Wallenstein*, 1640. A. iv. S. i.

"I am deaf, inexorable as seas

"To the prayers of mariners, when their sinking keel

"Is drunke with billowes." TODD.

Ver. 972. *And with contráry blast*] The old accent on *contrary*. Thus in Harrington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607. p. 217.

"From which (it seemed) now she did so vary,

"As she had rather done the quite *contráry*."

And in Habington's *Castara*, 1635. p. 116.

"By virtue of a cleane *contráry* gale." TODD.

Ver. 973. *On both his wings, one black, the other white,*] Milton, in his poem *In Quint. Nov.* speaking of Fame, says

"Induit et variis exilia corpora plumis."

I do not recollect any instance of Fame having two wings of different colours assigned by any of the Roman poets. Milton seems to have equipped his deity, very characteristically, by borrowing one wing from Infamy, and another from Victory or Glory, as they are both described by Silius Italicus; where Virtue contrasts herself with Pleasure or Dissipation, L. xv. 95. :—

Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.
 My name perhaps among the circumcis'd 975
 In Dan, in Judah, and the bordering tribes,
 To all posterity may stand defam'd,
 With malediction mention'd, and the blot
 Of falsehood most unconjugal traduc'd.
 But in my country, where I most desire, 980
 In Ecron, Gaza, Asdod, and in Gath,
 I shall be nam'd among the famousest
 Of women, sung at solemn festivals,
 Living and dead recorded, who, to save
 Her country from a fierce destroyer, chose 985
 Above the faith of wedlock-bands ; my tomb

————— " *atris*

" Circa te semper volitans Infamia pennis ;
 " Mecum Honor, et Laudes, et læto Gloria vultu,
 " Et Decus, et *niveis* Victoria concolor *alis*."

Ben Jonson, in one of his Masks, introduces *Fama Bona* (as she is described in *Inconolog. de Cæsare Ripa*) attired in white, with *white wings* ; and she terms herself the *white-wing'd* maid. DUNSTER.

Ver. 974. *Bears greatest names in his wild aery flight.*] I think Fame has passed for a goddess ever since Hesiod deified her, *Epy.* 763. Milton makes her a *god*, I know not why unless secundum eos, qui dicunt utriusque sexus participationem habere numina. So, in his *Lycidas*, he says (unless it be a false print)

" So may some gentle *Muse*
 " With lucky words favour my destin'd urn,
 " And as *he* passes turn ;"

where *Muse* in the masculine for *poet* is very bold.

Perhaps it should here also be,

" Bears greatest names in his *wide* aery flight."

What Milton says of Fame's bearing great names on his wings, seems to be partly from Horace, *Od.* II. ii. 7.

" Illum aget penna metuente solvi
 " *Fama* superstes." JORTIN.

I apprehend that *wild* is full as applicable as *wide* to the character and office of Fame. And thus Shakspeare, *Othello*, A. ii. S. i.

" That paragons description and *wild* Fame." TODD.

Ver. 982. *I shall be nam'd &c.*] In the *Heraklida* of Euripides, Iolaus addressing Macaria tells her, v. 598.

Ἄλλ', ὃ μέγιστον ἐκπρίπουσ' ἐὺψυχίας,
 Πασῶν γυναικῶν ἴσθι τιμωτάτην,
 Καὶ ζωσ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν καὶ θανούσ' ἰσθ' πολύ. DUNSTER.

Ver. 986. ————— *my tomb*

With odours visited and annual flowers ;] What is said in Scripture of the daughter of Jephtha, *that the daughters of Israel went*

With odours visited and annual flowers ;
 Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim.
 Jael, who with inhospitable guile
 Smote Sisera sleeping, through the temples nail'd. 990
 Nor shall I count it heinous to enjoy
 The publick marks of honour and reward,
 Conferr'd upon me for the piety,
 Which to my country I was judg'd to have shown.
 At this whoever envies or repines, 995
 I leave him to his lot, and like my own. [*Exit.*]

Chor. She's gone, a manifest serpent by her sting,
 Discover'd in the end, till now conceal'd.

Sams. So let her go ; God sent her to debase me,

yearly to lament her, seems to imply that this solemn and periodical visitation of the tombs of eminent persons was an eastern custom. *TYER.*

This affectionate custom of decorating the tombs of departed friends, has descended to later times. See the *Iphigenia in Taurus* of Euripides, v. 632, ed. Barnes. It still exists in some parts of this island. Shakespeare alludes to it in *Cymbeline*, A. iv. S. v.

————— “ with fairest flowers,
 “ Whilst summer lasts, and I live here, Fidele,
 “ Ill sweeten thy sad grave.”

Whence Collins, with remarkable taste and pathos ;

“ To fair Fidele's grassy tomb,
 “ Soft maids, and village hinds, shall bring
 “ Each opening sweet of earliest bloom,
 “ And rifle all the blooming spring.”

I take this opportunity of observing, that Collins may probably have been indebted to a fine passage in Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Lover's Progress*, A. iv. S. i.

————— “ I will kneel by him,
 “ And on his hallow'd earth do my last duties :
 “ I'll gather all the pride of Spring to deck him ;
 “ Woodbines shall grow upon his honour'd grave,
 “ And, as they prosper, clasp, to show our friendship ;
 “ And, when they wither, I'll die too.” *TODD.*

Ver. 988. *Not less renown'd than in mount Ephraim,*

Jael.] Jael is celebrated in the noble song of Deborah and Barak, *Judg.* v. And Deborah dwelt between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim, *Judg.* iv. 5. *NEWTON.*

Ver. 995. *At this whoever envies or repines,*

I leave him to his lot, and like my own.] Teucer to the Chorus in Sophocles's *Ajax*, v. 1060.

“Ὅτε γὰρ δὲ μὴ τάδε ἴσθιν ἐν γυνάμῃ φίλα,
 Κεῖνός τ' ἐκείνα στεργέτω, καὶ γὰρ τάδε.” *CALTON.*

Ver. 997. ———— *a manifest serpent by her sting,*] The Son of Sirach makes a similar observation on “an evil wife,” *Ecclus.* xxvi. 7. “He that hath hold of her is as though he held a scorpion.” *TODD.*

And aggravate my folly, who committed 1000
To such a viper his most sacred trust
Of secrecy, my safety and my life.

Chor. Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange
power,

After offence returning, to regain
Love once possess'd, nor can be easily 1005
Repuls'd, without much inward passion felt
And secret sting of amorous remorse.

Sams. Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end,
Not wedlock-treachery endangering life.

Chor. It is not virtue, wisdom, valour, wit, 1010
Strength, comeliness of shape, or amplest merit,
That woman's love can win or long inherit ;
But what it is, hard is to say,
Harder to hit,

(Which way soever men refer it,) 1015
Much like thy riddle, Samson, in one day
Or seven, though one should musing sit.

If any of these, or all, the Timnian bride
Had not so soon preferr'd

Ver. 1003. *Yet beauty, though injurious, hath strange power.*] This truth Milton has finely exemplified in Adam forgiving Eve, and he had full experience of it in his own case. See note on *Par. Lost*, B. x. 940.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1008. *Love-quarrels oft in pleasing concord end.*] Terence, *Andria*, iii. iii. 23.

"Amantium iræ, amoris integratio est." NEWTON.

Ver. 1010. *It is not virtue, &c.*] However just the observation may be, that Milton, in his *Paradise Lost*, seems to court the favour of the female sex, it is very certain, that he did not carry the same complaisance into this performance. What the Chorus here says, outgoes the very bitterest satire of Euripides, who was called the *woman-hater*. It may be said, indeed, in excuse, that the occasion was very provoking, and that these reproaches are rather to be looked upon as a sudden start of resentment, than cool and sober reasoning. *TYLER.*

These reflections are the more severe, as they are not spoken by Samson, who might be supposed to utter them out of pique and resentment, but are delivered by the Chorus as serious and important truths. But, by all accounts, Milton himself had suffered some uneasiness through the temper and behaviour of two of his wives; and no wonder therefore that, upon so tempting an occasion as this, he indulges his spleen a little, depreciates the qualifications of the women, and asserts the superiority of the men; and, to give these sentiments the greater weight, puts them into the mouth of the Chorus. *NEWTON.*

- Thy paronymph, worthless to thee compar'd, 1020
 Successour in thy bed,
 Nor both so loosely disallied
 Their nuptials, nor this last so treacherously
 Had shorn the fatal harvest of thy head.
 Is it for that such outward ornament 1025
 Was lavish'd on their sex, that inward gifts
 Were left for haste unfinish'd, judgement scant,
 Capacity not rais'd to apprehend
 Or value what is best
 In choice, but ofttest to affect the wrong? 1030
 Or was too much of self-love mix'd,
 Of constancy no root infix'd,
 That either they love nothing, or not long?
 Whate'er it be, to wisest men and best
 Seeming at first all heavenly under virgin veil, 1035

Ver. 1020. *Thy paronymph,*] *Bride-man*. "But Samson's wife was given to *his companion*, whom he had used as his friend," *Judg.* xiv. 20.

RICHARDSON.

The *paronymph* is an old English word: Thus in *Quodlibets, of Religion and State*, 1602, p. 204. "Our blessed Ladies *paranimphe* Saint Gabriell." And thus in Drummond's Pageants, *Jove*, ver. 29. "Thou shalt no *paronymph* raise to high place;" where *paronymph* has a different meaning, namely, that of an *abettor* or *supporter*. For Milton's *paronymph*, see *John* iii. 29. It was usual, at the marriage-feasts of the Jews, to have a select company of young men to keep the bridegroom company, and to conduct the bride to the bridegroom's house. Selden has devoted a whole chapter to an inquiry into their office, in which he notices the *Bride-knights* of the English, *Uzor Ebraica*, B. ii. TODD.

Ver. 1025. *It is for that such outward ornament &c.*] Thus, in Tasso's *Aminta*, A. iii. S. 1.

—————"e tu Natura,
 "Negligente maestra, perche solo
 "A le donne nel volto, e in quel di fuori
 "Ponesti quanto in loro è di gentile,
 "Di mansueto, e di cortese; e tutte
 "L'altre parti obliasti?" TODD.

Ver. 1034. ————— *to wisest men and best*] Read "to the wisest man." See the following expressions—"in *his way*"—"draws *him awry*." MEADOWCOURT.

We have such a change of the number in the *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 1183, where see the note. NEWTON.

Ver. 1035. ————— *under virgin veil,*] Perhaps Milton here alludes to the Jewish virgins, who, being kept secluded from the sight of men, were called *hidden*, or *concealed*; and, when they were first presented to their husbands, covered their heads *with a veil*. But see his *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, B. i. chap. 3; where he is speaking of the

Soft, modest, meek, demure,
 Once join'd, the contrary she proves, a thorn
 Intestine, far within defensive arms
 A cleaving mischief, in his way to virtue
 Adverse and turbulent, or by her charms 1040
 Draws him awry enslav'd
 With dotage, and his sense deprav'd
 To folly and shameful deeds which ruin ends.
 What pilot so expert but needs must wreck,
 Imbark'd with such a steers-mate at the helm ! 1045
 Favour'd of Heaven, who finds
 One virtuous, rarely found,
 That in domestick good combines :

disappointments which may happen, in choosing a wife, to "the sober man honouring the appearance of modesty, and hoping well of every social virtue *under the veil*." TODD.

Ver. 1038. ——— far *within defensive arms*] An early edition of Tonson's had printed "*war* within defensive arms," which Tickell and Fenton have also followed, and most of the succeeding editions, before that of Dr. Newton. TODD.

Ver. 1039. *A cleaving mischief*.] These words allude to the poisoned shirt sent to Hercules by his wife Deianira. MEADOWCOURT.

So Dryden thought, *Aurung-zebe*, A. ii. S. i.

"When we lay next us what we hold most dear,

"*Like Hercules, envenom'd shirts we wear,*

"And CLEAVING MISCHIEFS."

Milton, in his *Doct. and Discip. of Divorce*, speaks of "the blessing of matrimony changed not seldom into a *co-inhabiting mischief*." Pref. lib. i. In his treatise *Of Reformation* &c. B. ii. he has the expression, differently applied, of "a *cleaving curse*." TODD.

Ibid. ——— in *his way to virtue*

Adverse and turbulent.] This is the sentiment of the *woman-hater*, Euripides, *Orest.* v. 604.

Αἰεὶ γυναῖκες ἐμποδῶν ταῖς συμφοραῖς,

Ἔφυσαν ἀνδρῶν, πρὸς τὸ ἐυστυχίστητον. TODD.

Ver. 1046. *Favour'd of Heaven, who finds* &c.] If Milton, like Solomon and the Son of Sirach, satirises the women in general, like them too he commends the virtuous and good; and esteems a good wife a blessing from the Lord. See *Prov.* xviii. 22, xix. 14, and *Ecclus.* xxvi. 1, 2. NEWTON.

But he harshly esteems such an one a *rarity*, like the severe Grecian in his *Alcestis*, v. 472—475. edit. Barnes. Yet Euripides has condescended to commend a *happy match*; and the language is not dissimilar to this passage of Milton :

Γάμοι δ' ὅσοις μὲν εὖ καθεστᾶσι βροτῶν,

Μακάριος αἰὼν οἷς εἰ μὴ πίπτουσιν εὖ

Τὰ τ' ἐνδὸν εἰσι, τότε θέρμαζε ἑυστηχίης. TODD.

Happy that house ! his way to peace is smooth :
 But virtue, which breaks through all opposition, 1050
 And all temptation can remove,
 Most shines, and most is acceptable above.

Therefore God's universal law
 Gave to the man despotick power
 Over his female in due awe, 1055
 Nor from that right to part an hour,
 Smile she or lour :

So shall he least confusion draw
 On his whole life, not sway'd
 By female usurpation, or dismay'd. 1060

But had we best retire ? I see a storm.

Sams. Fair days have oft contracted wind and rain. .

Chor. But this another kind of tempest brings.

Sams. Be less abstruse, my riddling days are past.

Chor. Look now for no enchanting voice, nor fear
 The bait of honied words ; a rougher tongue 1066
 Draws hitherward ; I know him by his stride,
 The giant Harapha of Gath, his look
 Haughty, as is his pile high-built and proud.

Ver. 1061. *But had we best retire ?*] Read "*But we had best retire,*"
 or. "*But hadn't we best retire ?*" SYMPSON.

Ver. 1065. *Look now for no enchanting voice,*] Euripides, *Medea*,
 v. 773.

——— δέχου δὲ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν λόγους. TODD.

Ver. 1066. *The bait of honied words ;*] Dr. Johnson objects to the
 word *honied* : I will therefore shew that it was a common term in our old
 poetry : Thus in G. Wither's *Fidelia*, 1662.

"His *honied words*, his bitter lamentations."

Thus also Shakspeare, *K. Hen. V.* A. i. S. i.

——— "his sweet and *honied sentences*."

● And Randolph's *Aristippus*, 1662. Prologue :

"No candied flattery, nor *honied words*."

It is also classical. The phrase "*Mellitos verborum globulos*," is in Pe-
 tronius Arbiter ; and Milton has, "*Mellitósque preces*," *Eleg.* V. 68.
 The expression is frequent in Greek ; and Tasso, in his *Aminia*, A. i. S. ii.
 has "*melate parole*." See also *Tit. Andron.* A. iv. S. ult. which Milton
 had in his eye :

"I will *enchant* the old Andronicus,

"With *words more sweet*, and yet more dangerous,

"Than *baits* to fish, or *honey-stalks* to sheep."

"*Baited words*" is also a phrase in Quarles's *Samson*, 1632, p. 362. See
 also my note on *Comus*, v. 162. TODD.

Comes he in peace? what wind hath blown him hither
 I less conjecture than when first I saw 1071
 The sumptuous Dalila floating this way :
 His habit carries peace, his brow defiance.

Sams. Or peace or not, alike to me he comes. 1074

Chor. His fraught we soon shall know, he now arrives.

[Enter] *Harapha*.

Har. I come not, Samson, to condole thy chance,
 As these perhaps, yet wish it had not been,
 Though for no friendly intent. I am of Gath ;
 Men call me Harapha, of stock renown'd
 As Og, or Anak, and the Emims old 1080
 That Kiriathaim held ; thou know'st me now,
 If thou at all art known. Much I have heard
 Of thy prodigious might and feats perform'd,
 Incredible to me, in this displeas'd,
 That I was never present on the place 1085
 Of those encounters, where we might have tried
 Each other's force in camp or listed field ;
 And now am come to see of whom such noise
 Hath walk'd about, and each limb to survey,
 If thy appearance answer loud report. 1090

Sams. The way to know were not to see but taste.

Ver. 1075. *His fraught we soon shall know,*] For *fraught*, read *freight*.
 MEADOWCOURT.

But *fraught* was commonly used. Thus in *Tit. Andron.* A. iv. S. ii. "As the bark that hath discharg'd her *fraught*." And in *Othello*, A. iii. S. iii. "Swell, bosom, with thy *fraught*." Milton employs the word again in his *Apol. for Smectym.* "Till the attention be weary, or memory have its full *fraught*." Many instances of the word might be given from the poets of Milton's time. TODD.

Ver. 1079. *Men call me Harapha, &c.*] This character is fictitious, but is properly introduced by the poet, and not without some foundation in Scripture. *Arapha*, or rather *Rapha*, (says Calmet) was father of the giants of *Rephaim*. The word *Rapha* may likewise signify simply a giant.

Of stock renown'd as Og ; see *Deut.* iii. 11. *Or Anak, and the Emims old* ; see *Deut.* ii. 10, 11. *That Kiriathaim held* ; see *Gen.* xiv. 5.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1081. ———— *thou know'st me now,*
If thou at all art known.] He is made to speak in the spirit and almost in the language of Satan, *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 830.

"Not to know me argues yourselves unknown." NEWTON.

Har. Dost thou already single me? I thought
 Gyves and the mill had tam'd thee. O that fortune
 Had brought me to the field, where thou art fam'd
 To have wrought such wonders with an ass's jaw! 1095
 I should have forc'd thee soon with other arms,
 Or left thy carcass where the ass lay thrown :
 So had the glory of prowess been recover'd
 To Palestine, won by a Philistine, 1099
 From the unforeskinn'd race, of whom thou bear'st
 The highest name for valiant acts; that honour,
 Certain to have won by mortal duel from thee,
 I lose, prevented by thy eyes put out.

Sams. Boast not of what thou would'st have done,
 but do 1104
 What then thou would'st; thou seest it in thy hand.

Har. To combat with a blind man I disdain,
 And thou hast need much washing to be touch'd.

Sams. Such usage as your honourable lords
 Afford me, assassinated and betray'd,
 Who durst not with their whole united powers 1110
 In fight withstand me single and unarm'd,
 Nor in the house with chamber-ambushes
 Close-banded durst attack me, no, not sleeping,
 Till they had hir'd a woman with their gold
 Breaking her marriage-faith to circumvent me. 1115

Ver. 1093. *Gyves*] Chains. So, in *Cymbeline*, A. v. S. iii.

“ Must I repent ?

“ I cannot do it better than in *gyves*.”

And in Fairfax's *Tasso*, B. v. st. 42.

“ These hands were made to shake sharp spears and swords,

“ Not to be tied in *gyves* &c.” NEWTON.

Ver. 1102. ————— *by mortal duel*] An allusion to the old *Duello* or single combat. See note on v. 1226. So Drayton uses the word in his *David and Goliath*, where Saul tells David, that Goliath was “ expert in all to *duels* that belong.” See also *Par. Reg.* B. i. 174. Samson calls it “ the trial of *mortal fight*,” v. 1175; which is another phrase in chivalry. Thus in Grove's *Hist. of Pesistratus and Catanea*, 1587, of a combat :

“ The heralds' sownd displayd,

“ The coursers meete with speares, &c.

“ And thus the *mortal fight*.” TODD.

Ver. 1113. *Close-banded*] Here in the sense of *secretly leagued*, rather than its usual acceptation of *thick-ranged*. JOHNSON.

Therefore, without feign'd shifts, let be assign'd
 Some narrow place enclos'd, where sight may give thee,
 Or rather flight, no great advantage on me;
 Then put on all thy gorgeous arms, thy helmet
 And brigandine of brass, thy broad habergeon, 1120
 Vant-brace and greves, and gauntlet, add thy spear,
 A weaver's beam, and seven-times-folded shield;

Ver. 1120. *And brigandine of brass, &c.*] *Brigandine*, a coat of mail. *Jer.* xvi. 4. "Furbish the spears, and put on the *brigandines*." See also li. 3. *Habergeon*, a coat of mail for the neck and shoulders, *Faer. Qu.* ii. vi. 29.

"Their mighty strokes their *habergeons* dismay'd,
 "And naked made each others manly spalles:"

Spalles, that is, shoulders. And see Fairfax, B. i. st. 72. *Vant-brace*, avant-bras, armour for the arms. So, in *Troil. and Cres.* A. i. S. vi. Nestor speaks:

"I'll hide my silver beard in a gold beaver,
 "And in my *vant-brace* put this wither'd brawn."

And see Fairfax, B. xx. st. 139. *Greves*, armour for the legs. 1 *Sam.* xvii. 6. "And he had *greves* of brass upon his legs." *Gauntlet*, an iron glove, *Hen. IV.* P. 2. A. i. S. iii. Old Northumberland speaks:

—————"Hence therefore, thou nice crutch;
 "A scaly *gauntlet* now with joints of steel
 "Must glove this hand." NEWTON.

Ver. 1121. ————— add *thy spear*,] This is Milton's own reading: The other editions have, "*and thy spear*," which is not so proper; for it cannot well be said in construction, *put on thy spear*.

NEWTON.

The reviser of Tonson's edition in 1747 had attended to the poet's text; for it reads "*add thy spear*." TOWN.

Ver. 1122. *A weaver's beam*,] As the spear of Goliath was. Sylvester goes further, and says of Goliath's spear, *Du Bart.* ed. 1621, p. 414. "His lance a loom-beame or a *mast*." Milton says that Satan's spear was so large and lofty, that the *mast of an admiral's ship* was but a wand in comparison, *Par. L.* B. i. 293. Here Tasso has been quoted by the commentators, *Gier. Lib.* C. vi. 40. But the original is in Boiardo, L. i. C. ii. 52. Signat. B. iii. edit. 1527. The pagan giant Spinello appears on a horse of a monstrous magnitude, holding the *mast of a ship* for a spear:

"Porta pur lanza un gran fusto d' antenna."

Spenser, a disciple of the Italian poets, has the same thought, *F. Q.* iii. vii. 40.

"All were the beame in bignes like a *mast*."

Perhaps it is first to be found in Ovid's Polypheme, *Met.* xiii. 782.

"Cui postquam pinus, *baculi* quæ præbuit usum,

"Ante pedes posita est, *antennas apta ferendis*."

Or in Lucilius's Fragments, *Sat. Lib.* xv. 14. *Poet. Latin.* Maittair. tom. ii. p. 1499, of Homer's Polypheme:

—————"et porro huic majus bacillum

"Quàm *malus navis* in corbita maximus ulla." T. WARTON.

Ver. 1122. ————— and *seven-times-folded shield*;] As was Ajax's. Ovid, *Met.* xiii. 2. "Clypei dominus septemplex." NEWTON.

I only with an oaken staff will meet thee,
 And raise such outcries on thy clatter'd iron,
 Which long shall not withhold me from thy head, 1125
 That in a little time, while breath remains thee,
 Thou oft shalt wish thyself at Gath, to boast
 Again in safety what thou wouldst have done
 To Samson, but shalt never see Gath more. 1129

Har. Thou durst not thus disparage glorious arms,
 Which greatest heroes have in battle worn,
 Their ornament and safety, had not spells
 And black enchantments, some magician's art,
 Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong, which thou from
 Heaven
 Feign'dst at thy birth was given thee in thy hair, 1135
 Where strength can least abide, though all thy hairs
 Were bristles rang'd like those that ridge the back
 Of chaf'd wild boars, or ruffled porcupines.

Ver. 1134. *Arm'd thee or charm'd thee strong,*] Mr. Thyer here observes, It is very probable that Milton adopted this notion from the Italian Epicks, who are very full of enchanted arms, and sometimes represent their heroes invulnerable by this art. But, as Mr. Warton remarks, the poet's idea is immediately and particularly taken from the ritual of the combat in chivalry. See note on *Comus*, v. 647.—Samson replies,

"I know no spells, use no forbidden arts;
 "My trust is in the living God"—

Here, it must be observed, is a direct allusion to the oath taken before the judges of the combat, by the champions—"I do swear, that I have not upon me, nor on any of the *arms* I shall use, words, *charms*, or *enchantments*, to which I trust for help to conquer my enemy, but that *I do only trust in God*, in my right, and in the strength of my body and arms." Cockburn's *Hist. of Duels*, p. 115. The poet here says "*black enchantments*," in like manner as Machin, introducing the same ancient oath in his *Dumb Knight*, 1633. "Here you shall swear &c.

"That here you stand not *arm'd* with any guile
 "Of philters, *charms*, of night-spells, characters,
 "And other *black* infernal *vantages*."

Milton's Harapha, as Mr. Warton observes, is as much a Gothick giant as any in Amadis de Gaul; and, like a Gothick giant, engages in an unjust cause against a virtuous champion. TODD.

Ver. 1138. ————— or *ruffled porcupines*.] Who can doubt that Milton here had Shakspeare in mind? *Hamlet*, A. i. S. viii.

"And each particular hair to stand on end,
 "Like quills upon the fretful porcupine." NEWTON.

Sam. I know no spells, use no forbidden arts;
 My trust is in the Living God, who gave me 1140
 At my nativity this strength, diffus'd
 No less through all my sinews, joints, and bones,
 Than thine, while I preserv'd these locks unshorn,
 The pledge of my unviolated vow.
 For proof hereof, if Dagon be thy god, 1145
 Go to his temple, invoke his aid
 With solemnest devotion, spread before him
 How highly it concerns his glory now
 To frustrate and dissolve these magick spells,
 Which I to be the power of Israel's God 1150
 Avow, and challenge Dagon to the test,
 Offering to combat thee his champion bold,
 With the utmost of his godhead seconded:
 Then thou shalt see, or rather to thy sorrow,
 Soon feel, whose God is strongest, thine or mine. 1155

Har. Presume not on thy God, whate'er he be;
 Thee he regards not, owns not, hath cut off
 Quite from his people, and deliver'd up
 Into thy enemies' hand, permitted them
 To put out both thine eyes, and fetter'd send thee 1160
 Into the common prison, there to grind
 Among the slaves and asses thy comrades,
 As good for nothing else; no better service
 With those thy boisterous locks, no worthy match
 For valour to assail, nor by the sword 1165

Ver. 1161. ————— *there to grind*

Among the slaves and asses thy comrades,] There can be no doubt that Milton had here Apuleius's description of a *pistrinum* in his mind. See *Met.* ix. ad init. where the ass, who is the speaker, says, "*Jam de meo jumentario contubernio quid, vel ad quem modum, memorem?*"

DUNSTER.

Ver. 1162. ————— *thy comrades,]* With the accent upon the last syllable, as in *Hen. IV.* P. i. A. iv. S. ii.

"And his *comrades* that daft the world aside,

"And bid it pass." NEWTON.

Ver. 1164. *With those thy boisterous locks,]* He uses *boisterous* in the same manner in his *Prose-Works*, vol. i. ed. 1698, p. 411. "A *boisterous* and bestial strength." So, in ver. 569, Samson's locks are called *robustious*.

TODD.

Of noble warrior, so to stain his honour,
But by the barber's razor best subdued.

Sams. All these indignities, for such they are
From thine, these evils I deserve, and more,
Acknowledge them from God inflicted on me 1170
Justly, yet despair not of his final pardon,
Whose ear is ever open, and his eye
Gracious to re-admit the suppliant :
In confidence whereof I once again
Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight, 1175
By combat to decide whose God is God,
Thine, or whom I with Israel's sons adore.

Har. Fair honour that thou dost thy God, in trusting
He will accept thee to defend his cause,
A Murderer, a Revolter, and a Robber ! 1180

Sams. Tongue-doughty Giant, how dost thou prove
me these ?

Har. Is not thy nation subject to our lords ?
Their magistrates confess'd it, when they took thee
As a league-breaker, and deliver'd bound
Into our hands : for hadst thou not committed 1185
Notorious murder on those thirty men
At Ascalon, who never did thee harm,
Then like a robber stripp'dst them of their robes ?

Ver. 1175. *Defy thee to the trial of mortal fight,*] Tasso, *Gier. Lib. C.* ii. 90.

"Ed a guerra mortal, disse, vi sfido." DUNSTER.

Ver. 1181. *Tongue-doughty Giant,*] Doughty, that is, *valiant*. See Skinner. *Ορασιότροπος*, Æschylus, *Septem contra Thebas*, v. 617.

RICHARDSON.

Compare Beaumont and Fletcher's *Pilgrim*, A. ii. S. iii.

"Leave your *tongue-valour*, and dispatch your haste."

And, as Mr. Dunster remarks, the *Little French lawyer* of the same authors, A. v. S. i.

"O brave *tongue-valiant* and vain-glorious woman."

See also *The Castle Combat*, 1635.

"Thou art nothing but *tongue-courage* now I see." TODD.

Ver. 1188. ——— *stripp'dst them of their robes ?*] In the text of the Bible it is "took their *spoil*," but in the margin "*apparel*." It has been supposed, that it was at some festival, either in the fields or in the city, when great companies met together, and appeared in their best apparel. TODD.

The Philistines, when thou had'st broke the league,
Went up with armed powers thee only seeking, 1190
To others did no violence nor spoil.

Sams. Among the daughters of the Philistines
I chose a wife, which argued me no foe ;
And in your city held my nuptial feast :
But your ill-meaning politician lords, 1195
Under pretence of bridal friends and guests,
Appointed to await me thirty spies,
Who, threatening cruel death, constrain'd the bride
To wring from me, and tell to them, my secret,
'That solv'd the riddle which I had propos'd. 1200
When I perceiv'd all set on enmity,
As on my enemies, wherever chanc'd,
I us'd hostility, and took their spoil,
'To pay my underminers in their coin.
My nation was subjected to your lords ; 1205
It was the force of conquest ; force with force
Is well ejected when the conquer'd can.
But I, a private person, whom my country
As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd
Single rebellion, and did hostile acts. 1210
I was no private, but a person rais'd
With strength sufficient, and command from Heaven,

Ver. 1196. Under pretence *of* bridal friends] The attendant young men at Samson's marriage, are said to have belonged to his wife's family, and not to have been, as was usual, his own relations or acquaintance. Josephus relates that, *under the pretence of honour*, they sent these thirty companions to watch over him, lest he should commit any disturbance. Quarles, in his *Hist. of Samson*, 1632, p. 307, follows this notion :

" They therefore, to prevent ensuing harmes,
Gave strict command, that thirty men of armes,
Under the maske of bridemen, should attend,
Vntill the nuptiall ceremonies end."

Bridal is Saxon for the nuptial feast. See a variety of curious illustrations in Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 128, note f. ; where the learned and ingenious writer observes, that the word has been applied adjectively, for *connubial*, and that Milton perhaps remembered or retained its original use in this passage, " Under pretence of *bridal* friends ;" that is " Under pretence of friends and guests invited to the *bridal*." But he adds, that Milton, in *Par. Lost*, speaks of the evening star hastening to light the "*bridal lamp*," which in another part of the same poem he calls the "*nuptial torch*." B. viii. 520, B. xi. 590. Todd.

To free my country ; if their servile minds
 Me, their deliverer sent, would not receive,
 But to their masters gave me up for nought, 1215
 The unworthier they ; whence to this day they serve.
 I was to do my part from Heaven assign'd,
 And had perform'd it, if my known offence
 Had not disabled me, not all your force :
 These shifts refuted, answer thy appellant, 1220
 Though by his blindness maim'd for high attempts,
 Who now defies thee thrice to single fight,
 As a petty enterprise of small enforce.

Har. With thee ! a man condemn'd, a slave inroll'd,
 Due by the law to capital punishment ! 1225
 To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.

Sams. Cam'st thou for this, vain boaster, to survey me,
 To descant on my strength, and give thy verdict ?
 Come nearer ; part not hence so slight inform'd ;
 But take good heed my hand survey not thee. 1230

Ver. 1220. ————— *answer thy appellant,*] *Thy challenger.*
 The *defendant*, in like manner, signifies the *person challenged*. Thus, in
 Shakspeare's *K. Hen. VI.* P. ii. A. ii. S. iii.

“ This is the day appointed for the combat ;

“ And ready are the *appellant* and *defendant*,

“ The armourer and his man.” TODD.

Ver. 1222. *Who now defies thee thrice*] This was the custom and the
 law of arms, to give the challenge and to sound the trumpet *thrice*. In
 allusion to the same practice Edgar appears, to fight with the Bastard, *by*
the third sound of the trumpet, *K. Lear*, A. v. S. vii. NEWTON.

Ver. 1226. *To fight with thee no man of arms will deign.*] Another al-
 lusion to the laws of the *Duello*, the old single-combat. “ They are *not*
to be admitted to prooffe by armes, who haue committed any treason against
 their prince or countrie, &c. To these we may also adde freebooters, and
 all such as for any military disorder are banished. Likewise all theeves,
 robbers, ruffians, tauerne-hunters, excommunicate persons, hereticks,
 vsurers, and all other persons, not liuing as a gentleman or a souldier :
 and in conclusion, all such as are defamed for any defecte, and are not
 allowed for witnesses in Ciuile law, &c. And of these I saye that not
 onely they are to bee refused vpon challenging another man, but all ho-
 nourable persons or gentlemen should abandon their companye, and
whosoeuer should fight with them should iniurie himselfe, making himselfe
equall with dishonourable persons.” Vincentio Saviolo, *Of Honor and ho-*
norable Quarrels, interlaced with sundrie and pleasant discourses, not
 vnfit for all Gentlemen and Captaines that professe armes, Lond. 1595,
 4to. From the chapter, entitled, *Who is not to be admitted to the* [*Duello*,
or] *prooffe of armes.*” TODD.

Har. O Baal-zebub! can my ears unus'd
Hear these dishonours, and not render death?

Sams. No man withholds thee, nothing from thy
hand

Fear I incurable; bring up thy van,
My heels are fetter'd, but my fist is free. 1235

Har. This insolence other kind of answer fits.

Sams. Go, baffled coward! lest I run upon thee,
Though in these chains, bulk without spirit vast,
And with one buffet lay thy structure low,
Or swing thee in the air, then dash thee down 1240
To the hazard of thy brains and shatter'd sides.

Har. By Astaroth, ere long thou shalt lament
These braveries, in irons loaden on thee. [*Exit.*]

Chor. His giantship is gone somewhat crest-fallen,
Stalking with less unconscionable strides, 1245
And lower looks, but in a sultry chafe.

Sams. I dread him not, nor all his giant brood,
Though Fame divulge him father of five sons,
All of gigantick size, Goliath chief.

Chor. He will directly to the lords, I fear, 1250
And with malicious counsel stir them up
Some way or other yet further to afflict thee.

Sams. He must allege some cause, and offer'd fight
Will not dare mention, lest a question rise

Ver. 1231. *O Baal-zebub!*] He is properly made to invoke *Baal-zebub*, as afterwards to swear by *Astaroth*; that is, the deities of the Philistines and neighbouring nations. NEWTON.

Ver. 1242. ——— *ere long thou shalt lament*

These braveries, &c.] This connects Harapha with the business of the drama, by making his revenge for the threatening and contemptuous language of Samson the cause, why the latter is to be brought before the publick assembly to make sport for them. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1248. *Though Fame divulge him*] So it plainly should be as Milton himself corrected it, and not *divulg'd* as it is in all the editions.

NEWTON

The error is corrected in Tonson's edit. of 1747. See also the note on *Paradise Reg.* B. iii. 62. TODD.

Ibid. ——— *father of five sons, &c.*] The story of Goliath of Gath is very well known; and the other four are mentioned 2 *Sam.* xxi. 15—22. "These four were born to the giant [or to *Harapha*] in Gath, and fell by the hand of David and by the hand of his servants." NEWTON.

Whether he durst accept the offer or not ; 1255
 And, that he durst not, plain enough appear'd.
 Much more affliction than already felt
 They cannot well impose, nor I sustain ;
 If they intend advantage of my labours, 1259
 The work of many hands, which earns my keeping
 With no small profit daily to my owners.
 But come what will, my deadliest foe will prove
 My speediest friend, by death to rid me hence ;
 The worst that he can give, to me the best.
 Yet so it may fall out, because their end 1265
 Is hate, not help to me, it may with mine
 Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.
Chor. Oh how comely it is, and how reviving
 To the spirits of just men long oppress'd !
 When God into the hands of their deliverer 1270
 Puts invincible might
 To quell the mighty of the earth, the oppressour,
 The brute and boisterous force of violent men,
 Hardy and industrious to support
 Tyrannick power, but raging to pursue 1275
 The righteous and all such as honour truth ;
 He all their ammunition
 And feats of war defeats,
 With plain heroick magnitude of mind
 And celestial vigour arm'd ; 1280
 Their armouries and magazines contemns,
 Renders them useless ; while
 With winged expedition,
 Swift as the lightning glance, he executes

Ver. 1278. *And feats of war defeats,*] The same kind of unpleasing jingle, as "*tempted our attempt*," Par. Lost, i. 642. TODD.

Ver. 1283. *With winged expedition,*] From Shakspeare, perhaps. See *K. Rich. III.* A. iv. S. iii.

"Then fiery *expedition* be my *wing*." TODD.

Ver. 1284. *Swift as the lightning glance he executes*
His errand] So, again in Shakspeare, *K. Rich. II.* A. i. S. iii.

"Be swift like *lightning*, in the *execution*." TODD.

His errand on the wicked, who, surpris'd, 1285
Lose their defence, distracted and amaz'd.

But patience is more oft the exercise
Of saints, the trial of their fortitude,
Making them each his own deliverer,
And victor over all 1290

That tyranny or fortune can inflict.
Either of these is in thy lot,
Samson, with might endued
Above the sons of men ; but sight bereav'd
May chance to number thee with those 1295
Whom patience finally must crown.

This idol's day hath been to thee no day of rest,
Labouring thy mind
More than the working day thy hands.
And yet perhaps more trouble is behind, 1300
For I descry this way
Some other tending ; in his hand
A scepter or quaint staff he bears,
Comes on amain, speed in his look.
By his habit I discern him now 1305
A publick officer, and now at hand ;
His message will be short and voluble.

[Enter] *Officer*.

Off. Hebrews, the prisoner Samson here I seek.

Chor. His manacles remark him, there he sits.

Off. Samson, to thee our lords thus bid me say ;
This day to Dagon is a solemn feast, 1311
With sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games :

Ver. 1288. *Of saints,*] The fanatical language of the republican party. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1309. ——— remark him,] *Distinguish* him, point him out. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1312. ——— sacrifices, triumph, pomp, &c.] *Triumphs* and *Shows*, such as masks, revels, &c. See *L' Allegro*, v. 120, and the note there. Bacon has an Essay, "*Of Masks and Triumphs*," Ess. xxxvii. And in his Essay, "*Of Buildings*," he directs a side of the house "for the Banquet, and a side for the Household: the one for Feasts and *Triumphs*, and the other for dwelling, &c." See also Ess. xlv. And

Thy strength they know surpassing human rate,
 And now some publick proof thereof require
 To honour this great feast, and great assembly; 1315
 Rise therefore with all speed, and come along,

in Bishop Fysher's funeral or commemorative Sermon on Margaret countess of Richmond, edit. Baker, 1708, p. 29. "For when the kynge her son was crowned, in all that great *tryumphe* [show] and glorye, she wept marveyulously; and lykewyse at the grete *tryumphe* of the marryage of prynce Arthur, &c." In the same sense we are to interpret Drayton, in the Epistle from king Edward to Jane Shore, v. i. p. 331.

"Where thou shalt sit, and from thy state shalt see
 "The tilts and *triumphs* that are done for thee."

So also Jonson, speaking of court-follies to be exhibited in a Mask, *Cynth. Rev.* A. iv. S. vi.

— "Holding true intelligence what follies
 "Had crept into her palace, shee resolv'd,
 "Of *sports* and *triumphs* under the pretext,
 "To have them muster'd in their *pomp* and fulnesse."

And Shakspeare, *Mids. N. Dr.* A. i. S. i.

"But I will wed thee in another key,
 "With *pomp*, with *triumph*, and with revelling."

Again, where a paraphrastick explanation of the word is added, *K. Hen. VI.* P. iii. A. v. S. vii.

"And now what rests, but that we spend the time
 "With stately *triumphs*, mirthful comick shows,
 "Such as befit the pleasures of the court."

And thus we perceive the precise meaning of Falstaff's humour to Bardolph. "O, thou art a perpetual *triumph*, an everlasting bonfire-light." *Pomp* has a peculiar and technical signification in some of these Shows of a romantick age. But I must further observe that Milton is often learned, when it is not suspected, and that both here and in other passages he has applied *pomp* in the appropriated sense which it bore to the Grecian festivals, where the ΠΟΜΠΗ, a principal part of the ceremony, was the spectacular procession. See ver. 435 of this tragedy. "Great *POMP* and *sacrifice*." And ver. 449. So, in *Par. Reg.* B. i. 457, where the subject is expressly Grecian; of the Delphick Apollo:

"And thou no more with *POMP* and *sacrifice*
 "Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere."

A *sacrifice*, mentioned also in the text, was another and a regular accompaniment of the Grecian festival. See Theocritus, *Idyll.* ii. 68, 72. And the notes on the Oxford edition, 1770, 4to. And in this *processional* sense, or under the idea of a solemn assembly, *pomp* is to be understood in *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 564, viii. 61. T. WARTON.

Ver. 1313. ————— rate,] In the first edition it was printed *race*, but in the table of Errata we are desired to read *rate*. No wonder the first reading is followed in all the editions, when it is sense; for it would have been followed in all probability, though it had made nonsense. NEWTON.

I must exempt from this remark the edition of Tonson in 1747, which reads "surpassing human *rate*." TODD.

Where I will see thee hearten'd, and fresh clad,
To appear, as fits, before the illustrious lords.

Sams. Thou know'st I am an Hebrew, therefore tell
them,

Our Law forbids at their religious rites 1320
My presence ; for that cause I cannot come.

Off. This answer, be assured, will not content them.

Sams. Have they not sword-players, and every sort

Ver. 1323. *Have they not sword-players, &c.*] Milton has here introduced the usual attendants at the old Festivities of his own country. He here alludes perhaps, not without contempt, to the *holiday-sports*, so frequent in the early part of the seventeenth century, which were abolished by the puritans, but in part revived at the restoration of Charles II. See more on this subject in the note on v. 1418.

The *sword-players*, or gladiators, of the ancient stage, are often mentioned by Prynne in his *Histrio-mastix*, 1633. But Milton may mean *fencing-masters*, or professors of the "*noble science of defence*," who were accustomed to display their skill, on publick stages, in the exercise of various kinds of swords, and other weapons. See Mr. Steevens's Note on *Merry Wives of Windsor*. A. ii. S. i. Shakspeare, edit. 1793, vol. iii. p. 327. We are not to forget, that *sword-dances* also were among the entertainments of the same period.

The *gymnick artists* are perhaps those who distinguished themselves in the athletick exhibition of leaping, tumbling, and casting the bar, as well as of *wrestling*, and contending for the prize at horse-races and foot-races ; *riding, running*.

The *juglers* were anciently included under the general name of *minstrels* : and were so called from the French *jongleur, juggleur*, Lat. *joculator, juglator*. See Dr. Percy's Essay on the ancient minstrels, Reliq. of Anc. Poetry, vol. i. They sang, to their instruments, verses composed by themselves or others. Cotgrave calls them "*rimers*." They are often mentioned by our old historians. The ancient *wrestlers, mimes, dancers, gladiators*, and the *gymnick artists*, "*tota jocularum scena*," are cited also from John of Salisbury, in Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. ii. p. 205. Milton, however, probably used the word here in the vulgar meaning of *jugglers*, i. e. those who practise slight of hand.

The *anticks* were buffoons in the old English farces with a blacked face and a patch-work habit. See the commentators on *Much ado about Nothing*, A. iii. S. i. Milton illustrates the meaning of the word in his *Apol. Smectymn*. "In the colleges so many of the young divines, and those in next aptitude to divinity, have bin scene so often upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergie-limbs to all the *ANTICK and dishonest gestures of Trinculos, buffoons, and bawds*."

The *mummers* were a set of persons, who went about at Christmas, in disguise, to get money or good cheer. Thus in Stubbes's *Anatomic of Abuses*, fol. 111. b. "But especially in Christmas tyme there is nothing els vsed but Cardes, Dice, Tables, Maskyng, *Mumming*, Bowling, and such like fooleries." And Minsheu says that the *mummers* were so called, because they made it a law among themselves, to say nothing but *mum*. See his *Guide into Tongues*, edit. 1627. See also the old *Tragicall Comedie of Damon and Pithias*, 4to. Sign. C. i.

"Good faith, sir, concernynge the people they are not gay,

"And, as farre as I see, they be *MUMMERS*; for nought they say."

Of gymnicks artists, wrestlers, riders, runners,
 Juglers, and dancers, anticks, mummers, mimicks, 1325
 But they must pick me out, with shackles tir'd
 And over-labour'd at their publick mill,
 To make them sport with blind activity?
 Do they not seek occasion of new quarrels
 On my refusal to distress me more, 1330
 Or make a game of my calamities?
 Return the way thou cam'st, I will not come.

Off. Regard thyself; this will offend them highly.

- * They appear to have been once a very formidable crew, by a statute enacted in the third year of Henry the 8th, concerning them: "Forasmuch as lately within this realm, divers persons have disguised and apparelled themselves, and covered their faces with visors or other things, in such manner as they should not be known; and divers of them in a company, naming themselves *mummers*, have come to the dwelling place of divers men of honour and substantial persons, and so departed unknown; whereupon murders, felony, rape, and other great hurts and inconveniences have afore-time grown, and hereafter be like to come by colour thereof, if the said disorder should continue not reformed: Be it enacted &c." The punishment is fine and imprisonment. Mr. Warton, in his note on *Comus*, v. 178, says the *mummers* were called *wassailers*. In Wolsey's entertainment of Henry the 8th were introduced "masquers and *mummers*, in such costly manner, that it was glorious to behold." See Cavendish's *Mem. of Wolsey*, p. 31. The *masquers* probably spoke in character; the *mummers* perhaps used only signs. See Shakspeare, *Coriol.* A. ii. S. i. "If you chance to be pinched with the colick, *you make faces like MUMMERS*." The *mummers at Christmas* still make their appearance in some parts of England, particularly in the North, both with recitation and in theatrick garb.

The *mimicks* were ludicrous characters on the stage, not unlike the *Vice* of the old English drama, according to Minsheu. That they were *actors* is evident from Dekker's *Gul's Horne-booke*, 1609, p. 31, where instruction is given "*How a gallant should behaue himselfe in a Play-house*—No matter whether the scenes be good or no; the better they are, the worse do you distast them: and, being on your feete, sneke not away like a coward, but salute all your gentle acquaintance, that are spred either on the rushes, or on stooles about you, and draw what troope you can from the stage after you: the *mimicks* are beholden to you, for allowing them elbow roome: their poet cries perhaps a pox go with you; but care not you for that; there's no musick without frets!"

In the first edition it is printed *mimirs*; and Doctor Newton says, "What are *mimirs*? The table of Errata to the first edition hath set us right, instructing us to read *mimicks*; but not one of the editions hath followed it." Yet Tonson's edition of 1747 has followed it; and so has a Dublin edition, by Grierson, in 1748. I think it curious to remark, that Dr. Johnson has given *mimir* a place in his Dictionary, as if it were a word of authority. Todd.

Ver. 1333. *Off.* Regard thyself; this will offend them highly.

Sams. *Myself? my conscience, and internal peace.*

Can they think me so broken, &c.] Compare the advice of Mercury to Prometheus, *Æschyl. Prom. Vincit.* v. 1041, edit. Schütz.

Sams. Myself? my conscience, and internal peace.
 Can they think me so broken, so debas'd 1335
 With corporal servitude, that my mind ever
 Will condescend to such absurd commands?
 Although their drudge, to be their fool or jester,
 And in my midst of sorrow and heart-grief
 To show them feats, and play before their god, 1340
 The worst of all indignities yet on me
 Join'd with extreme contempt? I will not come.

Off. My message was impos'd on me with speed,
 Brooks no delay: is this thy resolution? 1344

Sams. So take it with what speed thy message needs.

Off. I am sorry what this stoutness will produce.

[*Erit.*]

Sams. Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow indeed.

Chor. Consider, Samson; matters now are strain'd
 Up to the highth, whether to hold or break:
 He's gone, and who knows how he may report 1350
 Thy words by adding fuel to the flame?
 Expect another message more imperious,
 More lordly thundering than thou well wilt bear.

Sams. Shall I abuse this consecrated gift
 Of strength, again returning with my hair 1355
 After my great transgression; so requite

σὺ δὲ
 Πάπταινε καὶ φρόντιζε, μηδ' αἰθαδῖαν
 Εὐκουλίας ἀμείνον ἡγήσῃ ποτέ.

The Chorus commend the propriety of this advice; but Prometheus, unmoved, exhibits the same sternness as Samson:

Εἰδότες τοί μοι τάσδ' ἀγγελίας
 'Οὐδ' ἰθὺῦξεν, πάσχειν δὲ κακῶς
 'Εχθρὸν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν, οὐδὲν ἀεικίς, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

Ver. 1347. *Perhaps thou shalt have cause to sorrow indeed.*] Here the catastrophe is anticipated, as before, v. 1266.

“it may with mine
 “Draw their own ruin who attempt the deed.”

And such anticipations are usual with the best dramatick writers, who, knowing their own plan, open it by degrees, and drop such hints as cannot be perfectly comprehended, till they are fully explained by the event. The speaker himself can only be supposed to have some general meaning, and not a distinct conception of all the particulars; somewhat like the high-priest in the Gospel, who prophesied without his knowing it.

NEWTON.

Favour renew'd, and add a greater sin
 By prostituting holy things to idols?
 A Nazarite in place abominable
 Vaunting my strength in honour to their Dagon! 1360
 Besides, how vile, contemptible, ridiculous,
 What act more execrably unclean, profane!

Ch. Yet with this strength thou serv'st the Philistines,
 Idolatrous, uncircumcis'd, unclean.

Sams. Not in their idol-worship, but by labour 1365
 Honest and lawful to deserve my food
 Of those, who have me in their civil power.

Ch. Where the heart joins not, outward acts defile not.

Sams. Where outward force constrains, the sentence
 holds.

But who constrains me to the temple of Dagon, 1370
 Not dragging? the Philistian lords command.

Commands are no constraints. If I obey them,
 I do it freely, venturing to displease
 God for the fear of man, and man prefer,
 Set God behind: which in his jealousy 1375
 Shall never, unrepented, find forgiveness.

Yet that he may dispense with me, or thee,
 Present in temples at idolatrous rites
 For some important cause, thou need'st not doubt.

Chor. How thou wilt here come off surmounts my
 reach. 1380

Sams. Be of good courage; I begin to feel
 Some rousing motions in me, which dispose
 To something extraordinary my thoughts.
 I with this messenger will go along,

Ver. 1377. *Yet that he may dispense &c.*] Milton here probably had in view the story of Naaman the Syrian begging a *dispensation* of this sort from Elisha, which he seemingly grants him. See 2 *Kings* v. 18, 19.
 THYER.

Ver. 1384. *I with this messenger will go along,*] With what messenger? It was not expressly said before that the messenger was coming; it was implied indeed in what the Chorus had said,

"How thou wilt here come off surmounts my reach:"

And this might very well be understood by a man, who could see the messenger coming as well as the Chorus, but seems hardly a sufficient in-

Nothing to do, be sure, that may dishonour 1385
Our Law, or stain my vow of Nazarite.

If there be aught of presage in the mind,
This day will be remarkable in my life
By some great act, or of my days the last. 1389

Chor. In time thou hast resolv'd, the man returns.

Off. Samson, this second message from our lords
To thee I am bid say. Art thou our slave,
Our captive, at the publick mill our drudge,
And dar'st thou at our sending and command
Dispute thy coming? come without delay; 1395
Or we shall find such engines to assail
And hamper thee, as thou shalt come of force,
Though thou wert firmlier fasten'd than a rock.

Sams. I could be well content to try their art,
Which to no few of them would prove pernicious. 1400
Yet, knowing their advantages too many,
Because they shall not trail me through their streets
Like a wild beast, I am content to go.
Masters' commands come with a power resistless
To such as owe them absolute subjection; 1405
And for a life who will not change his purpose?
(So mutable are all the ways of men;)

timation to a blind man, unless we suppose him to know that the messenger was coming by the same impulse, that he felt rousing him to something extraordinary. NEWTON.

But the Chorus had also said, v. 1352, after the Officer is departed, "*Expect* another message more imperious, &c." These words of Samson may perhaps be considered, therefore, as an *expectation* of the return of the Officer, and his determination how to act accordingly. TODD.

Ver. 1387. *If there be aught of presage in the mind,*] Euripides, *Andromache*, v. 1075.

————— *πρόμαντις θυμός ὥς τι προσέοικε.* TODD.

Ver. 1404. *Masters' commands* &c.] This was a feint: but it had betrayed itself had it not been covered by v. 1408.

"Yet this be sure, &c." WARBURTON.

But this last passage must have been intended by the author to be addressed only to the Chorus: The Officer certainly answers Samson's speech, as if he had not heard these words. And as to the verses 1404 and 1405 before us, they are in fact so far from being a feint, that they are marked with the most indignant spirit of irony; indeed so palpable, as to require what follows (*And for a life* &c.) to soften it down to the messenger. DUNSTER.

Yet this be sure, in nothing to comply
Scandalous or forbidden in our Law.

Off. I praise thy resolution : doff these links : 1410
By this compliance thou wilt win the lords
To favour, and perhaps to set thee free.

Sams. Brethren, farewell ; your company along
I will not wish, lest it perhaps offend them
To see me girt with friends ; and how the sight 1415
Of me, as of a common enemy,
So dreaded once, may now exasperate them,
I know not : lords are lordliest in their wine ;

Ver. 1410. *I praise thy resolution :*] That is, of going ; not what he had said last. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ————— doff these links :] Put off these links. He uses this old word in his *Ode on the Nativ.* ver. 33. Thus Shakspeare, *Troil. and Cress.* A. v. S. iii. “Doff thy harness, youth.” And Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. vi. 23. “Ne doffe her armes, though he her much besought.” TODD.

Ver. 1418. ————— lords are lordliest in their wine ;
And the well-feasted priest then soonest fir'd
With zeal, if aught religion seem concern'd ;
No less the people, on their holy-days,
Impetuous, insolent, &c.] Milton here insinuates, that *holy-days* are of heathen institution. The passage is a concealed attack on the church of England. But he first expresses his contempt of a Nobility, and an opulent Clergy, that is, Lords both spiritual and temporal, who by no means coincided with his levelling and narrow principles of republicanism and calvinism ; and whom he tacitly compares with the lords and priests of the idol Dagon. T. WARTON.

In a passage concerning *holy-days*, he had before openly compared the Clergy to the “hireling priest Balaam,” seeking to draw the Israelites from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald *feasts* of Baal-peor.” *Of Reformation*, 1641, B. ii. This was written, while the controversy subsisted between the calvinists and the hierarchy, respecting the liberty which the book, published by the bishops in 1618, entitled “A Declaration to encourage Recreations and Sports on the Lord’s Day,” had given to the country-people, in the exercise of their rural diversions on Sundays after divine service, and on *holy-days*. These, says Mr. Warton, were Dancing, Archery, Leaping, Vaulting, and other similar harmless games. Prynne had pronounced the holy-day celebrities “a damnable custome taken from the Pagans,” *Histrio-Mastix*, 1633, p. 222, and “heathenish pastimes,” p. 240. Jonson points at these “*sourer sort* of shepherds,” it has been remarked, in his *Sad Shepherd*, 1640, A. i. S. iv.

“They call ours *Pagan pastimes*, that infect

“Our blood with ease, &c.”

I cite the passage which precedes Milton’s comparison already given. “That men should be pluck’t from their soberest and saddest thoughts, and by bishops, the pretended fathers of the Church, instigated by publick edict [The Book of Sports], and with earnest endeavour pusht forward to gaming, jiggling, wassailing, and mixt dancing, is a horror to think.”

And the well-feasted priest then soonest fir'd
 With zeal, if aught religion seem concern'd ; 1420
 No less the people, on their holy-days,
 Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable :
 Happen what may, of me expect to hear
 Nothing dishonourable, impure, unworthy
 Our God, our Law, my Nation, or myself, 1425
 The last of me or no I cannot warrant.

Chor. Go, and the Holy One

Of Israel be thy guide
 To what may serve his glory best, and spread his Name
 Great among the Heathen round ; 1430
 Send thee the Angel of thy birth, to stand
 Fast by thy side, who from thy father's field
 Rode up in flames after his message told
 Of thy conception, and be now a shield
 Of fire ; that Spirit, that first rush'd on thee 1435
 In the camp of Dan,
 Be efficacious in thee now at need !
 For never was from Heaven imparted
 Measure of strength so great to mortal seed,
 As in thy wonderous actions hath been seen. — 1440
 But wherefore comes old Manoah in such haste
 With youthful steps ? much livelier than ere while
 He seems ; supposing here to find his son,
 Or of him bringing to us some glad news ?

[Enter] *Manoah*.

Man. Peace with you, Brethren ; my inducement
 hither 1445

Of Ref. ut supr. By the way, *mist dancing* seems to have given great offence to the puritans : Stubbs, in his *Anatomic of Abuses*, had particularly noticed the *unlawfulness* of dauncing of men and women together," p. 103. b. And Prynne repeatedly reprobates "the *mist dancing* at Church-Ales and Maypoles, &c." in his *Histrio-Mastix*. Hence we perceive the meaning in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 768.

— " court-amours,
 " *Mix'd dance*, or wanton mask, or midnight ball." Todd.

Ver. 1434. — and be now a shield
Of fire ;] See Mr. Warton's note on *Comus*, ver. 658.

Todd.

Was not at present here to find my son,
 By order of the lords now parted hence
 To come and play before them at their feast.
 I heard all as I came, the city rings,
 And numbers thither flock : I had no will, 1450
 Lest I should see him forc'd to things unseemly.
 But that, which mov'd my coming now, was chiefly
 To give ye part with me what hope I have
 With good success to work his liberty. 1454

Chor. That hope would much rejoice us to partake
 With thee ; say, reverend Sire, we thirst to hear.

Man. I have attempted one by one the lords
 Either at home, or through the high street passing,
 With supplication prone and father's tears,
 To accept of ransom for my son their prisoner. 1460
 Some much averse I found and wonderous harsh,
 Contemptuous, proud, set on revenge and spite ;
 That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests :
 Others more moderate seeming, but their aim
 Private reward, for which both God and State 1465
 They easily would set to sale : a third
 More generous far and civil, who confess'd
 They had enough reveng'd ; having reduc'd
 Their foe to misery beneath their fears,
 The rest was magnanimity to remit, 1470
 If some convenient ransom were propos'd.
 What noise or shout was that ? it tore the sky.

Chor. Doubtless the people shouting to behold

Ver. 1463. *That part most reverenc'd Dagon and his priests :*] Milton, I doubt not, in this place indulges that inveterate spleen, which he always had against publick and established religion. He might also perhaps, in this description of Manoah's application for Samson's deliverance, glance at his own case after the Restoration. *THYER.*

Ver. 1464. *Others more moderate seeming, &c.*] The Presbyterian party, who had joined the royalists and courtiers. *DUNSTER.*

Ver. 1472. ————— *it tore the sky.*] So, in *Par. Lost*, B. i. 542.

“ A shout that tore hell's concave.”

Which Pope has copied, *Iliad* xiii. 1059.

“ A shout that tore heaven's concave.” *TODD.*

Their once great dread, captive, and blind before them,
Or at some proof of strength before them shown. 1475

Man. His ransom, if my whole inheritance
May compass it, shall willingly be paid
And number'd down : much rather I shall choose
To live the poorest in my tribe, than richest,
And he in that calamitous prison left. 1480
No, I am fix'd not to part hence without him.
For his redemption all my patrimony,
If need be, I am ready to forego
And quit : not wanting him, I shall want nothing.

Chor. Fathers are wont to lay up for their sons, 1485
Thou for thy son art bent to lay out all ;
Sons wont to nurse their parents in old age,
Thou in old age car'st how to nurse thy son,
Made older than thy age through eye-sight lost.

Man. It shall be my delight to tend his eyes, 1490
And view him sitting in the house, ennobled
With all those high exploits by him achiev'd,
And on his shoulders waving down those locks
That of a nation arm'd the strength contain'd ;
And I persuade me, God had not permitted 1495
His strength again to grow up with his hair,
Garrison'd round about him like a camp
Of faithful soldiery, were not his purpose

Ver. 1490. *It shall be my delight &c.*] The character of a fond parent is extremely well supported in the person of Manoah quite through the whole performance ; but there is in my opinion something particularly natural and moving in this speech. The circumstance of the old man's feeding and soothing his fancy with the thoughts of tending his son, and contemplating him, ennobled with so many famous exploits, is vastly expressive of the doating fondness of an old father. Nor is the poet less to be admired for his making Manoah, under the influence of this pleasing imagination, go on still further, and flatter himself even with the hopes of God's restoring his eyes again. Hope as naturally arises in the mind in such a situation, as doubts and fears do when it is overclouded with gloominess and melancholy. *THYER.*

Ver. 1494. *That of a nation arm'd the strength contain'd ;*) So Ovid, of Nisus, *Met.* viii. 8.

— "cui splendidus ostro
"Inter honoratos medio de vertice canos
"Crinis inharebat, magni fiducia regni." *TODD.*

To use him further yet in some great service ;
 Not to sit idle with so great a gift 1500
 Useless, and thence ridiculous about him.

And since his strength with eye-sight was not lost,
 God will restore him eye-sight to his strength.

Chor. Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor seem vain
 Of his delivery, and thy joy thereon 1505
 Conceiv'd, agreeable to a father's love,
 In both which we, as next, participate.

Man. I know your friendly minds and—O what noise!
 Mercy of Heaven ! what hideous noise was that ?
 Horribly loud, unlike the former shout. 1510

Chor. Noise call you it, or universal groan,
 As if the whole inhabitation perish'd !
 Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noise,

Ver. 1504. *Thy hopes are not ill founded, nor seem vain*

Of his delivery,] This is very proper, and becoming the gravity of the Chorus, as much as to intimate that his other hopes were fond and extravagant. And the art of the poet cannot be sufficiently admired in raising the hopes and expectations of his persons to the highest pitch, just before the dreadful catastrophe. How great and how sudden is the change from good to bad ! The one renders the other more striking and affecting. NEWTON.

Ver. 1508. ———— *and—O what noise ! &c.]* It must be very pleasing to the reader to observe with what art and judgement Milton prepares him for the relation of the catastrophe of this tragedy. This abrupt start of Manoah upon hearing the hideous noise, and the description of it by the Chorus in their answer, in terms so full of dread and terror, naturally fill the mind with a presaging horror proper for the occasion. This is still kept up by their suspense and reasoning about it, and at last raised to a proper pitch by the frightened and distracted manner of the Messenger's coming in, and his hesitation and backwardness in telling what had happened. What gives it the greater strength and beauty is the sudden transition from that soothing and flattering prospect, with which Manoah was entertaining his thoughts, to a scene so totally opposite. THYER.

Nothing can be more impressive, more calculated to excite pity, than the revolution of Samson's fate, which is now developed. For, as a learned writer observes, "while every thing appears tending to *his release*, a horrible crash announces *his destruction*." See Harris's Philolog. Inq. Part ii. p. 209. TODD.

Ver. 1512. ———— *inhabitation]* Οἰκουμένη. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1513. *Blood, death, and deathful deeds, are in that noise,]* Like the reply of the Chorus to Electra in the tragedy of that name by Euripides, on her inquiring concerning the dreadful noise they had heard, ver. 722. edit. Barnes.

Οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἐν, ΦΟΝΙΟΝ ΟΙΜΩΓΗΝ κλέω. TODD.

Ruin, destruction at the utmost point.

Man. Of ruin indeed methought I heard the noise :
Oh ! it continues, they have slain my son. 1516

Chor. Thy son is rather slaying them ; that outcry
From slaughter of one foe could not ascend.

Man. Some dismal accident it needs must be ;
What shall we do, stay here or run and see ? 1520

Chor. Best keep together here, lest, running thither,
We unawares run into danger's mouth.
This evil on the Philistines is fallen ;
From whom could else a general cry be heard ?
The sufferers then will scarce molest us here ; 1525
From other hands we need not much to fear.
What if, his eye-sight (for to Israel's God
Nothing is hard) by miracle restor'd,
He now be dealing dole among his foes,
And over heaps of slaughter'd walk his way ? 1530

Ver. 1514. ————— *at the utmost point.*] Al ultimo segno.

RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1521. *Best keep together here, lest, &c.*] In this passage, as is constantly the practice of Sophocles and Euripides, a reason is assigned for the Chorus continuing on the stage. There should always be a reason for the exit and entrance of every person in the drama.

JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 1527. *What if, his eye-sight &c.*] The Chorus here entertains the same pleasing hope of Samson's *eye-sight* being *by miracle restored*, which he had before tacitly reproved in Manoah ; and Manoah, who had before encouraged the same hope in himself, now desponds, and reckons it *presumptuous* in another. Such changes of our thoughts are natural and common, especially in any change of our situation and circumstances. Fear and hope usually succeed each other, like ague and fever. And it was not a slight observation of mankind, that could have enabled Milton to have understood, and described, the human passions so exactly.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1529. *He now be dealing dole among his foes,*] See Warner's *Albion's England*, 1602, p. 10.

" The Centaures shew them valorous, so did Ixion stout,

" And braue Ganymedes did *deale* his balefull *dole* about."

Again, in the translation of *Orlando Innamorato*, three first books, 1598, where the phrase is applied to a warrior :

" Thus Ferraw, brauo-like, doth *deale* his *dole*,"

Again, in Edm. Eluiden's metrical *Historie of Pesistratus and Catanea*, 12mo. bl. l. imprint. at Lond. by H. Bynneman :

" To view the desperate *dole* of force,

" And fiercenesse of their fight."

Man. That were a joy presumptuous to be thought.

Chor. Yet God hath wrought things as incredible
For his people of old ; what hinders now ?

Man. He can, I know, but doubt to think he will ;
Yet hope would fain subscribe, and tempts belief. 1535
A little stay will bring some notice hither.

Chor. Of good or bad so great, of bad the sooner ;
For evil news rides post, while good news bates.
And to our wish I see one hither speeding,
An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe. 1540

[Enter] *Messenger.*

Mess. O whither shall I run, or which way fly
The sight of this so horrid spectacle,
Which erst my eyes beheld, and yet behold ?
For dire imagination still pursues me.
But providence or instinct of nature seems, 1545

Nor is Spenser's description dissimilar, *Faer. Qu. v. xi. 45.*

“ *Dealing his dreadful blowes with large dispence,*
“ *Gainst which the pallid death finds no defence.*”

And in the next line, from the description of Talus by Spenser in the same book, C. vii. st. 36, there appears to be a remembrance

“ *of the heaps which he did make*
“ *Of slaughter'd carcasses.*” TODD.

Ver. 1536. *A little stay will bring some notice hither.*] The text of the first edition wants the nine lines preceding this, and the line that follows it : but they are supplied in the Errata. This line, in that edition, is in the part of the Chorus, as I think it ought to be ; and so is the next but one, in that and all the editions ; though it seems to belong rather to Manoah. The line between them, which is wanting (as I just now observed) in the text of the first edition, is given, in the Errata and in all the editions since, to the Chorus ; but the poet certainly intended both them and Manoah a share in it.

Chor. “ A little stay will bring some notice hither
“ Of good or bad so great.

Man. Of bad the sooner !

“ For evil news rides post, while good news bates.

Chor. “ And to our wish I see one hither speeding,
“ An Hebrew, as I guess, and of our tribe.” CALTON.

Ver. 1538. *For evil news rides post.*] So, in Statius :

“ *Spargitur in turmas solito pernicioꝝ index*
“ *Cum lugenda refert.*” TODD.

Ver. 1541. *O whither &c.*] Compare the introduction and exclamation of the messenger in the *Persæ* of Æschylus, and in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. TODD.

Or reason though disturb'd, and scarce consulted,
 To have guided me aright, I know not how,
 To thee first, reverend Manoah, and to these
 My countrymen, whom here I knew remaining,
 As at some distance from the place of horreur, 1550
 So in the sad event too much concern'd.

Man. The accident was loud, and here before thee
 With rueful cry, yet what it was we hear not ;
 No preface needs, thou seest we long to know. 1554

Mess. It would burst forth, but I recover breath
 And sense distract, to know well what I utter.

Man. Tell us the sum, the circumstance defer.

Mess. Gaza yet stands, but all her sons are fallen,
 All in a moment overwhelm'd and fallen. 1559

Man. Sad, but thou know'st to Israelites not saddest
 The desolation of a hostile city.

Mess. Feed on that first ; there may in grief be surfeit.

Ver. 1552. ————— and here before thee] Here again the old error was carefully preserved through all the editions. In the first edition it was printed "and *heard* before thee ;" but we have corrected it, as Milton himself corrected it in the table of Errata, to which correction as well as the rest no regard was paid in any edition, though it improves the sense greatly. NEWTON.

Yet the edition of 1747, by Tonson, had, in most instances of error, paid regard to Milton's corrections ; and now reads "and *here* before thee." TODD.

Ver. 1554. *No preface needs,*] No preface is wanting. *Needs* is a verb neuter here, as in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 80. Where see the note.

NEWTON.

Ver. 1556. *And sense distract,*] The word is used likewise as an adjective in Shakspeare. *Jul. Cæs.* A. iv. S. iv.

—————"with this she fell *distract*,

"And (her attendants absent) swallow'd fire."

And in *Twelfth Night*, A. v. S. v. NEWTON.

Ver. 1562. *Feed on that first ; there may in grief be surfeit.*] Compare the Song in the old comedy of *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*, 4to. 1589, bl. letter ;

"Goe walke the path of plaint, goe wander wretched now,

"In vncloth waies, blind corners, fit for such a wretch as thou :

"There *feed upon thy woe* ; fresh thoughts shalbe thy fire,

"Musing shalbe thy waiting maide, thy carver shalbe Care."

And Shakspeare, *Two Gent. of Veron.* A. iii. S. i.

—————"I have *fed upon this woe* already,

"And now *excess of it will make me surfeit.*"

Thus also Carew, in his *Verses to the Countess of Angelsea* : —

Man. Relate by whom.

Mess. By Samson.

Man. That still lessens
The sorrow, and converts it nigh to joy. 1564

Mess. Ah! Manoah, I refrain too suddenly
To utter what will come at last too soon ;
Lest evil tidings with too rude irruption
Hitting thy aged ear should pierce too deep. 1568

Man. Suspense in news is torture, speak them out.

Mess. Take then the worst in brief, Samson is dead.

Man. The worst indeed! O all my hopes defeated
To free him hence! but death, who sets all free,
Hath paid his ransom now and full discharge.
What windy joy this day had I conceiv'd
Hopeful of his delivery, which now proves 1575
Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring

"Yet since you *surfeit on your grief*, 'tis fit
"I tell the world &c."

Petrarch has the expression "*Pascomi di dolor*," *Sonet.* civ. parte 1^{ma}.

TODD.

Ver. 1565. ————— *I refrain &c.*] The reader cannot fail to observe, and to feel, the art of the poet in very gradually unfolding the catastrophe. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 1570. ————— *Samson is dead.*] With the affecting brevity of Homer, *Κεῖται Πάτροκλος*. See also the *Electra* of Sophocles, *Τέθνηκε Ὀρέστης*, κ. τ. λ. TODD.

Ver. 1576. *Abortive as the first-born bloom of spring &c.*] As Mr. Thyer says, this similitude is to be admired for its remarkable justness and propriety: One cannot possibly imagine a more exact and perfect image of the dawning hope, which Manoah had conceived from the favourable answer he had met with from some of the Philistian lords, and of its being so suddenly extinguished by this return of ill fortune, than that of the early bloom, which the warmth of a few fine days frequently pushes forward in the spring, and then it is cut off by an unexpected return of winterly weather. As Mr. Warburton observes, this beautiful passage seems to be taken from Shakespeare, *Henry VIII.* A. iii. S. ii.

"This is the state of man: To-day he puts forth
"The tender leaves of hope, to-morrow blossoms,
"And bears his blushing honours thick upon him:
"The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost;
"And, when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
"His greatness is a-ripening, nips his root:
"And then he falls, as I do."

Upon which Mr. Warburton remarks, that as spring-frosts are not injurious to the *roots* of fruit-trees, he should imagine the poet wrote *shoot*, that is, the tender *shoot* on which are the young *leaves* and *blossoms*.

Nipt with the lagging rear of winter's frost !
 Yet ere I give the reins to grief, say first,
 How died he ; death to life is crown or shame.
 All by him fell, thou say'st ; by whom fell he ? 1580
 What glorious hand gave Samson his death's wound ?

Mess. Unwounded of his enemies he fell.

Man. Wearied with slaughter then, or how ? explain.

Mess. By his own hands.

Man. Self-violence ? what cause
 Brought him so soon at variance with himself 1585
 Among his foes ?

Mess. Inevitable cause
 At once both to destroy, and be destroy'd ;
 The edifice, where all were met to see him,
 Upon their heads and on his own he pull'd.

Man. O lastly over-strong against thyself ! 1590
 A dreadful way thou took'st to thy revenge.
 More than enough we know ; but while things yet
 Are in confusion, give us, if thou canst,
 Eye-witness of what first or last was done,
 Relation more particular and distinct. 1595

Mess. Occasions drew me early to this city ;

The comparison, as well as expression of *nips*, is juster too in this reading. Shakspeare has the same thought in *Love's Labour Lost*.

“ Byron is like an envious sneaping frost,

“ That bites the first-born infants of the spring.” NEWTON.

See also *Titus Andronicus*, A. iv. S. iv.

“ These tidings nip me, and I hang the head

“ As *flowers with frost*, or grass beat down with storms.” TODD.

Ver. 1596. *Occasions drew me early &c.*] As I observed before, that Milton had, with great art, excited the reader's attention to this grand event, so here he is no less careful to gratify it by the relation. It is circumstantial, as the importance of it required, but not so as to be tedious or too long to delay our expectation. It would be found difficult, I believe, to retrench one article without making it defective, or to add one which should not appear redundant. The picture of Samson in particular *with head inclin'd and eyes fix'd*, as if he was addressing himself to that God, who had given him such a measure of strength, and was summing up all his force and resolution, has a very fine effect upon the imagination. Milton is no less happy in the sublimity of his description of this grand exploit, than judicious in the choice of the circumstances preceding it. The poetry rises as the subject becomes more interesting : and one may without rant or extravagance say, that the poet seems to exert no less force of genius in describing, than Samson does strength of body in executing. TYLER.

And, as the gates I enter'd with sun-rise,
 The morning trumpets festival proclaim'd
 Through each high street : little I had dispatch'd,
 When all abroad was rumour'd that this day 1600
 Samson should be brought forth, to show the people
 Proof of his mighty strength in feats and games ;
 I sorrow'd at his captive state, but minded
 Not to be absent at that spectacle.
 The building was a spacious theatre 1605
 Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high,
 With seats where all the lords, and each degree
 Of sort, might sit in order to behold ;
 The other side was open, where the throng
 On banks and scaffolds under sky might stand ; 1610
 I among these aloof obscurely stood.
 The feast and noon grew high, and sacrifice
 Had fill'd their hearts with mirth, high cheer, and wine,
 When to their sports they turn'd. Immediately
 Was Samson as a publick servant brought, 1615
 In their state livery clad ; before him pipes
 And timbrels, on each side went armed guards,
 Both horse and foot, before him and behind

Ver. 1604. ——— *absent at that spectacle.*] The language would be more correct, if it was “*absent from that spectacle.*” NEWTON.

Ver. 1605. *The building was a spacious theatre*

Half-round, on two main pillars vaulted high, &c.] Milton has finely accounted for this dreadful catastrophe, and has with great judgement obviated the common objection. It is commonly asked, how so great a building, containing so many thousands of people, could rest upon two pillars so near placed together : and to this it is answered, that instances are not wanting of far more large and capacious buildings than this, that have been supported only by one pillar. Particularly, Pliny in the 15th chapter of the 36th book of his natural history, mentions two theatres built by one C. Curio, who lived in Julius Cæsar's time ; each of which was supported only by one pillar, or pin, or hinge, though very many thousands of people did sit in it together. See Poole's *Annotations*. Mr. Thyer further adds, that Dr. Shaw, in his *Travels*, observing upon the eastern method of building says, that the place where they exhibit their diversions at this day is an advanced cloister, made in the fashion of a large penthouse, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else at the center ; and that, upon a supposition therefore that, in the house of Dagon, there was a cloistered structure of this kind, the pulling down the front or center pillars only which supported it would be attended with the like catastrophe that happened to the Philistines. See Shaw's *Travels*, p. 283. NEWTON.

Archers, and slingers, cataphracts, and spears.
 At sight of him the people with a shout 1620
 Rifted the air, clamouring their god with praise,
 Who had made their dreadful enemy their thrall.
 He patient, but undaunted, where they led him,
 Came to the place ; and what was set before him,
 Which without help of eye might be assay'd, 1625
 To heave, pull, draw, or break, he still perform'd
 All with incredible, stupendious force ;
 None daring to appear antagonist.
 At length for intermission sake they led him
 Between the pillars ; he his guide requested 1630
 (For so from such as nearer stood we heard)
 As over-tir'd to let him lean a while
 With both his arms on those two massy pillars,
 That to the arched roof gave main support.
 He, unsuspecting, led him ; which when Samson 1635
 Felt in his arms, with head awhile inclin'd,
 And eyes fast fix'd he stood, as one who pray'd,

Ver. 1619. *Archers*] The poet introduces *archers* into the procession ; as the invention of the bow and arrow is ascribed to the Philistines. See *The Univ. Hist.* TODD.

Ibid. ——— *cataphracts*] That is, men and horses in armour. "*Cataphracti equites dicuntur, qui et ipsi ferro muniti sunt, et equos similiter munitos habent.*" Servius in *Virg. Æn.* xi. 770. The word had been before employed in English poetry. See Lisle's *Faire Æthiopian*, 4to. 1631. p. 150.

"The *archers* follow nimble, and arm'd light—

"And after them came other bowes and *slings*, &c.

"His strong phalanges march on either side ;

"And troops of *cataphracts* before him ride." TODD.

Ver. 1627. ——— *stupendious*] The old word, preserved here in Milton's own edition, as also in *Par. L.* B. x. 351. So in Harington's *Orl. Fur.* 1607, p. 238.

"The same, with other like *stupendious* deeds,

"He put in practice &c." TODD.

Ver. 1634. *That to the arched roof gave &c.*] Milton, we see, retains, in his last production, his early attachment to this kind of ancient architecture. Thus, in his *Ode Nativ.* st. xix. "Runs through the *arched roof* &c." Again, in *Il Pens.* v. 157. "And love the high *embowed roof*." See also *Par. Lost*, B. i. 726. "From the *arched roof* &c." I must observe, however, that Quarles, in his poetical *Hist. of Samson*, relates the same circumstance of the building in which Samson displayed his strength, and fell, edit. 1632, p. 378.

—————"her *arched roofe* was all

"Builded with massie stone." TODD.

Ver. 1637. *And eyes fast fix'd he stood,*] Samson having had his eyes

Or some great matter in his mind revolv'd :
 At last with head erect thus cried aloud ;
 " Hitherto, Lords, what your commands impos'd 1640
 " I have perform'd, as reason was, obeying,
 " Not without wonder or delight beheld :
 " Now of my own accord such other trial
 " I mean to show you of my strength, yet greater,
 " As with amaze shall strike all who behold." 1645
 This utter'd, straining all his nerves he bow'd ;
 As with the force of winds and waters pent,
 When mountains tremble, those two massy pillars
 With horrible convulsion to and fro 1649
 He tugg'd, he shook, till down they came and drew
 The whole roof after them, with burst of thunder
 Upon the heads of all who sat beneath,
 Lords, ladies, captains, counsellors, or priests,
 Their choice nobility and flower, not only
 Of this, but each Philistian city round, 1655
 Met from all parts to solemnize this feast.
 Samson, with these immix'd, inevitably
 Pull'd down the same destruction on himself ;
 The vulgar only 'scap'd who stood without.

put out, this only means to describe his attitude, by his countenance being fixed on the ground, as it must be when " his head was inclined." *Eyes fast fix'd* is a classical phrase. Hom. Il. γ. 218. κατὰ ὄλονος ΟΜΜΑΤΑ ΠΗΞΑΣ. And see Ovid, *Epist. Her.* vi. 26. The exact expressions of *head inclin'd* and *eyes fast fix'd* occur in Persius, *Sat.* iii. 79.

" non ego curo
 " Esse quod Arcesilas, ærumnosique Solones,
 " *Obstipo capite et figentes lumine terram.*" DUNSTER.

Ver. 1645. *As with amaze shall strike* &c.] I am not without a painful suspicion, that there is an intended pun in the word *strike*. It too much resembles the language of the evil angels, in the sixth book of *Paradise Lost*, on producing their artillery and witnessing the successful effect of it. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1647. *As with the force of winds and waters pent,*
When mountains tremble,] Compare the simile in *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 195, &c. TODD.

Ver. 1649. *With horrible convulsion*] In several editions it is printed *confusion*, but Mr. Thyer, Mr. Sympson, and every body, saw that it should be *convulsion*; and so it is in Milton's own edition: And in the next line it should not be "He tugg'd, he *took*," as it is absurdly in some editions, but "He tugg'd, he *shook*," as in the first edition. NEWTON.

Both the errors, noticed in the preceding remark, are rectified in Tounson's edition of 1747. TODD.

Chor. O dearly-bought revenge, yet glorious! 1660
 Living or dying thou hast fulfill'd
 The work for which thou wast foretold
 To Israel, and now ly'st victorious
 Among thy slain self-kill'd,
 Not willingly, but tangled in the fold 1665
 Of dire necessity, whose law in death conjoin'd
 Thee with thy slaughter'd foes, in number more
 Than all thy life had slain before.

1. *Semi.* While their hearts were jocund and sublime,
 Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine, 1670
 And fat regorg'd of bulls and goats,
 Chanting their idol, and preferring
 Before our Living Dread who dwells
 In Silo, his bright sanctuary :

Ver. 1660. *O dearly bought revenge, &c.*] It is judicious to make the Chorus and Semi-Chorus speak after this dreadful account of Samson's death, and not his father Manoah, who makes no answer till after a considerable pause, as he may be supposed to be struck dumb with the unexpected event. JOS. WARTON.

Ver. 1664. ——— *self-kill'd,*
Not willingly,] "This suicide of Samson's (says a learned author) was of that nature, which respects not self immediately, or primarily seeks to compass its own death. Had Samson only sought his own death, he would probably have found means of destroying himself in prison, before he was brought forth to be made a show and a spectacle. But a renewal of the glory of God in the destruction of the Philistines was his principal object; which glory had been apparently violated by their general usage of his servant Samson, and the particular indignity they had made him suffer in the loss of his eyes. His own death was an accidental circumstance connected with his point in view, but not the first and direct aim of the action. It was necessary indeed for him to put his own life into the utmost hazard, with scarce a possibility of escape; but he cheerfully submitted to fall with his enemies, rather than not accomplish his great design." Moore's *Full Inquiry into the Subject of Suicide*, vol. i. p. 89. TODD.

Ver. 1666. *Of dire necessity.*] This shows, I think, that Milton approved of Horace's expression "*dira necessitas*;" which Bentley proposed to alter to "*dura*." Rucellai, in his beautiful tragedy of *Rosmunda*, has that phrase, A. iv. "*Dura necessità &c.*" TODD.

Ver. 1667. ——— *in number more*
Than all thy life had slain before.] "So the dead which he slew at his death, were more than they which he slew in his life," *Judges* xvi. 30. NEWTON.

Ver. 1670. *Drunk with idolatry, drunk with wine,*] This distinction of drunkenness is scriptural. See *Isaiah* xxix. 9. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1674. *In Silo,*] Where the tabernacle and ark were at that time.
 NEWTON.

Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy sent, 1675
 Who hurt their minds,
 And urg'd them on with mad desire,
 To call in haste for their destroyer ;
 They, only set on sport and play,
 Unweetingly impórtun'd 1680
 Their own destruction to come speedy upon them.
 So fond are mortal men,
 Fallen into wrath divine,
 As their own ruin on themselves to invite,
 Insensate left, or to sense reprobate, 1685
 And with blindness internal struck.
 2. *Semichor*. But he, though blind of sight,
 Despis'd and thought extinguish'd quite,

Ver. 1675. *Among them he a Spirit of phrenzy sent*,] So, in his *Prose-W.* vol. i. p. 273. "Can this be granted them, unless God have *smitten us with phrenzie* from above, and with a dazzling giddiness at noon-day?"
 TODD.

Ver. 1682. *So fond are mortal men, &c.*] Agreeable to the common maxim, "Quos Deus vult perdere, dementat prius." *THYER*.

This maxim has not, I believe, been traced to any authority. The unknown writer of it may possibly have been indebted to the Scholiast on a passage in the *Antigone* of Sophocles. But there is in the Fragments of Euripides the following sentiment; which Milton doubtless here remembered, as the expression in v. 1676, *Who hurt their minds*, clearly, I think, evinces,

"Ὅταν δὲ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ προσόνῃ κακῇ

Τὸν τοῦ ἔλλαψε πρῶτον. *Incert. Trag.* v. 436. ed. Barnes.

And these lines are cited by the Scholiast on the following lines in the *Antigone*:

Σοφία γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ

Κλειῶν ἐπος πέφανται,

"Τὸ κακὸν δοκεῖν ποτ' ἰσθλὸν

"Τῷ ἔμμεν' ὅτω φρένας

"Θεὸς ἀγχι πρὸς ἄταν."

Then on the last line follows the Scholiast's remark, to which the Latin maxim, above mentioned, bears a great resemblance:—"Ἦγουν, οἱ θεοὶ ὄν βοῶνται δυστυχεῖν, ἀφύσιν ἡρὸς βλάβην. *TODD*.

Ver. 1686. *And with blindness internal struck*.] Here it is evident, I think, that the poet had a very fine passage of his beloved poetry in mind, in the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, A. v. S. vi.

"O cecità de le terrene menti ;

"In qual profonda notte,

"In qual fosca caligine d' errore

"Son le nostr' alme immerse,

"Quando tu non le illustri, o sommo Sole." *TODD*.

With inward eyes illuminated,
 His fiery virtue rous'd 1690
 From under ashes into sudden flame,
 And as an evening dragon came,
 Assailant on the perched roosts
 And nests in order rang'd
 Of tame villatick fowl; but as an eagle 1695

Ver. 1689. *With inward eyes illuminated.*] The *inward eye* is a phrase of which Milton's friend, Henry More, seems fond, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. Thus, in c. iii. st. 9.

"But corporall life doth so obnubilate
 "Our *inward eyes* that they be nothing bright."

Again, st. 11. "With foul filth the *inward eye* yblent." See also st. 5. of the same canto: "God doth *illuminate the mind*." Compare note on *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 51. TODD.

Ver. 1692. *And as an evening dragon came, &c.*] Mr. Calton says that Milton certainly dictated

"And *not* as an evening dragon came."

Samson *did not* set upon them, like an evening dragon: *but* darted ruin on their heads, like the thunder-bearing eagle. Mr. Sympson, to the same purpose, proposes to read

"And *not* as evening dragon came,
 ————— "but as an eagle &c."

Mr. Thyer understands it otherwise, and explains it without any alteration of the text, to which rather I incline. One might produce (says he) authorities enow, from the naturalists, to show that serpents devour fowls. That of Aldrovandus is sufficient, and serves fully to justify this simile. Speaking of the food of serpents, he says, "Etenim aves, et potissimum avium pullos in nidis adhuc degentes libenter furantur." Aldrov. *de Serp. et Drac.* Lib. i. c. 3. It is common enough, among the ancient poets, to meet with several similes brought in to illustrate one action; when *one* cannot be found, that will hold in *every* circumstance. Milton does the same here, introducing the simile of the dragon merely in allusion to the order in which the Philistines were placed in the amphitheatre, and the subsequent one of the eagle to express the rapidity of that vengeance which Samson took of his enemies. NEWTON.

Ver. 1695. ————— villatick fowl:] "*Villaticus aliter*," Plin. lib. xxiii. sect. 17. RICHARDSON.

Ibid. ————— *but as an eagle &c.*] In the *Ajax* of Sophocles it is said that his enemies, if they saw him appear, would be terrified like birds at the appearance of the vulture or the eagle, v. 167. "ΑΑΑ' ὅτι γὰρ ἐνί, κ. τ. λ. The Greek verses, I think, are faulty; and, as I remember, are corrected not amiss by Dawes in his *Miscell. Critic.* JORTIN.

Apuleius describes an eagle "in prædam *superne sese ruere, fulminis vice*." Florid. Lib. i. ad init. The ancients described heroes of great prowess and activity in war as *thunderbolts*. See Spanheim, *De usu et præstantia Numismatum*, Dissert. v. where he treats of the epithets bestowed on the successors of Alexander, and among others that of *thunderer*.

DUNSTER.

Milton, in his allegorical description of Samson's locks, which he terms

His cloudless thunder bolted on their heads.
 So Virtue, given for lost,
 Depress'd, and overthrown, as seem'd,
 Like that self-begotten bird
 In the Arabian woods embost, 1700
 That no second knows nor third,
 And lay ere while a holocaust,
 From out her ashy womb now teem'd,
 Revives, reflourishes, then vigorous most
 When most unactive deem'd ; 1705
 And, though her body die, her fame survives
 A secular bird ages of lives.

the golden beams of Law and Right, in his *Reason of Church Government*, finely illustrates the passage before us: "They, sternly shook, THUNDER with ruin upon the heads of those his evil counsellors, but not without great affliction to himself." TODD.

Ver. 1699. *Like that self-begotten bird*] The introduction of the phoenix is particularly censured by Dr. Johnson. Tertullian, Ambrose, and others of the Fathers, have however cited the phoenix as a rational argument of a resurrection. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1700. ——— *embost,*] Probably from the Italian *emboscare*, to enclose in a thicket, as Dr. Johnson observes. I find that Milton uses *imbosk* in this sense, which is nearer to the original. "They seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forrest; they would *imbosk*." Prose-Works, vol. i. 1698, p. 261. It appears to have been used by our old poets, as a term of hunting, applied more particularly to the hart: Thus in Chaucer's *Dreme*, v. 352.

"And how the harte had upon length
 "So moche *embosed*, I n'ot nowe what."

And in Chapman's *Iliad*, iv. p. 55, of hinds and harts,

"Who, wearied with a long-run field, are instantly *embost*."

So P. Fletcher, in his *Poetic. Miscell.* p. 86.

"Look as an hart, with sweat and bloud embrued,
 "Chas'd and *embost*, thirsts in the soil to be." TODD.

Ver. 1702. ——— *a holocaust,*] An *entire burnt-offering*. Here generally only part of the beast was burnt. RICHARDSON.

Ver. 1706. ——— *her fame survives*
A secular bird ages of lives.] The construction and meaning of the whole period I conceive to be this, Virtue, given for lost, like the phoenix consumed and now teemed from out her ashy womb, revives, reflourishes, and though her body die, which was the case of Samson, yet her fame survives a phoenix many ages: for the comma after *survives* in all the editions should be omitted, as Mr. Calton has observed as well as myself. The phoenix, says he, lived *a thousand years* according to some. [See Bochart's *Hierozaicon*, Pars secunda, p. 817.] and hence it is called here *a secular bird*. "Ergo quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per *secula seculi*, id est annorum *sex millia*, manere hoc statu mundum necesse est." Lactantius *Div. Inst.* Lib. vii. c. 14. The fame of

Man. Come, come ; no time for lamentation now,
 Nor much more cause ; Samson hath quit himself
 Like Samson, and heroickly hath finish'd 1710
 A life heroick ; on his enemies
 Fully reveng'd, hath left them years of mourning,
 And lamentation to the sons of Caphtor
 Through all Philistian bounds ; to Israel
 Honour hath left, and freedom, let but them 1715
 Find courage to lay hold on this occasion ;
 To himself and father's house eternal fame ;
 And, which is best and happiest yet, all this
 With God not parted from him, as was fear'd,
 But favouring and assisting to the end. 1720
 Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail
 Or knock the breast ; no weakness, no contempt,
 Dispraise, or blame ; nothing but well and fair,
 And what may quiet us in a death so noble.

virtue (the Semichorus saith) *survives*, outlives, this *secular bird* many ages. The comma, which is in all the editions, after *survives*, breaks the construction. NEWTON.

Ver. 1708. ———— *no time for lamentation now, &c.*] In the *Hecuba* of Euripides, Hecuba, when she is informed of the heroical death of her daughter Polyxena, after expressing her grief, corrects it with similar reflections, ver. 591.

Τὸ εἰσὶν λίαν παρῆλθε, ἀγγελθεῖσά μοι
 Γενναῖος. DUNSTER.

Ver. 1714. ———— *to the sons of Caphtor*] *Caphtor* it should be, and not *Chaptor*, as in several editions: and *the sons of Caphtor* are Philistines, originally of the island Caphtor or Crete. The people were called Caphtorim, Cherethim, Ceretim, and afterwards Cretians. A colony of them settled in Palestine, and there went by the name of Philistim.

MEADOWCOURT.

Ver. 1717. *To himself and father's house eternal fame ;*] Pindar, *Isthm. Od. vii.*

Ἴστω γὰρ σάφεις, ὅς τις ἐν
 Ταύτῃ νεφέλῃ χάλα-
 ζαν αἵματος πρὸς φίλων
 Πάτρας ἀμύνεται,
 Λοιγὸν ἀμύνων ἐναντὶν στρατῷ
 Ἀστών, ΓΕΝΕΑ ΜΕΤΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΕΟΣ ΑΥΞΩΝ
 Ζῶων τ' ἀπὸ καὶ θανάτων. TODD.

Ver. 1721. *Nothing is here for tears, &c.*] The whole of this speech of Manoah is in a high degree pleasing and interesting. From this place to the conclusion it gradually rises in beauty, so as to form one of the most captivating parts of this admirable tragedy. DUNSTER.

Let us go find the body where it lies 1725
 Soak'd in his enemies' blood ; and from the stream
 With lavers pure, and cleansing herbs, wash off
 The clotted gore. I, with what speed the while,
 (Gaza is not in plight to say us nay,)
 Will send for all my kindred, all my friends, 1730
 To fetch him hence, and solemnly attend
 With silent obsequy, and funeral train,
 Home to his father's house ; there will I build him
 A monument, and plant it round with shade
 Of laurel ever green, and branching palm, 1735
 With all his trophies hung, and acts inroll'd
 In copious legend, or sweet lyrick song.
 Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,

Ver. 1725. *Let us go find the body &c.*] When Sarpedon is slain in the Iliad, Jupiter gives Phœbus a commission to find the body and have all due obsequies and funeral rites paid it. See *Il.* xvi. 667, &c. Compare also the rites paid to the corpses of Patroclus and Hector, *Il.* xviii. xxiv.

DUNSTER.

Ver. 1730. *Will send for all my kindred, all my friends, &c.*] This is founded upon what the Scripture saith, *Judges* xvi. 31 ; which the poet has finely improved. "Then his brethren, and all the house of his father, came down and took him, and brought him up, and buried him between Zorah and Ashtao in the burying-place of Manoah his father." NEWTON.

The poet by *silent obsequy*, in this description of the last respect intended to be paid to Samson, alludes to the custom observed at the Jewish funerals ; at which all the near relations of the deceased came to the house in their mourning dress, and sat down upon the ground *in silence* ; whilst in another part of the house were heard the voices of mourners, and the sound of instruments, hired for the purpose : These exclamations continued till the rites were performed, when the nearest relations resumed their melancholy posture. TODD.

Ver. 1736. *With all his trophies hung,*] Chivalry was now again in Milton's mind. "Sancho descolgò las armas, que como trofeo de un arbol estavan pendientes, y requiriendo &c." *D. Quix.* P. ii. lib. iv. cap. xxix. He might also allude to the custom of hanging the sword, helmet, and armorial ensigns, over the tombs of eminent persons. TODD.

Ibid. ————— *acts inroll'd*

In copious legend, or sweet lyrick song.] Pindar, *Pyth. Od.* i.

————— 'Οπιθύμερον αἶ-

χημα ἔδξαε

ὄλον ἀποικομένων ἀν-

εῖρων διατταν μανύει,

καὶ ἈΟΓΙΟΙΣ καὶ ἈΟΙΔΟΙΣ. TODD.

Ver. 1738. *Thither shall all the valiant youth &c.*] Mason, who was a great admirer of this tragedy, introduces Caractacus thus consoling himself over the body of his son Arviragus :—

And from his memory inflame their breasts
 To matchless valour, and adventures high : 1740
 The virgins also shall, on feastful days,
 Visit his tomb with flowers ; only bewailing
 His lot unfortunate in nuptial choice,
 From whence captivity and loss of eyes.

Chor. All is best, though we oft doubt 1745
 What the unsearchable dispose
 Of Highest Wisdom brings about,
 And ever best found in the close.
 Oft He seems to hide his face,
 But unexpectedly returns, 1750
 And to his faithful champion hath in place
 Bore witness gloriously ; whence Gaza mourns,
 And all that band them to resist
 His uncontrollable intent :
 His servants He, with new acquist 1755

“ Here in high Mona shall thy noble limbs
 “ Rest in a noble grave ; posterity
 “ Shall to thy tomb with annual reverence bring
 “ Sepulchral stones, and pile them to the clouds.” TODD.

Ver. 1740. ————— *adventures high :*] This is a term in chivalry and romance. “ *La alta aventura*,” D. Quix. And in Hawes’ *Pastime of Pleasure*, 1554, chap. xxxii.

“ Right *high adventures* unto you shall fall
 “ In time of fyght.”

Quarles has also said of Samson, “ His youth was crown’d with *high* and brave *adventures*,” p. 291. *Hist. of Samson*, 1632. TODD.

Ver. 1745. *All is best, though we oft doubt &c.*] There is a great resemblance betwixt this speech of Milton’s Chorus, and that of the Chorus in Æschylus’s *Supplices*, beginning at ver. 90, to ver 109. THYER.

See also the concluding lines of the *Medea*, *Bacchæ*, and *Helena*, of Euripides ; and also the six last verses of Pindar’s twelfth *Pythian Ode*.

TODD.

Ver. 1755. *His servants*] It is “ his *servant* ” in most of the editions ; but the first edition has it rightly, “ his *servants*,” meaning the Chorus and other persons present. NEWTON.

Ver. 1755. ————— *acquist*] The same, says Dr. Newton, as *acquisition*, a word that may be found in Skinner ; but which he does not remember to have met with elsewhere. I once thought that Milton adopted it from the Italian *acquisto*. But I have since found the word common in our elder writers. Thus, in a Letter of James Howell, dated in 1646, to Mr. E. P. at Paris : “ Much notice is taken that you go on there too fast in your *acquests*.” *Fam. Letters*, ed. 1737, p. 405. Fanshawe, in his translation of the *Lusiad*, published in 1655, writes it also *acquest*, p. 7. But Heath, in his *Chronicle of the Civil Wars*, fol. p. 402,

Of true experience, from this great event
With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,
And calm of mind all passion spent.

writes "his unjust *acquists*." And in Aleyn's poetical Hist. of Henry VII. ed. 1638, p. 130, the word is likewise written *acquist*. Todd.

Ver. 1757. *With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,*

And calm of mind all passion spent.] This moral lesson in the conclusion is very fine, and excellently suited to the beginning. For Milton had chosen for the motto to this piece a passage out of Aristotle, which may show what was his design in writing this tragedy, and the sense of which he hath expressed in the preface, that "tragedy is of power, by raising pity and fear, or terroure, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, &c." and he exemplifies it here in Manoah and the Chorus, after their various agitations of passion, acquiescing in the divine dispensations, and thereby inculcating a most instructive lesson to the reader. NEWTON.

Samson Agonistes is the only tragedy that Milton finished, though he sketched out the plans of several, and proposed the subjects of more, in his manuscript preserved in Trinity College, Cambridge. And we may suppose that he was determined, to the choice of this particular subject, by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistines. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted at Westminster; but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Handel's musick is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the god of Musick, and of Verse, was still one and the same.

NEWTON.

Samson Agonistes is but a very indifferent subject for a dramatick fable. However Milton has made the best of it. He seems to have chosen it for the sake of the satire on bad wives. WARBURTON.

It would be hardly less absurd to say, that he chose the subject of *Paradise Lost* for the sake of describing a connubial altercation. The nephew of Milton has told us, that he could not ascertain the time when this drama was written; but it probably flowed from the heart of the indignant poet soon after his spirit had been wounded by the calamitous destiny of his friends, to which he alludes with so much energy and pathos, in the Chorus, v. 652, &c. He did not design the drama for a theatre, nor has it the kind of action requisite for theatrical interest; but in one point of view the *Samson Agonistes* is the most singularly affecting composition that was ever produced by sensibility of heart and vigour of imagination. To give it this particular effect, we must remember, that the lot of Milton had a marvellous coincidence with that of his hero in three remarkable points: first (but we should regard this as the most in-

considerable article of resemblance), he had been tormented by a beautiful but disaffectionate and disobedient wife; secondly, he had been the great champion of his country, and as such the idol of publick admiration; lastly, he had fallen from that height of unrivalled glory, and had experienced the most humiliating reverse of fortune. In delineating the greater part of Samson's sensations under calamity, he had only to describe his own. No dramatist can have ever conformed so literally as Milton to the Horatian precept; "*Si vis me flere, &c.*" And if, in reading the *Samson Agonistes* we observe how many passages, expressed with the most energetick sensibility, exhibit to our fancy the sufferings and real sentiments of the poet, as well as those of his hero, we may derive from this extraordinary composition a kind of pathetick delight, that no other drama can afford; we may applaud the felicity of genius, that contrived, in this manner, to relieve a heart overburthened with anguish and indignation, and to pay a half-concealed, yet hallowed, tribute to the memories of dear though dishonoured friends, whom the state of the times allowed not the afflicted poet more openly to deplore. HAYLEY.

Dr. Johnson thought differently about this tragedy, written evidently and happily in the style and manner of Æschylus; and said, "that it was deficient in both requisites of a true Aristotelick middle. Its intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe." To which opinion the judicious Mr. Twining accedes. What Dr. Warburton said of it is wonderfully ridiculous, that Milton "chose the subject for the sake of the satire on bad wives;" and that the subjects of *Samson Agonistes* and *Paradise Lost* were not very different, "the fall of two heroes by a woman." Milton, in this drama, has given an example of every species of measure which the English language is capable of exhibiting, not only in the choruses, but in the dialogue part. The chief parts of the dialogue, (though there is a great variety of measure in the choruses of the Greek tragedy,) are in Iambick verse. I recollect but three places in which hexameter verses are introduced in the Greek tragedies; once in the *Trachiniae*, once in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, and once in the *Troades* of Euripides. Voltaire wrote an opera on this subject of *Samson*, 1732; which was set to musick by Rameau, but was never performed; he has inserted choruses to Venus and Adonis: and the piece finishes by introducing Samson actually pulling down the temple, on the stage, and crushing all the assembly, which Milton has flung into so fine a narration; and the opera is ended by Samson's saying, "*J'ai réparé ma honte, et j'expire en vainqueur.*" And yet this was the man that dared to deride the irregularities of Shakespeare. JOS. WARTON.

Of the style of this poem, it is to be observed that it is often inexact and almost ungrammatical; and of the metre, that it is very licentious: BOTH with design and the most consummate judgement. An irregular construction carries with it an air of negligence, well suited to this drama; and yet prevents the expression from falling into vulgarity: and a looseness of measure gives grace and ease to the tragick dialogue. But this apology does not extend to such inaccuracies in the *Musk of Comus*; which, as a work of delight and ostentation, should have been every where laboured, as indeed for the most part it is, into the utmost polish of style and metre. Milton learnt the secret he has here so successfully practised from his strict attention to the Greek tragedians, especially Euripides. The modern critics of this poet are perpetually tampering with his careless expression, careless numbers, &c. unconscious that both were the effect of art. It is on these occasions we may apply the observation,

"It is not Homer nods, but we that dream."

The *Samson Agonistes* is, in every view, the most artificial, and highly finished, of all Milton's poetical works. HURD.

Dr. Warton, in a concluding note on *Lycidas*, assigns to *Samson Agonistes* the third place of rank among the poet's works. Lord Monboddo, still more enamoured of its excellencies, says, that it is the "last and the most faultless, in my judgement, of all Milton's poetical works, if not the finest." Orig. and Prog. of language, 2d edit. vol. iii. p. 71. It is certainly, as Mr. Mason long since observed, an excellent piece, to which Posterity has not yet given its full measure of popular and universal fame. "Perhaps," says this judicious writer in a letter to a friend concerning his own impressive tragedy of *Elfrida*, "in your closet, and that of a few more, who unaffectedly admire genuine nature and ancient simplicity, the *Agonistes* may hold a distinguished rank. Yet surely, we cannot say, in Hamlet's phrase, *that it pleases the million; it is still curiære to the general.*" *Elfrida*, edit. 1752. Lett. ii. p. vi, vii.

Mr. Penn has printed, in the second volume of his valuable "Critical, Poetical, and Dramatick Works, 1798," an abridgement of Milton's *Samson*; in nearly which form he thinks it might be acted as an interlude, without danger of being ill received. The abridgement is formed with much ingenuity. Yet the classical reader will not perhaps accede to the absence of some splendid, and some affecting, passages. Mr. Penn also remarks, that Dr. Johnson's criticism on this tragedy is severe only in supposing, that it contained no more than the substance of one act; and that, though still one of Milton's valuable works, *Samson* is inferior both to *Lycidas*, and the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. I agree in preferring the earlier poems of Milton to his tragedy: But I may be permitted not to subscribe to the assertion in Dr. Johnson's criticism, that "nothing passes between the first act and the last, that either hastens or delays the death of Samson;" which, Mr. Cumberland has observed, is not correct. On the contrary, I admire the art and judgement with which the poet has delineated the various circumstances that, from the first entrance of Manoaah to the last appearance of Samson, progressively affect the mind of the hero, and finally produce the resolution which hastens the catastrophe. *Samson*, as an oratorio, is divided into three acts: Mr. Penn's abridgement exhibits the length of two.

It has been observed by Goldsmith, that *Samson* is a tragedy without a love-intrigue, as the *Athalie* of Racine also is, which appeared not many years after *Samson*; and that Maffei, instructed by these examples, has formed his *Merope* without any amorous plot.

The history of *Samson* has often employed the pen of poetry. Mr. Hayley thinks that Milton's *Samson* might perhaps be founded on a sacred drama of that country, to the poets of which Milton was confessedly partial; *La Rappresentazione di Sansone*, per Alessandro Roselli; of which there is an edition printed at Florence in 1554, another at the same place in 1588, and a third at Sienna in 1616: but I have not been more fortunate than Mr. Hayley, in endeavouring to procure a copy of this *Samson*. The accomplished author of the *Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy*, 1799, has suggested to me that Milton might have met with more than one Italian drama on this subject; for, among the *Rappresentazioni*, enumerated by Cionacci, he had observed a *Sansone*, from the prologue to which an extract is given:

"A gloria adunche dell' Altitonante,

"E di colui che più che 'l sol risplende; &c."

and this he conceives to be not the Sansone of Roselli; but a *Rappresentazione* of the fifteenth century. I am informed by the same gentleman, that, in or about the year 1622, appeared the following French drama, which might also have influenced the English poet in the choice of *Samson*.

"Tragédie nouvelle de Samson le fort; contenant ses victoires, et sa prise par la trahison de son épouse Dalila, qui lui coupa ses cheveux, et le livra aux Philistins, desquels il occit trois mille à son trespas: En quatre actes. 8vo. sans date." I must not omit to mention the *Samson* of Ferrante Pallavicino, in three books, published at Venice in 1635, into which Milton might perhaps have looked. Probably among the *Autos Sacramentales* or religious tragedies of the Spanish, a *Samson* may exist. His history is particularly noticed, and part of it described in a Sonnet, in the celebrated Spanish pastoral, *La Constante Amurilla*, edit. Lyon, 1614, p. 166. "Samson se mira y duda, &c." Among a variety of sacred poems in different Latin metres, the acts of Samson are described in nearly four hundred elegant hexameters in the *Judices Populi Israelitici*, Autore Pantaleone Candido, Austriaco, printed at Basil in 1570, p. 301—315. Phillips, Milton's nephew, calls Candidus "the chief of those that are fam'd for an elegant style in Latin verse." *Theat. Poet.* 145. Phillips also, in his list of modern Poets, notices "Hieronymus Zieglerus, a writer of divers tragicomedies, and other dramatick pieces out of the Old and New Testament: as his *Protoplastus*, *Immolation of Isaac*, *Namothexia*, *SAMSON*, *Heli*, &c." *Theat. Poet.* p. 73. In our own language likewise, an elaborate poetical *Historie of Samson* was published, in 1632, by Quarles; in which, among several extravagancies indeed of imagery and expression, some spirited passages may be found. The critical remarks of Mr. Hallam on this tragedy are, that "it is the latest of Milton's poems; we see in it, perhaps more distinctly than in *Paradise Regained*, the ebb of a mighty tide. An air of uncommon grandeur prevails throughout, but the language is less poetical than in *Paradise Lost*: the vigour of thought remains, but it wants much of its ancient eloquence. Nor is the lyric tone well kept up by the Chorus; they are too sententious, too slow in movement, and, except by the metre, are not easily distinguishable from the other personages. But this metre is itself infelicitous: the lines being frequently of a number of syllables not recognised in the usage of English poetry, and destitute of rhythmical language, fall into prose. Milton seems to have forgotten that the ancient Chorus had a musical accompaniment. The style of *Samson*, being essentially that of *Paradise Lost*, may show us how much more the latter poem is founded on the Greek tragedies than on Homer. In *Samson* we have sometimes the pompous tone of Æschylus, more frequently the sustained majesty of Sophocles; but the religious solemnity of Milton's own temperament, as well as the nature of the subject, have given a sort of breadth, an unbroken severity to the whole drama. It is perhaps not very popular even with the lovers of poetry; yet, upon close comparison, we find that it deserves a higher place than many of its prototypes. We might search the Greek tragedies long for a character so powerfully conceived and maintained as that of Samson himself; and it is only conformable to the Scriptural simplicity of that form of drama which Milton adopted, that all the rest should be kept in subordination to it. 'It is only,' Johnson says, 'by a blind confidence in the reputation of Milton, that a drama can be praised in which the intermediate parts have neither cause nor consequence, neither hasten nor retard the catastrophe.' Such a drama is certainly not to be ranked with *Othello* and *Macbeth*, or even with the *Edipus* or the *Hippolytus*; but a similar criticism is applicable to several famous tragedies in the less artificial school of antiquity, to the *Prometheus* and the *Persæ* of Æschylus; and, if we look strictly, to not a few of the two other masters." *Introduct. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iv. p. 429. TOMB.

APPENDIX TO SAMSON AGONISTES,

CONTAINING

PLANS OF OTHER SUBJECTS, INTENDED FOR TRAGEDIES,
BY MILTON:

FROM HIS OWN MS. IN TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

SCRIPTURE SUBJECTS.*

OTHER TRAGEDIES.†

- i. *The Flood*. [See No. iii. below.]
- ii. *Abram in Ægypt*.
- iii. *The Deluge*.
- iv. *Sodom*.
- v. *Dinah*. Vide Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. lib. ix. cap. xxii.

The Persons.

Dine.
Debora, Rebecca's nurse.
Jacob.
Simeon.
Levi.

Hamor.
Sichem.
Counsellors 2.
Nuncius.
Chorus.

- vi. *Thamar Cuophorusa*. Where Juda is found to have been the author of that crime, which he condemned in Tamar: Tamar excus'd in what she attempted.
- vii. *The Golden Calfe, or the Massacre in Horeb*.
- viii. *The Quails*. Num. xi.
- ix. *The Murmurers*. Num. xiv.
- x. *Corah, Dathan, &c.* Num. xvi. xvii.

* Many of these subjects in Milton's hands would have made glorious Tragedies. And one cannot enough lament that the prejudices of his age should have discouraged him from giving us more of these dramas; for the execution of which he was, both by nature and art, supremely accomplished. There is, in the specimen he has given us, a simplicity and dignity united, of which we have no example in modern Tragedy. His Samson is at once the disgrace of his own age and of ours. HURD.

These numerous Scripture subjects justify a remark made by Mr. Warton, that Milton early leaned towards religious subjects for plays, and wished to turn the drama into the scriptural channel: he accordingly, in his *Reason of Ch. Gov. against Prelacy*, written in 1641, tempers his praise of Sophocles and Euripides with recommending *Solomon's Song*; and adds, that "the *Apocalypse* of Saint John is the majestick image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a seven-fold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." *Prose-Works*, edit. 1698, vol. i. 61. TONN.

† So they are termed in Milton's MS. Those, which relate to *Paradise Lost*, have been given at the end of that poem. Tonn.

- xi. *Moabitides*. Num. xxv. [See No. lv. below.]
- xii. *Achan*. Joshue vii. and viii.
- xiii. *Josuah in Gibeon*. Josh. x.
- xiv. *Gideon Idoloclastes*. Judg. vi. vii.
- xv. *Gideon pursuing*. Judg. viii.
- xvi. *Abimelech the Usurper*. Judg. ix.
- xvii. *SAMSON MARRIING, or in Ramach Lechi*. Judg. xv.
- xviii. *SAMSON PERSOPHORUS, or Hybristes, or Dagonuliu*. Judg. xvi.
- xix. *Comazontes, or The Benjaminites, or The Rioters*. Judg. xix, xx, xxi.
- xx. *Theristria*, a Pastoral out of Ruth.
- xxi. *Eliada*, Hophni and Phinehas. 1 Sam. i, ii, iii, iv. Beginning with the first overthrow of Israel by the Philistines; interlact with Samuel's vision concerning Elie's family.
- xxii. *Jonathan rescued*. 1 Sam. xiv.
- xxiii. *Doeg slandering*. 1 Sam. xxii.
- xxiv. *The sheep-shearers in Carmel*, a Pastoral. 1 Sam. xxv.
- xxv. *Saul in Gilboa*. 1 Sam. xxviii. xxxi.
- xxvi. *David revolted*. 1 Sam. from the xxvii. chap. to the xxxi.
- xxvii. *David adulterous*. 2 Sam. xi, xii.
- xxviii. *Tamar*. 2 Sam. xiii.
- xxix. *Achitophel*. 2 Sam. xv, xvi, xvii, xviii.
- xxx. *Adoniah*. 1 Reg. ii.
- xxxi. *Solomon Gynæocratumenus, or Idolomargus, aut Thysiazusæ*. 1 Reg. xi.
- xxxii. *Rehoboam*. 1 Reg. xii. Wher is disputed of a politick religion.
- xxxiii. *Abias Thersæus*. 1 Reg. xiv. The queen, after much dispute, as the last refuge, sent to the profet Abias of Shilo; receavs the message. The Epitasis, in that shee, hearing the child shall die, as she comes home, refuses to return, thinking thereby to clude the oracle. The former part is spent in bringing the sick prince forth as it were desirous to shift his chamber and couch, as dying men use; his father telling him what sacrifice he had sent for his health to Bethel and Dan; his fearlesnesse of death, and putting his father in mind to set [send] to Ahiah. The Chorus of the Elders of Israel bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at another time wondering why Jeroboam, being bad himself, should so grieve for his son that was good, &c.
- xxxiv. *Imbres, or The Showers*. 1 Reg. xviii. xix.
- xxxv. *Naboth ἀνκοφαντούμενος*. 1 Reg. xxi.
- xxxvi. *Ahab*. 1 Reg. xxii. Beginning at the synod of fals profets: Ending with relation of Ahab's death: His bodie brought. Zedechiah slain by Ahab's friends for his seducing. (See Lavater, 2 Chron. xviii.)
- xxxvii. *Elias in the mount*. 2 Reg. i. Ὀρεβάτης. Or, better, *Elias Polemistes*.
- xxxviii. *Elisæus Hudrochóos*. 2 Reg. iii. *Hudrophantes. Aquator*.
- xxxix. *Elisæus Adorodocétus*.
 - xl. *Elisæus Menutus*, sive in Dothaimis. 2 Reg. vi.
 - xli. *Samarita Liberata*. 2 Reg. vii.
 - xlii. *Achabai Cynoboromeni*. 2 Reg. ix. The Scene, Jesrael. Beginning, from the watchman's discovery of Jehu, till he go out. In the meanwhile, message of things passing brought to Jesebel, &c. Lastly, the 70 heads of Ahab's sons brought in, and message brought of Ahaziah's brethren slain on the way. Chap. x.
- xliii. *Jehu Belicola*. 2 Reg. x.

xliv. *Athaliah*. 2 Reg. xi.

xlv. *Amaziah Doryalotus*. 2 Reg. xiv. 2 Chron. xxv.

xlvi. *Hezechias* πολιορκούμενος. 2 Reg. xviii. xix. Hesechia besieged. The wicked hypocrisy of Shebna, (spoken of in the xi. or thereabout of Isaiah,) and the commendation of Eliakim, will afford ἀφόρμας λόγου, together with a faction that sought help from Egypt.

xlvii. *Josiah Αιαζόμενος*. 2 Reg. xxiii.

xlviii. *Zedechiah* νιοτερίζων. 2 Reg. But the story is larger in Jeremiah.

xlix. *Salymων Halosis*. Which may begin from a message brought to the city, of the judgement upon Zedechiah and his children in Ribla; and so seconded with the burning and destruction of city and temple by Nebuzaradan; lamented by Jeremiah.

i. *Asa*, or *Æthiopes*. II Chron. xiv. with the deposition of his mother, and burning her idol.

li. *The three children*. Dan. iii.

lii. *Abram from Morea*, or *Isaac redeem'd*. The oiconomie may be thus. The fifth or sixth day after Abraham's departure, Eleazar (Abram's steward) first alone, and then with the Chorus, discourse of Abraham's strange voyage, thire mistresse sorrow and perplexity, accompanied with frightful dreams: and tell the manner of his rising by night, taking his servants and his son with him. Next may come forth Sarah herself. After the Chorus, or Ismael, or Agar. Next some shepheard or companie of merchants, passing through the mount in the time that Abram was in the mid-work, relate to Sarah what they saw. Hence lamentations, fears, wonders. The matter in the mean while divulg'd, Aner, or Eschol, or Mamre, Abram's confederats, come to the house of Abram to be more certaine, or to bring news; in the mean while discoursing, as the world would, of such an action, divers ways; bewayling the fate of so noble a man fuln from his reputation, either through divin justice or superstition, or coveting to doe some notable act through zeal. At length a servant, sent from Abram, relates the truth; and last he himselfe comes in with a great traine of Melchizedec's, whose shepherds, becing secretely witnesses of all passages, had related to their master, and he conducted his friend Abraham home with joy.

liii. *Baptistes*. The Scene, the Court.

Beginning, From the morning of Herod's birth-day.

Herod, by some counselor persuaded* on his birth-day to release John Baptist, purposes it; causes him to be sent for to Court from prison. The queen hears of it; takes occasion to passe wher he is, on purpose, that, under pretence of reconciling to him, or seeking to draw a kind retraction from him of the censure on the marriage; to which end she sends a courtier before, to sound whether he might be persuaded to mitigate his sentence; which not finding, she herself craftily assays; and, on his constancie, founds an accusation to Herod of a contumacious affront, on such a day, before many peers; prepares the king to some passion, and at last, by her daughter's dancing, effects it. There may prologize the Spirit of Philip, Herod's brother. It may also be thought that Herod had well bedew'd himself with wine, which made him grant the easier to his wife's daughter.

* In the margin of the MS. Or els the queen may plot, under pretence of begging for his liberty, to seek to draw him into a snare by his freedom of speech.

Some of his disciples also, as to congratulate his liberty, may be

brought in ; with whom, after certain command of his death, many compassionating words of his disciples, bewailing his youth cut off in his glorious cours : he telling them his work is don, and wishing them to follow Christ his maister.

liv. *Sodom.* The title, *Cupid's funeral pile : Sodom burning.* The Scene before Lot's gate.

The Chorus, consisting of Lot's shepherds come to the citty about some affairs, await in the evening thire maister's return from his evening walk toward the citty gates. He brings with him two young men, or youths, of noble form. After likely discourses, prepares for thire entertainment. By then supper is ended, the gallantry of the towne passe by in procession, with musick and song, to the temple of Venus Urania or Peor ; and, understanding of tow noble strangers arriv'd, they send 2 of thire choysest youth, with the priest, to invite them to thire citty solemnities ; it beeing an honour that thire citty had decreed to all fair personages, as beeing sacred to their goddess. The angels, being ask't by the priest whence they are, say they are of Salem : the priest inveighs against the strict reign of Melchisedec.

Lot, that knows thire drift, answers thwarty at last. Of which notice given to the whole assembly, they hasten thither, taxe him of præsumption, singularity, breach of citty-customs ; in fine, offer violence. The Chorus of shepheards præpare resistance in thire maister's defence ; calling the rest of the serviture : but, being forc't to give back, the angels open the dore, rescue Lot, discover themselves, warne him to gether his friends and sons in law out of the citty.

He goes, and returns ; as having met with some incredulous. Some other freind or son in law (out of the way when Lot came to his house) overtakes him to know his buisnes. Heer is disputed of incredulity of divine judgement, and such like matters.

At last is described the parting from the citty. The Chorus depart with their maister. The angels doe the deed with all dreadfull execution. The king and nobles of the citty may come forth, and serve to set out the terror. A Chorus of angels concluding, and the angels relating the event of Lot's journey and of his wife.

The first Chorus, beginning, may relate the course of the citty ; each evening every one, with mistresse or Ganymed, gitterning along the streets*, or solacing on the banks of Jordan or down the stream.

At the priests' inviting the angels to the solemnity, the angels, pityting their beauty, may dispute of love, and how it differs from lust ; seeking to win them.

* *gitterning along the streets,*] That is, *playing on the cittern* along the streets. This musical instrument, the *cittern*, was called *gittern* in Milton's time ; and has been, in later days, termed by some the *guitar*. See Sylvester's *Du Rartas*, ed. 1621, p. 468. "The divers strings of a sweet gittern." And Gayton's *Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 280.

————— "a gitterne,
"As musically as any bittorne."

Milton uses the word *gitterning*, because the *cittern* was the symbol of women that lived by prostitution. See Sir John Hawkins's *Hist. of Musick*, vol. iii. 408., where, among other proofs, Jonson's *Volpone* is cited, A. ii. S. v. Corvino is there ironically exhorting his wife Celia not to dally with his jealousy, but at once to prostitute herself to the supposed mountebank who had courted her at her window : — "Get you a *cittern*, Lady Vanity, and be a dealer with the virtuous man !" In noticing that these females, in the reign of Elizabeth, added to their other allurements that of musick, Sir John further observes that the *cittern* was most in use with them, as being light and portable like the lute, to which it bore a near resemblance. The practice seems to have continued in Milton's time, and to have excited his just indignation. Todd.

In the last scene, to the king and nobles, when the fierce thunder begins aloft, the angel appears all girt with flames, which, he saith, are the flames of true love, and tells the king, who falls down with terror, his just sufferings, as also Athane's, that is, Gener, Lot's son-in-law, for despising the continual admonitions of Lot. Then, calling to the thunders, lightning, and fires, he bids them heare the call and command of God to come and destroy a godlesse nation. He brings them down with some short warning to other nations to take heed.

- lv. *Moabitides*, or *Phineas*. The epitasie whereof may lie in the contention, first, between the father of Zimri and Eleazer, whether he [ought] to have slain his son without law? Next, the ambassadors of the Moabites, expostulating about Cosbi, a stranger and a noble woman, slain by Phineas.

It may be argued about reformation and punishment illegal, and, as it were, by tumult. After all arguments driven home, when the word of the Lord may be brought, acquitting and approving Phineas.

- lvi. *Christus Patiens*. The scene in the garden. Beginning, from the comming thither, till Judas betraies, and the officers lead him away. The rest by Message and Chorus.

His agony may receave noble expressions.

- lvii. *Christ born*.
 lviii. *Herod massacring*, or *Rachel weeping*. Matt. ii.
 lix. *Christ bound*.
 lx. *Christ crucif'd*.
 lxi. *Christ risen*.
 lxii. *Lazarus*. John, xi.

BRITISH TRAGEDIES.

- lxiii. The cloister-king *Constans set up by Vortiger*. *Venutius*, husband to *Cartismandua*.
 lxiv. *Vortiger poison'd* by *Roena*.
 lxv. *Vortiger immur'd*. *Vortiger marrying Roena*. See *Speed*. *Reproo'd* by *Vodin*, archbishop of London. *Speed*. *The massacre of the Britains* by *Hengist* in thire cups at *Salisbury plaine*. *Malmesbury*.
 lxvi. *Sigher*, of the East-Saxons, *revolted from the faith, and reclaimed by Jarumang*.
 lxvii. *Ethelbert*, of the East-Angles, *slain by Offa* the Mercian. See *Holinsh. L. vi. C. 5*. *Speed*, in the life of *Offa*, and *Ethelbert*.
 lxviii. *Sebert slaine by Penla* after he had left his kingdom. See *Holinsh. p. 116*.
 lxix. *Wulfer slaying his tow sons for beeing Christians*.
 lxx. *Osbert*, of Northumberland, *slain for ravishing the wife of Bernbocard, and the Danes brought in*. See *Stow*, *Holinsh. L. vi. C. xii*. And especially *Speed, L. viii. C. ii*.
 lxxi. *Edmund*, last king of the East-Angles, *martyr'd by Hinguar the Dane*. See *Speed, L. viii. C. ii*.
 lxxii. *Sigbert*, tyrant of the West-Saxons, *slaine by a swinheard*.
 lxxiii. *Edmund*, brother of *Athelstan*, *slaine by a theefe at his owne table*. *Malmesb.*
 lxxiv. *Edwin*, son to *Edward the younger*, *for lust deprived of his kingdom, or rather by faction of monks, whome he hated; together [with] the impostor Dunstan*.

- lxxv. *Edward*, son of Edgar, murder'd by his step-mother. To which may be inserted the tragedies stirr'd up betwixt the monks and priests about marriage.
- lxxvi. *Etheldred*, son of Edgar, a slothful king; the ruin of his land by the Danes.
- lxxvii. *Ceaulin*, king of the West-Saxons, for tyrannie depos'd, and banish't; and dying.
- lxxviii. *The slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride*, stirr'd up, as is said, by *Ethelbert*, and he by *Austine the monke*; because the Britains would not receive the rites of the Roman church. See Bede, Geffrey Monmouth, and Holinshed, p. 104. Which must begin with the convocation of British Clergie by Austin to determin superfluous points, which by them were refused.
- lxxix. *Edwin*, by vision, promised the kingdom of Northumberland on promise of his conversion; and therein establish't by Rodoad, king of [the] East-Angles.
- lxxx. *Oswin*, king of Deirā, slaine by *Oswie* his friend, king of Bernitia, through instigation of flatterers. See Holinsh. p. 115.
- lxxxi. *Sigibert*, of the East-Angles, keeping companie with a person excommunicated, slaine by the same man in his house, according as the bishop *Cedda* had foretold.
- lxxxii. *Egfride*, king of the Northumbers, slaine in battle against the Picts; having before wasted Ireland, and made warre for no reason on men that ever lov'd the English; forwarn'd also by *Cuthbert* not to fight with the Picts.
- lxxxiii. *Kinewulf*, king of the West-Saxons, slaine by *Kineard* in the house of one of his concubins.
- lxxxiv. *Gunthildis*, the Danish ladie, with her husband *Palingus*, and her son, slaine by the appointment of the traitor *Edrick*, in king *Etheldred's* days. Holinsh. L. vii. C. 5. Together with the massacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed.
- lxxxv. *Brightrick*, [king] of [the] West Saxons, poyson'd by his wife *Ethelburge*, *Offa's* daughter; who dyes miserably also, in beggery, after adultery, in a nunnery. Speed in Bithrick.
- lxxxvi. *Alfred*, in disguise of a minstrel, discovers the Danes' negligence; sets on [them] with a mightie slaughter. About the same tyme the Devonshire men rout Hubba, and slay him.
- lxxxvii. *Athelstan* exposing his brother *Edwin* to the sea, and repenting.
- lxxxviii. *Edgar* slaying *Ethelwold* for false play in wooing. Wherein may be set out his pride, and lust, which he thought to close by favouring monks and building monasteries. Also the disposition of woman in *Elfrida* towards her husband. [Peck proposes, and justly, I think, to read *cloke* instead of *close*.]
- lxxxix. *Swane* besiedging London, and *Ethelred* repuls't by the Londoners.
- xc. *Harold* slaine in battle, by *William the Norman*. The first scene may begin with the ghost of *Alfred*, the second son of *Ethelred*, slaine in cruel manner by *Godwin*, *Harold's* father; and his mother and brother dissuading him.
- xc. *Edward Ironside* defeating the Danes at *Brentford*; with his combat with *Canute*.
- xcii. *Edmund Ironside* murder'd by *Edrick the traitor*, and reveng'd by *Canute*.
- xciii. *Gunilda*, daughter to king *Canute* and *Emma*, wife to *Henry III.* emperor, accus'd of in chastitie; defended by her English page in combat against a giant-like adversary; who by him at two blows is slaine, &c. Speed, in the life of *Canute*.
- xciv. *Hardiknute* dying in his cups: An example to riot.

- xcv. *Edward the confessor's divorcing and imprisoning his noble wife, Editha, Godwin's daughter.* Wherein he shewed his over-affection to strangers, the cause of Godwin's insurrection. Wherein Godwin's forbearance of battel prais'd; and the English moderation on both sides, magnifi'd. His [Edward's] slacknesse to redresse the corrupt clergie, and superstitious prætence of chastitie.

SCOTCH STORIES, or rather BRITISH OF THE NORTH
PARTS.

- xcvi. *Athirco slain by Natholochus, whose daughters he had ravisht; and this Natholochus, usurping thereon the kingdom, seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco, who scape him and conspire against him.* He sends a witch to know the event. The witch tells the messenger, that he is the man that shall slay Natholochus. He detests it; but, in his journie home, changes his mind, and performs it. Scotch Chron. English. 68, 69.
- xcvii. *Duffe and Domwald.* A strange story of witchcraft and murder discover'd and reveng'd. Scotch story, 149 &c.
- xcviii. *Haie, the plowman, who, with his two sons that were at plow, running to the battell that was between the Scots and Danes in the next field, staid the flight of his countrymen, renew'd the battell, and caus'd the victorie, &c.* Scotch story, p. 155, &c.
- xcix. *Kenneth, who, having privily poison'd Malcolm Duffe that his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella.* Scotch Hist. p. 157, 158, &c.
- c. *Mackbeth.* Beginning at the arrivall of Malcolm at Mackduffe. The matter of Duncan may be express't by the appearing of his ghost.

L Y C I D A S,

A MONODY.

PRELIMINARY NOTES

ON

LYCIDAS.

MR. EDWARD KING.

THIS poem first appeared in a Cambridge Collection of verses on the Death of Mr. *Edward King*, fellow of Christ's College, printed at Cambridge in a thin quarto, 1638. It consists of three Greek, nineteen Latin, and thirteen English, poems. The three Greek are written by William Iveson, John Potts, and Henry More, the great Platonick theologist, and then or soon afterwards a fellow of Christ's College. The nineteen Latin are by Anonymous, N. Felton, R. Mason, John Pullen, Joseph Pearson, R. Browne, J. B., Charles Mason, — Coke, Stephen Anstie, Joseph Hoper, R. C., Thomas Farnaby (Mr. King's Schoolmaster, but not the celebrated rhetorician), Henry King (Mr. Edward King's brother), John Hayward (chancellor and canon residentiary of Lincoln), M. Honeywood, who has two copies, William Brearley, Christopher Bainbrigg, and R. Widdrington. The thirteen English, by Henry King above mentioned, J. Beaumont, Anonymous, John Cleveland the Poet, William More, William Hall, Samson Briggs, Isaac Olivier, J. H., C. B., K. Browne, T. Norton, and our author JOHN MILTON, whose Monody, entitled *Lycidas*, and subscribed with his initials only, stands last in the Collection. J. H.'s copy is inscribed, "To the deceased's virtuous Sister, the Ladie Margaret Loder." She here appears to have lived near Saint Chad's church at Lichfield, and to have excelled in painting. Cleveland's copy is very witty. But the two concluding lines are hyperboles of wit.

———"Our teares shall seem the Irish seas,
" We floating Islands, living Hebrides."

The contributors were not all of Christ's College. The Greek and Latin pieces have this title, which indeed serves for the title to the book, "*Justa EDWARDI KING naufragi ab Amicis mærentibus amoris et pietatis χάρις. Si recte calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est.*" Petron. Arb. CANTABRIGIÆ, Apud Thomam Buck et Rogerum Daniel, celeberrimæ Academiæ typographos. 1638." The English are thus entitled, "Obsequies to the Memorie of Mr. Edward King, Anno Dom. 1638. Printed by Th. Buck and R. Daniel, printers to the Vniversitie of Cambridge. 1638." To the whole is prefixed a prose inscriptive panegyrick on Mr. *King*, containing short notices of his life, family, character, connections, and deplorable catastrophe. This I suspect to have been composed either by Milton or Henry More, who perhaps were two of the most able masters in Latinity which the college could then produce.

Peck examined this first edition of *Lycidas*, which he borrowed of Baker the antiquary, very superficially. And all that Milton's last editor, the learned bishop of Bristol, knew about it, is apparently taken from Peck.

Peck is of opinion, that Milton's poem is placed last in this Cambridge

Collection, on account of his supposed quarrel with Christ's college. A much more probable and obvious reason may be assigned. Without entering at present into the story of Milton's dispute with his college, I shall only just observe, that, when he wrote *Lycidas*, he had quitted the university about five years, and that he now resided with his father and mother at Horton in Buckinghamshire. He therefore did not write of course on this occasion: he was solicited by those, whom he had left behind at Christ's College, to assist, and who certainly could never intend to disgrace what they had asked as a favour. In a collection of this sort, the last is the place of honour. The college here availed itself of Milton's well-known abilities. And if we suppose that Milton's composition was a voluntary contribution of friendship sent from the country, its superiour merit could not but meet with due distinction.

Edward King, the subject of this Monody, was the son of sir John King, knight, secretary for Ireland, under queen Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First. He was sailing from Chester to Ireland, on a visit to his friends and relations in that country: These were, his brother sir Robert King, knight; and his sisters, Anne, wife of sir George Caulfield, Lord Clermont, and Margaret above mentioned, wife of sir George Loder, Chief Justice of Ireland; Edward King, bishop of Elphin, by whom he was baptized; and William Chappel, then Dean of Cashel, and Provost of Dublin College, who had been his tutor at Christ's College, Cambridge, and was afterwards bishop of Cork and Ross, and in this Pastoral is probably the same person that is styled *old Damoetas*, v. 36. When, in calm weather, not far from the English coast, the ship, a very crazy vessel, *a fatal and perfidious bark*, struck on a rock, and suddenly sunk to the bottom with all that were on board, *not one* escaping, Aug. 10. 1637. *King* was now only twenty-five years old. He was perhaps a native of Ireland.

At Cambridge, he was distinguished for his piety, and proficiency in polite literature. He has no inelegant copy of Latin iambs prefixed to a Latin Comedy called *Senile Odium*, acted at Queen's College Cambridge, by the youth of that society, and written by P. Hausted, Cantab. 1633. 12mo. From which I select these lines, as containing a judicious satire on the false taste, and the customary mechanical or unnatural expedients, of the drama that then subsisted.

"Non hic cothurni sanguine insonti rubent,
 "Nec flagra Megærae ferrea horrendum intonant;
 "Noverca nulla sævior Erebo furit;
 "Venena nulla, præter illa dulcia
 "Amoris; atque his vim abstulere noxiam
 "Casti lepores, innocua festivitas,
 "Nativa suavitas, proba elegantia, &c."

He also appears with credit in the Cambridge Publick Verses of his time. He has a copy of Latin iambs, in the *Anthologia* on the King's Recovery, Cantab. 1632. 4to. p. 43. Of Latin elegiacs, in the *Genethliacum Acad. Cantabrig.* Ibid. 1631. 4to. p. 39. Of Latin iambs in *Rex Redux*, Ibid. 1633. 4to. p. 14. See also ΣΥΝΩΔΙΑ, from Cambridge, Ibid. 1637. 4to. Signat. C. 3. I will not say how far these performances justify Milton's panegyrick on his friend's poetry, v. 9.

"Who would not sing for *Lycidas*? He knew
 "Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme."

This poem, as appears by the Trinity manuscript, was written in November, 1637, when Milton was not quite twenty-nine years old.

T. WARTON.

In the Latin poetical paraphrase of *Lycidas* by William Hog, (the translator also of *Paradise Lost*), dated 1694, there is an English address

to the reader; giving a brief account of the subject of the poem. It is there said, that "*some* escaped in the boat, and great endeavours were used in that great consternation to get Mr. *King* into the boat, which did not prevail. So he and all with him were drowned, except those only that escaped in the boat." And yet, in the monumental inscription prefixed in the Collection of Verses on Mr. *King's* death, it is related, "*Navi in scopulum allisâ, et rimis ex ictu futiscente, dum alii vectores vitæ mortalis frustrâ satagerent, immortalem anhelans, in genua provolutus oransque, unâ cum navigio ab aquis absorptus, animam Deo reddidit.*"

Mr. Warton has mentioned, that, among Archbishop Sancroft's transcripts of poetry made by him at Cambridge, now in the Bodleian Library, there is a poem on Mr. *King*, not in the published collection, written by Mr. Booth of Corpus Christi. I have a copy of this transcript, which, in point of hyperbolical wit, appears to equal even Cleveland's curious verses on this occasion. To the poem is subjoined an Epitaph "engraved upon the rocks:

"Heere lies the love of gentle hearts,
 "The cabinet of all the artes.
 "Heere lies Gramar, out of which
 "Mute fishes learn their parts of speech.
 "Heere lies Rhetorick all undone,
 "Which makes the seas more fluent runne.
 "And heere Philosophy was drown'd,
 "Which makes the seas farre more profound, &c."

It concludes with this quaint couplet:

"Thus whilst poore breathing mortalls weepe,
 "The wit, and mirth, lies in the deepe."

Dr. Newton has observed that *Lycidas* is with great judgement made of the pastoral kind, as both Mr. *King* and Milton had been designed for holy orders and the pastoral care, which gives a peculiar propriety to several passages in it. Todd.

MOUNT ST. MICHAEL,

Or, *The Vision of the guarded Mount*, v.161.

The whole of the following passage in *Lycidas*, has never yet been explained or understood:

———"The fable of Bellerus old,
 "Where the great Vision of the guarded Mount
 "Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold;
 "Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth."

That part of the coast of Cornwall called the *Land's End*, with its neighbourhood, is here intended, in which is the promontory of *Bellerium*, so named from Bellerus a Cornish giant. And we are told by Camden, that this is the only part of our island that looks directly towards Spain.

So also Drayton, *Polyolb.* S. xxiii. vol. iii. p. 1107.

"Then Cornwall creepeth out into the western maine,
 "As, lying in her eye, she pointed still at Spaine."

And Orosius, "The second angle or point of Spain forms a cape, where Brigantia, a city of Galicia, rears a most lofty watch-tower, of admirable construction, in full view of Britain." *Hist. L. i. c. ii. fol. v. a. edit. Paris. 1524. fol.* Carew says of this situation, "Saint Michael's Mount looketh so aloft, that it brooketh no concurrent." p. 154. ut infr. But what is the meaning of "The great Vision of the guarded Mount?" And

of the line immediately following, "Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth?" I flatter myself I have discovered Milton's original and leading idea.

Not far from the Land's End in Cornwall, is a most romantick projection of rock, called *St. Michael's Mount*, into a harbour called *Mount's Bay*. It gradually rises from a broad basis into a very steep and narrow, but craggy, elevation. Towards the sea, the declivity is almost perpendicular. At low water it is accessible by land: and not many years ago, it was entirely joined with the present shore, between which and the *Mount*, there is a rock called *Chapel-rock*. Tradition, or rather superstition, reports, that it was anciently connected by a large tract of land, full of churches, with the isles of Scilly. On the summit of *Saint Michael's Mount* a monastery was founded before the time of Edward the Confessor, now a seat of Sir John Saint Aubyn. The church, refectory, and many of the apartments, still remain. With this monastery was incorporated a strong fortress, regularly garrisoned: and in a patent of Henry the Fourth, dated 1403, the monastery itself which was ordered to be repaired, is styled *Fortalitium*. Rym. *Foed.* viii. 102, 340, 341. A stone lantern, in one of the angles of the Tower of the church is called *Saint Michael's Chair*. But this is not the original *Saint Michael's Chair*. We are told by Carew, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, "A little without the Castle [this fortress], there is a bad [dangerous] Seat in a craggy place, called Saint Michael's Chaire, somewhat dangerous for access, and therefore holy for the adventure." Edit. 1602. p. 154. We learn from *Caxton's Golden Legende*, under the history of the Angel *Michael*, that "Th' apparacyon of this angell is manyfold. The fyrst is when he appeared in mount of Gargan, &c." Edit. 1493. fol. cclxxxii. a. William of Worcestre, who wrote his travels over England about 1490, says, in describing *Saint Michael's Mount*, there was an "Apparicio Saneti Michaelis in monte Tunba antea vocato *Le Hore Rock in the Wood*." ITINERAR. edit. Cantab. 1778. p. 102. The *Hore Rock in the Wood* is this Mount or *Rock* of St. Michael, anciently covered with thick wood, as we learn from Drayton and Carew. There is still a tradition that a Vision of Saint Michael seated on this crag, or Saint Michael's *chair*, appeared to some hermits: and that this circumstance occasioned the foundation of the monastery dedicated to St. Michael. And hence this place was long renowned for its sanctity, and the object of frequent pilgrimages. Carew quotes some old rhyme much to our purpose, p. 154. ut supr.

"Who knows not Mighel's Mount and Chaire,

"The pilgrim's holy vaunt?"

Nor should it be forgot, that this monastery was a cell to another on a Saint Michael's Mount in Normandy, where also was a Vision of Saint Michael.

But to apply what has been said to Milton. This *great Vision* is the famous apparition of Saint Michael, whom he with much sublimity of imagination supposes to be still throned on this lofty crag of *Saint Michael's Mount* in Cornwall, looking towards the Spanish coast. The *guarded Mount* on which this great Vision appeared, is simply the *fortified Mount*, implying the fortress above mentioned. And let us observe, that *Mount* is the peculiar appropriated appellation of this promontory. So in Daniel's *Panegyricke on the King*, st. 19. "From Dover to the *Mount*." With the sense and meaning of the line in question is immediately connected that of the third line next following, which here I now for the first time exhibit properly pointed.

"Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth."

(Here is an apostrophe to the Angel Michael, whom we have just seen

seated on the guarded Mount. "O Angel, look no longer *seaward* to Namancos and Bayona's hold: rather turn your eyes to another object. Look *homeward* or *landward*, look towards your *own coast now*, and view with pity the corpse of the shipwrecked Lycidas floating thither." But I will exhibit the three lines together which form the context. Lycidas was lost on the seas near the coast,

"Where the great Vision of the guarded Mount

"Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold;

"Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth."

The great Vision and the Angel are the same thing: and the verb *look* in both the two last verses has the same reference. The poet could not mean to shift the *application* of *look*, within two lines. Moreover, if in the words *Look homewards, Angel, now*—the address is to Lycidas, a violent, and too sudden, an apostrophe takes place; for in the very next line Lycidas is distantly called *the hapless youth*. To say nothing, that this new *angel* is a *hapless youth*, and to be *wafted by dolphins*. See note on v. 177.

Thyer seems to suppose, that the meaning of this last line is, "You, O Lycidas, now an angel, *look down* from heaven, &c." But how can this be said to *look homeward*? And why is the shipwrecked person to *melt with ruth*? That meaning is certainly much helped by placing a full point after *surmise*, v. 153. But a semicolon there, as we have seen, is the point of the first edition: and to shew how greatly such a punctuation ascertains or illustrates our present interpretation, I will take the paragraph a few lines higher, with a short analysis. "Let every flower be strewed on the hearse where Lycidas lies, so to flatter ourselves for a moment with the notion that his corpse is present; and this, (ah me!) while the seas are wafting it here and there, whether beyond the Hebrides, or near the shores of Cornwall, &c." T. WARTON.

The Apparition of St. Michael is said to have appeared on the top of this rock, where the monastery was afterwards built. A similar tradition is related of Mount St. Michael in Normandy, which also greatly resembles the Cornish mount in the romantickness of its situation: The tradition is, that St. Michael appeared to St. Aubert bishop of Avranches, about the year 708, and ordered him to build a church upon this rock; which he did. See *Some Account of the Alien Priories*, 1779.—The lofty crag, on which St. Michael is throned by the poet, has been lately described with an elegance and minuteness which will highly gratify the reader: "A narrow stone stair-case in one of the angles leads to the top of the tower. The prospect hence is of so grand a kind as to defy description, and is perhaps as striking as any that can occur to *mortal eye*, at the same height. The immense extent of sea, which it exhibits, raises the most sublime emotions; the waves of the British, Irish, and Atlantick seas all roll within the compass of the sight, and the union of the two latter is interrupted only by the bold eminences about the Land's-end. More under the feet Penzance is distinctly seen—the scaffolding of the famous Wherry-mine—and the hills eastward of the bay uniting into a long rocky ridge." Maton's *Observations on the Nat. History, Picturesque Scenery, and Antiquities of the Western Counties*, 1797.

Besides the poetical citation from Carew relating to St. Michael's Mount, (which by the way are not mentioned as a *quotation of old rhymes*, as Mr. Warton would insinuate, in the preceding note; but are probably the composition of Carew;) the notice of this romantick place by Spenser must not be omitted. *Shep. Cal.* July, ver. 41.

"St. Michel's Mount who does not know,

"That wardes the Western coast?"

The late Mr. Headley, in his elegant *Specimens of our old Poetry*, considers this as the earliest introduction of the place into English verse. Fitzgeffry, in his poetical *Life of Drake*, 1596, just notices "Saint Michaels promontorie toppe." St. Michael's Mount has been lately celebrated, in a poem of real taste and genius, by the Rev. W. L. Bowles: from which I will extract the beautiful allusion to *Lycidas*.

"Yet, musing much on wild tradition's lore,
 "And many a phantom tale, believ'd of yore,
 "Chiefly remembering *the sweet song* (whose strain
 "Shall never die) *of him who wept in vain*
 "For his lov'd *Lycidas*, in the wide sea
 "Whelm'd, when he cried, great Angel, unto thee,
 "The fabled scene of thy renown we trace,
 "And hail with thronging thoughts thy hallowed resting-place."
 TODD.

LYCIDAS.

In this MONODY, the author bewails a learned friend, unfortunately drowned in his passage from Chester on the Irish seas, 1637. And by occasion foretells the ruin of our corrupted clergy, then in their height.

YET once more, O ye laurels, and once more
Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never-sere,

Ver. 1. *Yet once more, &c.*] The best poets imperceptibly adopt phrases and formularies from the writings of their contemporaries or immediate predecessors. An Elegy on the death of the celebrated Countess of Pembroke, sir Philip Sidney's sister, begins thus: "Yet once againe, my Muse." See *Songes and Sonnettes of Vncertain Auctours*, added to Surrey's and Wyat's Poems, edit. Tottell, fol. 85. It is a remark of Peck, which has been silently adopted by Dr. Newton, that this exordium, *Yet once more*, has an allusion to some of Milton's former poems on similar occasions, such as, *On the Death of a fair Infant, Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester, &c.* But why should it have a restrictive reference, why a retrospect to his elegiac pieces in particular? It has a reference to his poetical compositions in general, or rather to his last poem, which was *Comus*. He would say, "I am again, in the midst of other studies, unexpectedly and unwillingly called back to poetry, again compelled to write verses, in consequence of the recent disastrous loss of my shipwrecked friend, &c." Neither are the plants here mentioned, as some have suspected, appropriated to elegy. They are symbolical of general poetry. Theocritus, in an Epigram, i. 3, dedicates myrtles to Apollo. Dr. Newton, however, has supposed, that Milton, while he mentions Apollo's laurel, to characterise King as a poet, adds the myrtle, the tree of Venus, to shew that King was also of a proper age for love. We will allow that King, whatever hidden meaning the poet might have in enumerating the myrtle, was of a proper age for love, being now twenty-five years old: and the ivy our critic thinks to be expressive of King's learning, for which it was a reward. In the mean time, I would not exclude another probable implication: by plucking the berries and the leaves of laurel, myrtle, and ivy, he might intend to point out the pastoral or rural turn of this poem. T. WARTON.

Ver. 2. *Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never-sere.*] *Brown and black* are classical epithets for the myrtles. Ovid, *Art. Amator*. iii. 690.

"Ros maris, et lauri, nigræque myrtus olet."

Horace contrasts the brown myrtle with the green ivy, *Od.* i. xxv. 17.

"Læta quod pubes edera virenti

"Gaudeat, pulla magis atque myrto."

I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude ;
 And, with forc'd fingers rude,
 Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year : 5
 Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear,
 Compels me to disturb your season due :
 For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
 Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer :
 Who would not sing for Lycidas ? He knew 10
 Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.

A notion has prevailed, that this pastoral is written in the Dorick dialect, by which in English we are to understand an antiquated style. Dr. Newton observes, "The reader cannot but observe, that there are more antiquated and obsolete words in this, than in any other of Milton's poems." Of the three or four words in *LYCIDAS* which even we now call obsolete, almost all are either used in Milton's other poems, or were familiar to readers and writers of verse in the year 1638. The word *sere*, or *dry*, in the text, one of the most uncommon of these words, occurs in *Par. Lost*, B. x. 1071, and in our author's *Psalms*, ii. 27. T. WARTON.

Ver. 3. *I come to pluck your berries &c.*] This beautiful allusion to the unripe age of his friend, in which death "shatter'd his leaves before the mellowing year," is not antique, I think, but of those secret graces of Spenser. See *Shep. Cal.* Jan. ver. 37. The poet there says of himself, under the name of Colin Clout, "All so my lustfull *leafe* is *drie* and *sere*."

RICHARDSON.

Milton had most probably in his mind a passage in Cicero *De Senectute*, where the death of young persons is compared to unripe fruit plucked with violence from the tree, and that of old persons to fully ripe mellow fruit that falls naturally ; "Et quasi poma ex arboribus, *cruda* si sint, *vi avelluntur* ; si matura et cocta, decidunt ; sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas." DUNSTER.

Ver. 5. ——— mellowing year :] Here is an inaccuracy of the poet. The *mellowing* year could not affect the leaves of the laurel, the myrtle, and the ivy ; which last is characterised before as *never-sere*.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 6. *Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear,*] Spenser, as Mr. Richardson observes, *Faer. Q.* i. i. 53.

"Love of yourselfe, she saide, and *deare constraint*,

"Lets me not sleepe, &c."

And Sidney thus addresses Time, *Arcadia*, lib. iii.

"Thou art the father of *occasion deare*." TODD.

Ver. 10. *Who would not sing for Lycidas ?*] Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 3.

——— "neget quis carmina Gallo ?" PECK.

Ver. 11. ——— and build the lofty rhyme.] A beautiful Latinism. Hor. *Ep.* I. iii. 24. "Seu *condis* amabile carmen." And *De Arte Port.* v. 436. "Si carmina *condes*." NEWTON.

Euripides says still more boldly because more specifically, 'Αντιὰς ΕΙΝΥΠΩΣΕ, *Suppl.* v. 997. HERD.

Milton, I conceive, penned this admired expression relating to Lycidas,

He must not float upon his watery bier
Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
Without the meed of some melodious tear.

Begin then, Sisters of the sacred well,

15

not without an eye to the verses of his beloved Spenser, in the *Ruines of Rome*, st. 25.

“O that I had the Thracian Poets harpe——

“Or that I had Amphions instrument——

“Or that at least I could, with pencill fine,

“Fashion the portraicts of these palacis,

“By paterne of great Virgils spirit divine!

“I would assay with that which in me is,

“To *builde*, with levell of my *loftie* style,

“That which no hands can evermore compyle.” TODD.

Ver. 12. *He must not float upon his watery bier*] So Jonson, in *Cynthia's Revells*, 1600. A. i. S. ii.

“Sing some mourning straine

“Over his *watrick* hearse.” T. WARTON.

So P. Fletcher, of the dying swan, *Purp. Isl.* c. i. st. 30.

“And, chaunting her own dirge, tides on her *watry* herse.” TODD.

Ver. 14. ———— *melodious* tear.] For song, or plaintive elegiack strain, the *cause* of tears. Euripides, in like manner, *Suppl.* v. 1128. “*ἢ ἂν ΔΑΚΡΥΑ φέρεις φίλα—ὀλωλότωρ*”; “Where do you bear the *tears* of the dead, *i. e.* the *remains* or *ashes* of the dead, which occasion our *tears*?” Or perhaps the passage is corrupt. See note on the place, edit. Markland. The same use of *tears*, however, occurs, *ibid.* v. 454. ΔΑΚΡΥΑ ἢ ἐπομάζουσι. HURD.

The passage is undoubtedly corrupt; *ἢ* is superfluous, and mars the context. Reiske, with little or no improvement, but justly rejecting the interrogation, proposed, *παῖ δάκρυα*. The late Oxford editor seems to have given the genuine reading, *ΝΑΙ δάκρυα φέρεις φίλα*. T. WARTON.

Tear, in this passage, means a funeral elegy. Thus Harvey's *Verses* on the death of Sir Thomas Smith are entitled “*Musarum Lachrymæ*”; whence his friend Spenser might be led to affix, to his elegies of the nine Muses, the name of *Tears of the Muses*. So Drummond calls his *elegy* “On the death of Moeliades [that is, Prince Henry,] *Tears*.” A paraphrastick explanation may be added from an elegy on Dr. Donne's death, *Poems*, 1633. p. 393.

“Who shall presume to mourn thee, Donne, unlesse

“He could his *teares* in thy expressions dresse,

“And teach his griefe, that reverence of thy hearse,

“To weepe *lines* learned, as thy anniverse,

“A poeme of that worth, whose every *teare*

“Deserves the title of a severall yeare.”

And Cleveland, in his *Obsequy* on Mr. King, the Lycidas of Milton, gives us in other words, the *melodious* tear:

“I like not *tears* in time: nor will I prise

“His artificiall grief, &c.” TODD.

Ver. 15. *Begin then, Sisters of the sacred well.*] Browne, in his *Brianna's Pastorals*, as Mr. Dunster also notices, calls Helicon “the *sacred well*,” B. i. S. 5. ad fin. But Milton seems to have likewise borne in mind the poetry of Spenser, both in regard to Helicon and the address to the

That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring ;
 Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.
 Hence with denial vain, and coy excuse :
 So may some gentle Muse
 With lucky words favour my destin'd urn ;
 And, as he passes, turn,
 And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud.

20

Muses, in which opinion I am countenanced by Mr. Dunster. See the *Tears of the Muses*, where the "sacred Sisters nine" are addressed as having poured forth their complaints as they "did sit beside the silver springs of Helicone." And at the end of the address, the poet calls on Clio to commence the doleful lay: "*Begin*, thou eldest *Sister* of the crew." Still Milton had in remembrance here his favourite Euripides, *Hippolit.* ver. 757.

Κρῖναι τ' ἀμειρόσαι χέονται
 Ζηγὸς μελάρων παρὰ κοίταις. TODD.

Ver. 17. *Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.*] Tickell reads *louder*, in his edition of 1720, against the authority of the early editions which have all *loudly*. He was perhaps thinking of a line in Dryden, an author whom he seems to have known better than Milton. "A louder yet, and yet a louder strain." Fenton has also adopted Tickell's reading.

T. WARTON.

Tickell was misled by Tonson's edition of 1713. TODD.

Ver. 18. ————— coy] The epithet *coy* is at present restrained to Person. Anciently, it was more generally combined. Thus a shepherd in Drayton's *Ecl.* vii. vol. iv. p. 1418. ed. Oldys, 1753.

"Shepherd, these things are all too *coy* for me,

"Whose youth is spent in jollity and mirth."

That is, "This sort of knowledge is too *hard*, too difficult for me, &c." Our author has the same use and sense of *coy* in the *Apology for Smeectymnus*. "Thus lie at the mercy of a *coy* flurting style, to be girded with frumps and curtall gibes, &c." T. WARTON.

Ver. 22. ————— *my sable shroud.*] Mr. Dunster has little doubt that Milton here means the "*dark grave*;" *shroud* being the Miltonick word for *recess, harbour, hiding place*. Yet he has overlooked the passages in Sylvester, which occasioned, in my opinion, the introduction of *sable shroud* into Milton's monody. And first, Sylvester uses the precise expression, though with a different meaning, in his *Bethulian's Rescue*, lib. 4. p. 991. edit. 1621.

"Still therefore, cover'd with a *sable shroud*,

"Hath she kept home; as to all sorrow vow'd."

But in Sylvester's Translation of *Du Bartus*, ed. supr. p. 114. we find,

"O happy pair! upon your *sable toomb*

"May Mel and Manna ever showing come."

And what further confirms me in the application of *tomb* or *grave* to Milton's text, is, a passage from a funeral Elegy of Sylvester, edit. supr. p. 1171.

"From my sad cradle to my *sable chest*,

"Poor pilgrim I did finde few months of rest." TODD.

For we were nurs'd upon the self-same hill,
 Fed the same flock by fountain, shade, and rill.
 Together both, ere the high lawns appear'd 25
 Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,

Ver. 25. *Together both, &c.*] Here a new paragraph begins in the edition of 1645, and in all that followed. But in the edition of 1638, the whole context is thus pointed and arranged.

“For we were nurst upon the self-same hill,
 “Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade and rill;
 “Together both, &c.”

From the regularity of his pursuits, the purity of his pleasures, his temperance, and general simplicity of life, Milton habitually became an early riser. Hence he gained an acquaintance with the beauties of the morning, which he so frequently contemplated with delight, and has therefore so repeatedly described in all their various appearances: and this is a subject which he delineates with the lively pencil of a lover. In the *Apology for Smectymnus* he declares, “Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home: not sleeping or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring, in winter often before the sound of any bell awakens men to labour or devotion: in summer, as oft as the bird that first rouses, or not much tardyer, to read good authors, &c.” *Prose-Works*, i. 109. In *L'Allegro*, one of the first delights of his cheerful man, is to hear the “lark begin her flight.” His *lovely landscape* of Eden always wears its most attractive charms at sun-rising, and seems most delicious to our first parents “at that season prime for sweetest scents and airs.” In the present instance, he more particularly alludes to the stated early hours of a collegiate life, which he shared, *on the self-same hill*, with his friend Lycidas at Cambridge. T. WARTON.

Ver. 26. *Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,*] Perhaps from Thomas Middleton's *Game at Chesse*, an old forgotten play, published about the end of the reign of James the First, 1625.

“Like a pearl,
 “Dropt from the *opening eyelids of the morn*
 “Upon the bashful rose.”

I find *glimmering*, instead of *opening*, in the first edition, 1638. And in the Cambridge manuscript at Trinity College. He altered the reading in the second edition, 1645. None of the variations in the edition of 1638 have hitherto been noticed. T. WARTON.

The *eye-lids of the morning* is a phrase of sublime origin. See *Job* iii. 9. “Neither let it see the dawning of the day,” or, as in the margin, “the *eye-lids of the morning*.” See also chap. xli. 18. And Sophocles, *Antigon.* v. 103.

Ἐφάνθη ποτ' ὧ' χροσέας
 Ἀμύρας βαεφάρων.

Our old poets appear to have been fond of this image. Crashaw, in his Translation of Marino's *Sospetto d' Herode*, has, “the *lids* of day;” and, in his *Musick's Duel*, “the *eye-lids* of a blushing day.” So Henry More, in his *Song of the Soul*, ed. *supr.* p. 349.

“There you may see the *eye-lids* of the *morn*.”

So Sylvester, in *Du Bart*. “Job triumphant,” ed. 1621, p. 899.

“May it no more see th' *eyelids* of the *morning*.”

“ Ver. 27. *We drove &c.*] “ We continued together till *noon*, and from thence, &c.” The Gray-fly is called by the naturalists. The *Gray-fly* or *Trumpet-fly*. Here we have Milton’s *horn*; and *sultry horn* is the sharp hum of this insect at noon, or the hottest part of the day. But by some this has been thought the chaffier, which begins its flight in the evening.

T. WARTON.

Ibid. *We drove afield*,] That is, “ we drove *our flocks* afield.” I mention this, that Gray’s echo of the passage in the *Church-Yard Elegy*, yet with another meaning, may not mislead many careless readers. “ How joyous did they drive *the team* afield.” T. WARTON.

The employment of the two friends at the dawn of morning, resembles a passage in Davison’s *Poet. Rapsodie*, 1611 :

“ A little heard-groome (for he was no bett)

“ When course of yeare return’d the pleasant spring,

“ *At breake of day*, withouten further lett

“ Cast with himselfe *his flocke afield* to bring.” TODD.

Ver. 29. *Battening our flocks*,] To *batten* is both neutral and active, to *grow*, or to *make fat*. The neutral is most common. Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. iii. S. iv.

“ Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed,

“ And *batten* on this moor ?”

And Drayton, *Ecl.* ix. vol. iv. ut supr. p. 1431.

“ Their *battening flocks* on grassie leas to hold.”

Milton had this line in his eye. T. WARTON.

Ver. 30. *Oft till the star, that rose, at evening, bright*,] Thus the edition 1645. In the edition of 1638, and Cambridge manuscript, “ *Oft till the even-starre bright*.” And in the next line, *burnisht* was altered to *westering*.” T. WARTON.

Ver. 31. ————— *his westering wheel*,] Drawing toward the west. So, in Chaucer’s *Troil. and Creseide*, B. ii. 905.

————— “ the sonne

“ Gan *westrin* fast, and downward for to wrie.” NEWTON.

Ver. 33. *Temper’d to the outen flute* ;] So Phineas Fletcher, a popular author in Milton’s days, *Purpl. Isl.* C. ix. st. iii.

“ *Tempering* their sweetest notes unto thy lay.”

And Spenser, in *June* :

————— “ Where byrdes of every kinde

“ To the waters fall their tunes *attemper* right.”

Rough Satyrs danc'd, and Fauns with cloven heel
From the glad sound would not be absent long ; 35
And old Damœtas lov'd to hear our song.

But, O the heavy change, now thou art gone,
Now thou art gone, and never must return !
Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods, and desart caves
With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown, 40
And all their echoes mourn :

It is the same phraseology in *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 598. Of various instruments of musick. " *Temper'd* soft tunings." T. WARTON.

Temper'd, in this last sense, is an Italian phrase. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 598. But it is also the phraseology of English poetry, anterior to that of Spenser. Thus, in *The pleasaunt playne and pythye Pathewaye leadynge to a vertues and honest lyfe*, 4to. bl. l. imprinted at London by Nicolas Hyll, &c. s. d. The spring is described ;

" And because the sharpe colde hys malyce had done,
" The mavis endeouored her selfe, fyrst, her notes to tune ;
" Next after, the pleasaunt nightingale *tempered* her voyce,
" Which, wth her merry melody, euery heart doth greatly reioyce."
TODD.

Ver. 39. *Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods, and desart caves* &c.] It is thus in the first edition, 1638.

" Thee *shepherds*, thee the woods, and desart caves, &c."

That is, " thee *the shepherds*, thee the woods, and thee the caves, lament." Without the address to Lycidas. Gray has hence adopted "*each desart cave*." T. WARTON.

Milton, in his manuscript, had pointed it,

" Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods, &c."

Lucretius and Virgil, in similar repetitions, are here obvious. But see also Spenser's translation of Lucretius's address, in the opening of his first book, to Venus : " Te, dea, te fugiunt venti, te &c." *Faer. Qu.* iv. x. 44.

" Thee, goddesse, thee the winds, the clouds doe feare."

But the passage most similar, in all its circumstances, to the present, is, in the opinion of Mr. Dunster, the lamentation for Orpheus in Ovid, *Met.* xi. 43.

" Te mæstæ volueres, Orpheu ; te turba ferarum,

" Te rigidi silices, tua carmina sæpe secutæ

" Fleverunt sylvæ ; positæ te frondibus arbos." TODD.

Ver. 40. ————— *the gadding vine*] Dr. Warburton supposes, that the vine is here called *gadding*, because, being married to the elm, like other wives, she is fond of *gadding abroad*, and seeking a new associate. I have met with a peculiar use of the word *gadding*, which also shows its ancient and original spelling. From the Register of a Chantry at Godderston in Norfolk, under the year 1534. " Receyvid at the *Gadyng* with Saynte Marye Songe at Crismas." Blomf. *Norfol.* iii. 404. That is, " *At going about* from house to house at christmas with a Carol of the Holy Virgin, &c." It seems as if there was such an old verb as *gade*, a frequentative from *go*. Chaucer, *Rom. R.* 938.

The willows, and the hazel copses green,
 Shall now no more be seen
 Fanning their joyous leaves to thy soft lays.
 As killing as the canker to the rose, 45
 Or taint-worm to the weanling herds that graze,
 Or frost to flowers, that their gay wardrobe wear,
 When first the white-thorn blows ;
 Such, Lycidas, thy loss to shepherd's ear. 49
 Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
 Clos'd o'er the head of your lov'd Lycidas ?
 For neither were ye playing on the steep,

" These bowis two held Swete-Loking,

" That ne semid like no *gadling*."

That is, " no *gadder*, idler, &c." *Gadelyng* occurs in Hearne's "*Gloss.* to Robert of Gloucester, *strugling, renegade*, &c." p. 651. Tully, in a beautiful description of the growth of the vine, says, that it spreads itself abroad, "*multiplici lapsu et erratico*." De Senectute. T. WARTON.

Ver. 45. *As killing as the canker to the rose.*] Mr. Warton has observed, that Shakspeare is fond of this image, and, from frequent repetition, seems to have suggested it to Milton. He has given many instances, but has omitted two beautiful passages, which also seem to have assisted a modern poet in a much-admired ballad. The first is from the *Two Gent. of Verona*, A. i. S. i.

—————" As the most forward bud

" *Is eaten by the canker ere it blow ;*

" Even so by love the young and tender wit

" *Is turn'd to folly ; blasting in the bud,*

" *Losing his verdure even in the prime, &c.*"

The other, from *Twelfth Night*, A. ii. S. iv.

—————" She never told her love,

" But let concealment, *like a worm i' the bud,*

" Feed on her damask cheek."

The ballad, which is indebted to these passages, is the *William and Margaret* of Mallet :

" Her bloom was like the springing flower,

" That sips the silver dew ;

" The *rose* was budded in her *cheek*,

" Just opening to the view.

" But love had, *like the canker-worm*,

" *Consum'd her early prime :*

" The rose grew pale, and left her cheek ;

" She died before her time." TOWN.

Ver. 49. ————— *to shepherd's ear.*] As in Shakspeare, *Mids. N. Dr.* i. 1.

" More tunable than lark to shepherd's ear." TOWN.

Ver. 50. *Where were ye, &c.*] Theocritus and Virgil are obvious here. But see Spenser's *Astrophel*, st. 22. " Ah, where were ye the while his shepheard peares, &c." T. WARTON.

Where your old Bards, the famous Druids, lie,
 Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,
 Nor yet where Deva spreads her wisard stream : 55

Ver. 53. *Where your old Bards,*] In the edition of 1638, "*the old Bards.*" With a very different meaning. The correction appeared in the author's edition of 1645. T. WARTON.

Milton, I find, had written it "*your old Bards,*" in his own manuscript. TODD.

Ver. 54. *Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high:*] In Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Mona is introduced reciting her own history; where she mentions her thick and dark groves as the favourite residence of the Druids:

"Sometimes within my shades, in many an ancient wood,

"Whose often-twined tops great Phebus fires withstood,

"The fearless British priests, under an aged oake, &c."

Where, says Selden, "The British Druids tooke this isle of Anglesey, then well-stored with thicke woods and religious groves, in so much that it was then called INIS DOWIL, *The Dark isle*, for their chiefe residence, &c." S. ix. vol. iii. p. 837. 839. Here are Milton's authorities. For the Druid-sepulchres, in the preceding line, at *Kerig y Druidion*, in the mountains of Denbighshire, he consulted Camden's *Britannia*. T. WARTON.

The *shaggy top* Milton probably remembered in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*. See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 645. TODD.

Ver. 55. *Nor yet where Deva spreads her wisard stream:*] In Spenser, the river Dee is the haunt of magicians. Merlin used to visit old Timon, in a green valley under the foot of the mountain Rauranvaur in Merionethshire, from which this river springs. *Faerie Queene*, i. ix. 4. The Dee has been made the scene of a variety of ancient British traditions. The city of Chester was called by the Britons the *Fortress upon DEE*; which was feigned to have been founded by the giant Leon, and to have been the place of king Arthur's magnificent coronation. But there is another and perhaps a better reason, why Deva's is a *wisard* stream. In Drayton, this river is styled the *hallowed*, and the *holy*, and the *ominous*, *flood*. *Polyolb.* S. x. vol. iii. p. 848. S. ix. vol. iii. p. 287. S. iv. vol. ii. p. 731. Again, "*holy Dee.*" *Heroical Epist.* vol. i. p. 293. And in his *Ideas*, vol. iv. p. 1271. Compare Spenser as above, iv. xi. 39.

—— "Dee which Britons long ygone
 "Did call *divine*."

And Browne, in his *Britannia's Pastorals*, B. ii. S. v. p. 117. edit. 1613. "Never more let *holy Dee* &c." In our author's *At a Vacation Exercise*, Dee is characterised, "*ancient hallowed Dee,*" v. 91. Where see the Note. Much superstition was founded on the circumstance of its being the ancient boundary between England and Wales: and Drayton, in his *Tenth Song*, having recited this part of its history, adds, that, by changing its fords, it foretold good or evil, war or peace, dearth or plenty, to either country. He then introduces the Dee, over which king Edgar had been rowed by eight kings, relating the Story of Brutus. See also S. iii. vol. ii. p. 711. S. xii. vol. iii. p. 901. But in the *Eleventh Song*, Drayton calls the Weever, a river of Cheshire, "*the wisard river,*" and immediately subjoins, that in *prophetick skill* it vies with the *Dee*. S. xi. vol. iii. p. 861. Here we seem to have the origin and the precise meaning of Milton's appellation. In *Comus*, WISARD also signifies a *Diviner* where it is applied to Proteus, v. 872. Milton appears to have taken a particular pleasure in mentioning this venerable river. In the beginning of his first

Ay me! I fondly dream!
 Had ye been there—for what could that have done?
 What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,

Elegy, he almost goes out of his way to specify his friend's residence on the banks of the Dee; which he describes with the picturesque and real circumstance of its tumbling headlong over rocks and precipices into the Irish sea. *El.* i. 1—4.

But to return home to the text immediately lying before us. In the midst of this wild imagery, the tombs of the Druids, dispersed over the solitary mountains of Denbighshire, the shaggy summits of Mona, and the wisard waters of Deva, Milton was in his favourite track of poetry. He delighted in the old British traditions and fabulous histories. But his imagination seems to have been in some measure warmed, and perhaps directed to these objects, by reading Drayton; who in the *Ninth* and *Tenth Songs* of his *Polyolbion* has very copiously enlarged, and almost at one view, on this scenery. It is, however, with great force and felicity of fancy, that Milton, in transferring the classical seats of the Muses to Britain, has substituted places of the most romantick kind, inhabited by Druids, and consecrated by the visions of British bards; and it has been justly remarked, how coldly and unpoetically Pope, in his very correct pastorals, has on the same occasion selected only the *fair fields* of Isis, and the *winding vales* of Cam. But at the same time there is an immediate propriety in the substitution of these places, which should not be forgotten, and is not I believe obvious to every reader. The mountains of Denbighshire, the isle of Man, and the banks of the Dee, are in the vicinity of the Irish Seas where Lycidas was shipwrecked. It is thus Theocritus asks the Nymphs, how it came to pass, that when Daphnis died, they were not in the delicious vales of Peneus, or on the banks of the great torrent Anapus, the sacred water of Acis, or on the summits of mount Ætna: because all these were the haunts or the habitation of the shepherd Daphnis. These rivers and rocks have a real connection with the poet's subject. T. WARTON.

Ver. 56. *Ay me! I fondly dream!*

Had ye been there—for what could that have done?]

So these lines stand in editions 1638, 1645, and 1673. Doctor Newton thus exhibits the passage.

“Ay me! I fondly dream

“Had ye been there, for what could that have done?”

And adds this note. “We have here followed the pointing of Milton's manuscript in preference to all the editions: and the meaning plainly is, I fondly dream of your having been there, for what would that have signified?” But surely the words, *I fondly dream had ye been there*, will not bear this construction. The reading which I have adopted, to say nothing of its authority, has an abruptness which heightens the present sentiment, and more strongly marks the distraction of the speaker's mind. “Ay me! I am fondly dreaming! I will suppose you had been there—but why should I suppose it, for what would that have availed?” The context is broken and confused, and contains a sudden ellipsis which I have supplied with the words in Italicks. T. WARTON.

Ver. 58. *What could the Muse &c.*] See *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 37. of Orpheus torn in pieces by the Bacchanalians: “Nor could the Muse defend her son.” And his murderers are called “that wild rout,” v. 34. Calliope was the mother of Orpheus. Lycidas, as a poet, is here tacitly compared with Orpheus. They were both victims of the water. T. WARTON.

The Muse herself, for her enchanting son,
Whom universal Nature did lament, 60
When, by the rout that made the hideous roar,
His goary visage down the stream was sent,
Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore?

Alas! what boots it with incessant care
To tend the homely, slighted, shepherd's trade, 65
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
Were it not better done, as others use,

Ver. 63. *Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore?*] In calling Hebrus *swift*, Milton, who is avaricious of classical authority, appears to have followed a verse in the *Æn.* i. 321. "*Volucrémque fuga prævertitur Hebrum.*" But Milton was misled by a wrong although a very ancient reading. Even Servius, in his comment on the line, with an aggravation instead of apology, blames his author for attributing this epithet to Hebrus, "*Nam quietissimus est, etiam cum per hyemem crescit.*" See Burman's *Virgil*, vol. i. p. 95. col. 1. edit. 1746. 4to. Besides, what was the merit of the amazon huntress Harpalyce to outstrip a river, even if uncommonly rapid? The genuine reading might have been "*Eurum.*" This emendation is proposed by Janus Rutgersius, *Lectio. Venusin.* c. vi. But Scaliger had partly suggested it to Rutgersius, by reading, "*Euro hyemis sodali,*" instead of "*Hebro,*" Hor. *Od.* i. xxv. 20. See also *Huetiana*, lxiv. If, however, a river was here to be made a subject of comparison, there was a local propriety and an elegance, in the poet's selection of the Thracian river Hebrus. When Milton copies the ancients, it is not that he wants matter of his own, but because he is fond of showing his learning: or rather, because the imagery of the ancients was so familiar to his thoughts. T. WARTON.

Mr. Upton, in his notes on Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, has also made objection to Milton's "*swift Hebrus*;" and supposes the poet likewise to have been misled by the faulty reading of Virgil. Milton, I conceive, might be influenced, in the introduction of this disputed expression, not by the Virgilian passage, but by the words of an almost contemporary poet. See a copy of hexameter verses in Davison's *Poetical Rapsodie*, ed. 1611. p. 164.

"As when *Culliope's dear sonne*, sweete harmony singing,
"Vnto the true consente of his harpe-strings tuned in order,
"*Swift* flowing *Hebrus* staid all his streames in a wonder." TORD.

Ver. 64. *Alas! what boots it &c.*] The expression, "what boots it," often occurs in Spenser; and the sentiments which follow, on the vanity of poetical pursuits, are not dissimilar to those of Davison, *Poet. Rapsodie*, ed. 1611. p. 46.

"Watch now ye shepheards boyes with waking eye,
"And lose your time of sleepe to learne to sing!
"Vnhappy skill! what good is got thereby
"But painted praise that can no profit bring." TORD.

Ver. 65. ————*the homely, slighted, shepherd's trade,*] As in Spenser, *Shep. Cal.* June, ver. 67.

"And holden scorn of *homely shepheards* quill." TORD.

Ver. 67. ————*as others use,*] The edition of 1638 reads "*as others do,*" an error of the press. TORD.

————— "that dragon, which doth keep
"Hesperian fruit, the *spur* in you doth raise."

Clear spirit occurs in Milton's *Prose-Works*, ed. 1698. vol. i. 161. "Certainly never any *cleare spirit* nurst up from brighter influences, &c." Drayton, in one of his *Elegies*, has the same expression, p. 268. ed. 1631.

—————"had not my *cleare spirit* in fortunes scorne
"Mee above earth and her affections borne." TODD.

Ver. 71. (*That last infirmity of noble mind*)] Mr. Bowle observes, that Abate Grillo, in his *Lettre* has called "Questa fete di fama et gloria, ordinaria *infirmità* de gli *animi generosi*." Lib. ii. p. 210. edit. Ven. 1604. 4to. Such also is Sir Henry Wotton's observation, in his *Panegyrick to K. Charles*, speaking of K. James I. "I will not deny his appetite of glory, *which generous minds do ever latest part from*." Mr. Gifford, the learned editor of Massinger's Plays, notices a similar expression in the *Very Woman* of that author; referring it, as well as Milton's, to Tacitus and Simplicius. TODD.

Ver. 73. *But the fair guerdon*] *Prize, reward*, a word, as Peck and Dr. Newton have observed, often used by our old writers, particularly Spenser. As in *Faer. Qu.* i. vii. 15. "To gain so goodly *guerdon*." TODD.

Ibid. ————— when *we hope*] Here the edition of 1638 reads "*where we hope*." TODD.

Ver. 74. *And think to burst out into sudden blaze,*] He is speaking of fame. So in *Par. Reg.* B. iii. 47. "For what is glory but the *blaze of fame*, &c." T. WARTON.

So, in the *Hist. of Orlando Furioso*, 4to. 1599.

—————"the *sparkling light of fame*,
"Whose glory's brighter &c." TODD.

Ver. 75. *Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,*] In Shakespeare are the shears of Destiny, with more propriety, *K. John*, A. iv. S. ii. The king says to Pembroke,

"Think you I bear the *shears of destiny*?"

And slits the thin-spun life. "But not the praise,"
 Phœbus replied, and touch'd my trembling ears ;
 "Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
 "Nor in the glistering foil
 "Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies ; 80
 "But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,
 "And perfect witness of all-judging Jove ;
 "As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
 "Of so much fame in heaven expect thy meed."

Milton, however, does not here confound the Fates and the Furies. He only calls Destiny a Fury. In Spenser, we have *blind Fury*, *Ruins of Rome*, st. xxiv.

"If the *blinde Furie* which warres breedeth oft."

And in Sackville's *Gorboducke*, A. v. S. iii.

"O Joue, how are these peoples hearts abvs'd,

"And what *blind Fury* headlong carries them ?"

See *Observations on Spenser's Faerie Queene*, vol. ii. p. 255. edit. 2.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 76. ————— *But not the praise, &c.*] "But the *praise* is not *intercepted*." While the poet, in the character of a shepherd, is moralising on the uncertainty of human life, Phœbus interposes with a sublime strain, above the tone of pastoral poetry. He then, in an abrupt and elliptical apostrophe, at *O fountain Arethuse*, hastily recollects himself, and apologises to his rural Muse, or, in other words, to Arethusa and Mincius, the celebrated streams of bucolick song, for having so suddenly departed from pastoral allusions, and the tenour of his subject. "But I could not," he adds, "resist the sudden and awful impulse of the god of verse, who interrupted me with a *strain of higher mood*, and forced me to quit for a moment my pastoral ideas :—But I now resume my rural oaten pipe, and proceed as I began." In the same manner, he reverts to his rural strain, after S. Peter's *dread voice*, with "Return Alpheus."

T. WARTON.

Ver. 77. Phœbus *replied, and touch'd my trembling ears ;*] Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 3.

"Cynthiaus aurem

"Vellit et admonuit." PECK.

Compare Seneca, *Herc. Oct.* ver. 1945.

"Unde sonus *trepidas aures* feret ?" DUNSTER.

Ver. 79. *Nor in the glistering foil*
Set off to the world,] Perhaps with a remembrance of Shakespeare, Part i. *Hen. IV.* A. i. S. ii.

"And, like bright metal on a sullen ground,

"My reformation glittering o'er my fault,

"Shall show more goodly, and attract more eyes,

"Than that which hath no *foil* to set it off." T. WARTON.

Ver. 81. ————— *those pure eyes,*] Perhaps from Scripture, "God is of *purer eyes* than to behold iniquity." And hence an

O fountain Arethuse, and thou honour'd flood, 85
 Smooth-sliding Mincius, crown'd with vocal reeds!
 That strain I heard was of a higher mood :
 But now my oat proceeds,
 And listens to the herald of the sea
 That came in Neptune's plea ; 90
 He ask'd the waves, and ask'd the felon winds,
 What hard mishap hath doom'd this gentle swain ?
 And question'd every gust of rugged wings
 That blows from off each beaked promontory :
 They knew not of his story ; 95
 And sage Hippotades their answer brings,

epithet, sufficiently hackneyed in modern poetry, *Com.* v. 213. "Welcome pure-eyed Faith." T. WARTON.

Ver. 85. *O fountain Arethuse,*] In giving Arethusa the distinctive appellation of *Fountain*, Milton closely and learnedly attends to the ancient Greek writers. See more particularly the scholiast on Theocritus, *Idyll.* i. 117. And Servius on Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 694. *Ecl.* x. 4. Homer says, *Odys.* xiii. 408.—*Ἐπὶ τῇ Κρήνῃ Ἀρεθούσῃ.* Compare Hesychius, and his annotators, V. ΚΟΡΑΚΟΣ, ΑΛΦΕΙΟΣ, ΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΑ. And Stephanus Byzant. *Berkel.* p. 162. T. WARTON.

Ver. 91. ——— *the felon winds,*] The *cruel* winds. Sir David Lyndsay, in his *Monarchie*, affords an example of this adjective applied in a similar sense to *flood*. See Lyndsay's Works, edit. Chalmers, vol. ii. p. 386. The poet is speaking of the dove's return to Noah in the ark :

———"with the branche scho did returne ;

"That Noe might cleirly understand,

"That fellown flude was decressand." TODD.

Ver. 93. *And question'd every gust of rugged wings*] We find *winds* for *wings*, in Tonson's very incorrect but elegant octavo edition of 1705.

T. WARTON.

The same mistake occurs in the first volume of an elegant publication, in which *Lycidas* is printed, entitled *The English Anthology*, 8vo. Lond. 1793. TODD.

Ver. 94. ——— *each beaked promontory :*] That is, prominent or projecting like the *beak* of a bird. Harrison in Hollinshed has *wesel-beaked*, *Descript. Eng.* p. 172. Our author has the "*beaked* prow," of Noah's ark, *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 746. Drayton has, still more appositely, "The utmost end of Cornwall's furrowing *beak*," *Polyolb. S. i.* vol. ii. p. 657. T. WARTON.

Ver. 96. *And sage Hippotades their answer brings,*] *Hippotades* is no very common or familiar name for Æolus the son of Hippotas. It is not in Virgil, the *great* Storm-painter, and who appears to be so perfectly acquainted with the poetical family of the winds. Perhaps I may be mistaken, but it occurs only in four classick poets either absolutely or conjunctively. In one of these, however, it occurs repeatedly. In Homer, *Odys.* x. 2.

Αἰολίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ' ἐνθαλὶδ' ἵναίεν
 Αἰολος ἸΠΠΙΟΤΑΔΗΣ.

That not a blast was from his dungeon stray'd ;
 The air was calm, and on the level brine
 Sleek Panope with all her sisters play'd.
 It was that fatal and perfidious bark, 100
 Built in the eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,
 That sunk so low that sacred head of thine.
 Next Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,

See also, *Odys.* v. 36. In Apollonius Rhodius, a Greek poet whom I have frequently traced in Milton, *Argon.* iv. 819.

——— 'ΙΠΠΟΤΑΔΗΝ δὲ

Ἀτολον ὥκτιας ἀνέμων αἰκας ἱρῶεν.

In Ovid, *Epistol. Heroid. Ep. Leand. Heron.* v. 46.

"Imperet *Hippotades* sic tibi triste nihil."

See also *Epist. ex Pont.* L. iv. x. 15. *Metam.* L. iv. 661, & 707, xiv. 86, & 224.—In Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* L. i. 610.

——— "Tum valido contortam turbine portam

"Impulit *Hippotades*."

The name is seldom mentioned even by the mythologists. I must not forget, that it is found in the geographical poem of Dionysius, with an allusion to the *Odyssey*, v. 462. T. WARTON.

To Mr. Warton's instances of *Hippotades* being used for *Æolus* by Ovid, may be added, *Met.* xi. 431. *Hippotades* is also noticed by Quintus Calaber, lib. xiv. The epithet *sage* may refer to the prudence, with which he is described governing the winds committed to his care, Virg. *Æn.* i. 62.

——— "qui sædere certo

"Et premere et laxas sciret dare jussus habenas." DUNSTER.

Ver. 100. ——— that fatal and perfidious bark,

Built in the eclipse, and rigg'd with curses dark,] Although Dr. Newton mentions the *Ille et nefasto*, and *Mula soluta navis exit alite*, of Horace, as two passages similar to this, yet he has not observed how much more poetical and striking is the imagery of Milton, that the ship was built in the eclipse, and rigged with curses. JOS. WARTON.

Evidently with a view to the enchantments of *Macbeth*:

——— "Slips of yew,

"Sliver'd in the moon's eclipse."

Again, in the same incantation: "Root of hemlock digg'd i' the dark." The shipwreck was occasioned not by a storm, but by the bad conduct of the ship, unfit for so dangerous a navigation. T. WARTON.

Ver. 103. ——— went footing slow,] *Slow footing* is an expression of Spenser, *Fær. Qu.* i. iii. 10.

"A damsel spyde *slow-footing* her before."

But see G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, to which Mr. Dunster refers, st. 15.

"At length an aged sire far off he saw

"Come slowly footing."

Footing slow, Mr. Dunster observes, as meant to mark the sluggish course of the river Cam, is exactly Claudian's description of the Mincius, "*tardusque meatu* Mincius." Henry More, Milton's friend, adopts the expression, *footing slow*, in his *Song of the Soul*, 1642. C. iii. st. 10. TODD.

His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge,
 Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge 105
 Like to that sanguine flower, inscrib'd with woe.
 "Ah! Who hath reft (quoth he) my dearest pledge?"
 Last came, and last did go,
 The pilot of the Galilean lake;
 Two massy keys he bore of metals twain, 110
 (The golden opes, the iron shuts amain,)

Ver. 105. ———— *figures dim.*] Alluding to the fabulous traditions of the high antiquity of Cambridge. But how Cam was distinguished by a *hairy mantle* from other rivers which have *herds* and *flocks* on their banks, I know not; unless "the *budge* doctors of the Stoick *fur*," as Milton calls them in *Comus*, had lent him their *academick robes*.

WARBURTON.

It is very probable, that the *hairy mantle*, being joined with the *sedge-bonnet*, may mean his *rushy* or *reedy* banks. See the notes on *El.* i. 89. It would be difficult to ascertain the meaning of *figures dim*. Perhaps the poet himself had no very clear or determinate idea: but, in obscure and mysterious expressions, leaves something to be supplied or explained by the reader's imagination. T. WARTON.

The *mantle hairy*, and the *bonnet sedge*, are thus ably illustrated in a note by Mr. Plumptre, subjoined to his elegant Greek translation of *Lycidas*, 1797. "Chlamydem scilicet e *confervâ rivulari*, quæ copiose *Camo* innatat; petasum vero ex *ulvâ* notis quodammodo per folia incertis, intus signatâ, et ad marginem foliorum serratâ, more hyacinthini *ai al.*" The *figures dim* may be considered as referring to the *sedge bonnet*; in which opinion Mr. Plumptre and Mr. Dunster concur; and the latter also remarks, that on sedge leaves, or flags, when dried or even beginning to wither, there are not only certain *dim*, or indistinct, and dusky streaks, but also a variety of dotted marks (*scrawl'd over*,) as Milton had at first written, on the edge, which withers before the rest of the flag. TODD.

Ver. 107. *Ah! who hath reft (quoth he) my dearest pledge?*] My dearest child; as *children* were simply called by the Latins *pignora*, pledges.

RICHARDSON.

Mr. Bowle compares this line with one in the *Rime spirituali* of Angelo Grillo, fol. 7. a. It is part of the Virgin's lamentation on the Passion of Christ,

"Deh, disse, ove ne vai mio caro *pegno*?

"Alas, quoth she, where goest thou, my dear *pledge*? And he adds, that *reft* was here perhaps immediately taken from a passage in Spenser's *Daphnida*, where the subject is the same.

"And *reft* from me my sweet companion,

"And *reft* from me my love, &c." T. WARTON.

Ver. 111. *The golden opes,*] Mr. Bowle thinks this is an allusion to the Italian proverb, "Con le chiavi d'ora s' apre ognâ porta," to which one in Spanish corresponds. Saint Peter's two keys in the Gospel, seem to have supplied modern poetry with the allegorick machinery of two keys, which are variously used. In Dante's *Inferno*, the ghost of a courtier of the emperour Frederick tells Virgil, that he had possessed two keys with which he locked and unlocked his master's heart, C. xiii. And hence perhaps the two keys, although with a different application, which Nature,

He shook his miter'd locks, and stern bespake :
 " How well could I have spar'd for thee, young swain,
 " Enow of such, as for their bellies' sake
 " Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold ? 115
 " Of other care they little reckoning make,
 " Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast,
 " And shove away the worthy bidden guest ;

in Gray's Ode on the *Power of Poetry*, presents to the infant Shakspeare. See also Dante, *Inf.* C. xxvii. In *Comus*, an admired poetical image was perhaps suggested by saint Peter's golden key, v. 13. Where he mentions

———— " that golden key
 " That opes the palace of eternity." T. WARTON.

Mr. Warton afterwards added, from Jonson's *Masque of Hymen*, the figure of Truth holding in her left hand

———— " a curious bunch of golden keys,
 " With which *Heaven's gate* she locketh and displays."

Sylvester, in his translation of *Du Bartas*, gives Nature " a golden key," edit. 1621, p. 393. But Milton here perhaps, as in *Comus* also, had in view P. Fletcher's description of the Pope: *Locusts*, 4to. 1627. p. 64.

" Three mitred crownes the proud Impostor weares,
 " For he in earth, in hell, in heav'n, will raigne :
 " And in his hand two golden keyes he beares
 " To open heav'n and hell, and shut againe."

The same author, in his *Purp. Island*, 4to. 1633, gives Sedition " two keys, with which to open and shut the gates of heaven and hell," C. vii. st. 61.

TODD.

Ver. 112. *He shook his miter'd locks,*] It is much that this inveterate enemy of prelacy would allow Peter to be a bishop. But the whole circumstance is taken from the Italian satirists. Besides, I suppose he thought it sharpened his satire to have the prelacy condemned by one of their own order. WARBURTON.

Ver. 114. ——— *such, as for their bellies' sake*
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold?] He here animadverts on the endowments of the church, at the same time insinuating that they were shared by those only who sought the emoluments of the sacred office, to the exclusion of a learned and conscientious clergy. Thus in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 193.

" So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold :
 " So since into his church lewd hirelings climb."

Even after the dissolution of the hierarchy, he held this opinion. In his sixteenth *Sonnet*, written 1652, he supplicates Cromwell,

———— " to save free conscience from the paw
 " Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw."

During the usurpation, he published a pamphlet, entitled " The likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church," against the revenues transferred from the old ecclesiastick establishment to the presbyterian ministers. See also his book *Of Reformation*, &c. Prose-works, vol. i. 28.

T. WARTON.

"Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to
 hold
 "A sheep-hook, or have learn'd aught else the least
 "That to the faithful herdman's art belongs! 121
 "What reck's it them? What need they? They are sped;
 "And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
 "Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
 "The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed, 125
 "But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
 "Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread:
 "Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw

Ver. 121. *That to the faithful herdman's art belongs.*] Peck proposes to read *shepherd*, because a *herdman* does not keep sheep. *Pref. to Haptistes*, Men. Milt. p. 273. edit. 1740. But *herdman* (not *herdsman*) has a general sense in our old writers; and, as Mr. Bowle remarks, often occurs in Sydney's *Arcadia*, a book well known to Milton. As thus, vol. i. p. 151. "A *herdman* rich, of much account was he." T. WARTON.

It must be observed, however, that Milton writes it *herdman* in his manuscript. *Herdman* is used in our translation of the Bible. See *Amos* i. 1. TODD.

Ver. 124. *Grate on their scrannel pipes*] No sound of words can be more expressive of the sense; and how finely has he imitated, or rather improved, a passage in Virgil! *Ecl.* iii. 26.

—— "non tu in triviis, indocte, solebas
 "Stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?"

I remember not to have seen the word *scrannel* in any other author; nor can I find it in any dictionary or glossary that I have consulted; but I presume it answers to the *stridenti* of Virgil. NEWTON.

Scrannel is *thin, lean, meagre*. A *scrannel* pipe of straw is contemptuously for Virgil's "*tenuis avena*." T. WARTON.

Mr. Warton's interpretation of *scrannel* is in unison with the Lancashire usage of the word. The Suio-Goth. word *Shrinn* is also *gracilis*. Wachter refers *scrannel* to the German *schreien*, clamare, vociferari; and this suggests another probable definition for the "*scrannel* pipe," namely, that of *screaming* or *harsh*. TODD.

Ver. 126. *But, swoln with wind*] Peck introduces a remark, that Dante, in his *Paradiso*, C. ix. and xxix, complains, "that the pope himself of a shepherd is become a wolfe; and that vain questions and fables echo from the pulpit all the year long, and the poor sheep come back *fed with wind*."

TODD.

Ver. 128. *Besides what the grim wolf &c.*] It has been conjectured, that Milton in this passage has copied the sentiments of Piers, a protestant controversial shepherd, in Spenser's Eclogue, *May*. Of this there can be no doubt: for our author, in another of his puritanical tracts, written 1641, illustrates his arguments for purging the church of its rapacious hirelings and insidious wolves, by a quotation of almost the whole of Piers's speech; observing, that Spenser puts these words into the mouth of his righteous shepherd, "not without some presage of these *reforming* times." *Animadv. on the Remonstr. Def.* T. WARTON.

“ Daily devours apace, and nothing sed :
 “ But that two-handed engine at the door 130
 “ Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.”

Ver. 129. *Daily devours apace, and nothing sed :*] In edition 1638, it is “ *little said.*” For which reading *nothing* is blotted out in the margin with his own hand. But in the edition 1645, *nothing sed* appears. I have hence adopted *sed*. This spelling was customary for the sake of the rhyme. So in *L' Allegro*, edit. 1645. v. 101.

“ She was pinch'd and pull'd, she *sed*,

“ And he by friers lantern *led.*”

And in our author's *Epitaph* on Hobson, of the same edition, v. 17. “ It shall be *sed.*” In Harrington's *Ariosto* we have “ As before I *sed.*” vii. 64. Again, “ Those wofull words he *sed.*” v. 60. And in other places. And in the *Faerie Queene*, vi. xii. 29. I prefer, yet I have not used, the reading *little*. Some suppose, that our author in this expression insinuates the connivance of the court at the secret growth of popery. But perhaps Milton might have intended a general reflection on what the puritans called *unpreaching prelates*, and a liturgical clergy, who did not place the whole of religion in lectures and sermons three hours long. Or, with a particular reference to present circumstances, he might mean the clergy of the Church of England were silent, and made no remonstrances against these encroachments. It is in the mean time certain, that the verb to *say* was a technical term for the performance of divine service, as in *Albion's England*, B. ix. ch. 53. p. 238. edit. 1602. He is speaking of ignorant enthusiasts intruding into the churches, and in contempt of order praying after their own way :

“ Each sot, impugning order, *saith*, and doth his fantasie ;

“ Our booke of Common Prayer, though most sound diuinitie,

“ They will not rede ; nor can they preach, yet vp the pulpit towre,

“ There making tedious preachments of no edifying powre.” T. WARTON.

Ver. 130. *But that two-handed engine at the door*

Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.] In these lines our author anticipates the execution of Archbishop Laud by a *two-handed engine*, that is, the axe ; insinuating that his death would remove all grievances in religion, and complete the reformation of the church. Dr. Warburton supposes, that saint Peter's sword, turned into the two-handed sword of romance, is here intended. But this supposition only embarrasses the passage. Michael's sword “ with huge two-handed sway” is evidently the old Gothick sword of chivalry, *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 251. This is styled an *engine*, and the expression is a periphrasis for an axe, which the poet did not choose to name in plain terms. The sense therefore of the context seems to be, “ But there will soon be an end of these evils ; the *axe* is at hand, to take off the head of him who has been the great abettor of these corruptions of the gospel. This will be done by one stroke.” In the mean time it coincides just as well with the tenour of Milton's doctrine, to suppose, that he alludes in a more general acceptation to our Saviour's metaphorical *axe* in the gospel, which was to be *laid to the root of the tree*, and whose stroke was to be quick and decisive. *Matt.* iii. 10, *Luke*, iii. 9. “ And now the *axe* is laid to the root of the tree ; therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, &c.” That is, “ Things are now brought to a crisis. There is no room for a moment's delay. God is now about to offer the last dispensation of his mercy. If ye reject these terms, no others will be offered

Return, Alpheus, the dread voice is past,
 That shrunk thy streams ; return, Sicilian Muse,
 And call the vales, and bid them hither cast
 Their bells, and flowerets of a thousand hues. 135
 Ye valleys low, where the mild whispers use

afterwards : but ye shall suffer *one final* sentence of destruction, as a tree, &c." All false religions were at once to be done away by the appearance of Christianity, as when an axe is applied to a barren tree ; so now an axe was to be applied to the corruptions of Christianity, which in a similar process were to be destroyed by a single and speedy blow. The time was ripe for this business : the instrument was at hand. Our author has the same metaphor in a treatise written 1641. "They feeling the *axe* of God's *reformation* hewing at the old and hollow *trunk* of popery." *Prose-Works*, vol. i. 17. Where he also says, that "the painted battlements, and gaudy rottenness, of Prelatry, want but one *puff* of the king's to blow them down, like a paste-board house built of *court-cards*." *Ib.* 18. But he is rather unhappy in his comparison, which follows, of episcopacy to a large wen growing on the head : for allowing such a wen, on his own principles, to be an excrescence and a deformity, to cut it off may prove a dangerous operation ; and perhaps it had better remain untouched, with all its inconveniences. It is matter of surprise, that this violent invective against the church of England and the hierarchy, couched indeed in terms a little mysterious, yet sufficiently intelligible, and covered only by a transparent veil of allegory, should have been published under the sanction and from the press of one of our universities ; or that it should afterwards have escaped the severest animadversions, at a period when the proscriptions of the Star-chamber, and the power of Laud, were at their height. Milton, under pretence of exposing the faults or abuses of the episcopal clergy, attacks their establishment, and strikes at their existence. T. WARTON.

I must further observe how surprising it is that the passage should have escaped the notice of Laud, who, in the preceding year, had entered the following Memorandum in the *Diary of his own Life* : "A note was brought to me of a short libel pasted on the Cross in Cheapside, that the *arch-wolf* of *Canterbury* had his hand in persecuting the saints," An. 1637, July 7. See Wharton's *Life &c. of Abp. Laud*. Tonn.

Ver. 133. *That shrunk thy streams ;*] In other words, "that silenced my pastoral poetry." The Sicilian Muse is now to return, with all her store of rural imagery. T. WARTON.

The imagery is here from the noblest source. "The waters stood above the mountains ; at thy rebuke they fled ; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away," *Ps.* civ. 7. See also *Ps.* xviii. 13, 15. "That shrunk thy streams," is a fine condensation of the scriptural language. To *shrink*, it may also be observed, is used as a verb active by Sylvester, *Du Bart.* 1621. p. 51.

—————"the silver-fronted star
 "That swells and *shrinks* the seas." DUNSTER.

Ver. 136. ———— *where the mild whispers use*

Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,] The word *use*, as Dr. Newton has observed, is employed by Spenser in the sense of *frequent, inhabit*. See the *Introduct.* F. Q., B. 6. st. 2.

"Guyde ye my footing, and conduct me well
 "In these strange waies where never foot did *use*."

Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,
 On whose fresh lap the swart-star sparely looks ;
 Throw hither all your quaint enamell'd eyes,
 That on the green turf suck the honied showers, 140
 And purple all the ground with vernal flowers.
 Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,

Other examples might be added from our old poets. It is likewise thus employed by the old Italian writers. See Vocab. Della Crusca in *v. usare*. For the *wanton winds*, see the note on *Arcades*, ver. 46. Todd.

Ver. 138. *On whose fresh lap the swart-star sparely looks ;]* *Swart* or *swarth*. "Your *swarth* Cynierian." *Tit. Andr.* ii. iii. The dog-star is called the *swart-star*, by turning the effect into the cause. *Swart* is swarthy, brown, &c. Shakspeare, *Com. Err.* A. iii. S. ii. "*Ant.* What complexion is she of? *S. Swart*, like my shoe, but her face nothing like so cleane kept." And in Shakspeare's *Sonn.* xxviii. "The *swart-complexion'd* night." And in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, B. iv. S. iv. p. 71. edit. ut supr.

"And the *swart* plowman for his breakfast staid."

And in B. ii. S. i. p. 22.

"The tyred bodie of the *swartie* cloune."

Hence we see the process to the present word *swarthy*. Of the same complexion is the "*swart faery* of the mine," in *Comus*, v. 435. The word occurs both in Chaucer and Spenser. Perhaps *looks* is a term from astrology. So in *Arcades*, v. 51. "Or what the cross dire-looking planet smites." The *aspect* of a *star* was familiar language in Milton's age. See *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 313. Shakspeare in one citation will illustrate what I have said, *Winter's Tale*, A. ii. S. 1.

"There's some ill planet reigns :

"I must be patient, till the heavens *look*

"With an *aspect* more favourable."

Milton is more likely to have here had an eye to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, than to Horace's Fount of Blandusia, as alleged by Dr. Newton. A. v. S. i. vol. i. p. 159.

"Whose still shades

"The worthier beasts have made their layers, and slept

"Free from the *Sirian star*." T. WARTON.

Ver. 142. *Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,]* It is obvious, that the general texture and sentiment of this line is from the *Winter's Tale*, A. iv. S. v.

"Pale primroses

"That die unmarried, &c."

Especially as he had first written *unwedded* for *forsaken*, which appears in the edition of 1638. But the particular combination of "*rathe primrose*" is perhaps from a Pastoral called a *Palinode* by E. B., probably Edmond Bolton, in *England's Helicon*, edit. 1614. Signat. B. 4.

"And made the *rathe* and timely *primrose* grow."

In the west of England, there is an early species of apple called the *rathe-ripe*. We have "*rathe* and late," in a *Pastoral*, in Davison's *Poems*, edit. 4. Lond. 1621. p. 177. In Bastard's *Epigrams*, printed 1598, I find "The *rashed* primrose, and the violet." Lib. i. Epigr. 34. p. 21. 12mo. Per-

The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,
 The white pink, and the pansy freak'd with jet, 145
 The glowing violet,
 The musk-rose, and the well-attir'd woodbine,
 With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
 And every flower that sad embroidery wears :
 Bid amaranthus all his beauty shed,
 And daffadillies fill their cups with tears, 150

haps *rashed* is a provincial corruption from *rathe*. But why does the primrose die *unmarried*? Not because it blooms and decays before the appearance of other flowers; as in a state of solitude, and without society. Shakspeare's reason, which follows his lines just quoted, why it dies *unmarried*, is unintelligible, or rather is such as I do not wish to understand. The true reason is, because it grows in the shade, uncherished or unseen by the sun, which was supposed to be in love with some sorts of flowers. Thus in Drayton, *Ecl.* ix. vol. iv. p. 1432.

"Than roses richer to behold
 "That trim up lovers hours;
 "The pansie and the marigold,
 "Tho' Phebus' *paramours*."

And see *Ecl.* i. p. 1389. And Shakspeare, Sonnet xxv.

"Great princes *favourites* their fair leaves spread
 "But as the marigold in the *sun's eye*, &c."

For the marigold is supposed, on this principle, to close at sunset. Browne, *Brit. Past.* B. v. S. v. p. 97. edit. ut supr.

— "The day is woxen olde,
 "And gins to shut in *with the marigolde*."

And our author's Prolusions, in a description of the morning. "Quinetiam et mæsta Clytie, totam fere noctem converso in orientem vultu, *Phæbum præstolata suum*, jam aridet, et adblanditur *appropinquantî amatori*." I believe much the same doctrine is held of the sun-flower. T. WARTON.

Ver. 143. *The tufted crow-toe*, &c.] Mr. Bowle observes, that here is an undoubted imitation of Spenser, in *April*.

"Bring hither the pinke, and purple cullumbine,
 "With gilliflowres; &c."

I must add, that instead of the *well-attir'd woodbine*, he at first had written "*the garish columbine*," v. 146. *Garish* occurs now only once in our author, *Il. Pens.* v. 141. T. WARTON.

Garish occurs, however, again in Milton's *Prose-Works*, edit. 1698, vol. i. 325. He is speaking of the ceremonial part of the Law, "which led the Jews as children through corporal and *garish* rudiments." *Attire* and *attir'd* are often applied by our old poets to trees and flowers. Perhaps the thought may be referred, as Mr. Dunster observes, to what is said of the lillies, *Matt.* vi. 28. "Solomon in all his glory was not *arrayed* like one of these." TOWN.

Ver. 149. *Bid amaranthus &c.*] Drummond, in his *Epitaph on Prince Henry*, thus exclaims:

"The immortal amaranthus, princely rose,
 "Sad violet, and that sweet flower that bears

To strew the laureat herse where Lycid lies.
 For, so to interpose a little ease,
 Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise;
 Ay me! Whilst thee the shores and sounding seas
 Wash far away, where'er thy bones are hurl'd, 155
 Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,
 Where thou perhaps, under the whelming tide,
 Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world;
 Or whether thou, to our moist vows denied,

"In sanguin spots the tenour of our woes,
 "Spread on this stone, and wash it with your tears." TODD.

Ver. 153. ———— *with false surmise* ;] The new sense which I mean to give to the remainder of the paragraph, requires a semicolon after *surmise* : and it appears in the first edition 1638. The second edition of 1645, evidently from an oversight, has a full point after *surmise*, which has been implicitly continued ever since. T. WARTON.

Ver. 154.] *Ay me!* Milton repeats this exclamation, as Spenser often does in his *Elegies*. See before, ver. 56. It seems to have been once so hackneyed a phrase, that it is ridiculed in *The Scourge of Villanie*, 1598, Sat. viii. lib. iii.

"Puling aye mee, ô valour's obloquie."

Again, in *The Woman Hater*, 1607, A. iii. S. i.

"Draw sonnets from the melting louer's braine,
 "Aymeas and elegies."

Here, however, Mr. Dunster observes, (which I readily admit,) the burst of grief is infinitely beautiful, when properly connected with what precedes it, and to which it refers. TODD.

Ver. 157. ———— *under the whelming tide*,] In the manuscript, and the edition of 1638, it is "*humming tide*," in reference to the distant sound of the waters over his head, while he was exploring "the bottom of the monstrous world." See Note on *L' Allegro*, v. 118. The alteration was made in the second edition, 1645. So, as Mr. Steevens suggests, in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*. See Malone's *Suppl. Shaks.* ii. 80. "And *humming* water must o'erwhelm thy corpse." By every person accustomed to diving, the propriety of this epithet is fully understood. Clarence, in his dreams, talks of "the noise of waters in his ears," while he supposes himself sinking to the bottom of the sea; where also *the bottom of the monstrous world* is finely described. Milton altered *humming* to *whelming*, as Lycidas was now dead. P. Fletcher has "*humming waters*," inviting to sleep, *Piscat. Ecl.* p. 11. edit. 1633. The epithet *humming*, says Doctor J. Warton, which he had first used, reminds us also of the strong image of Virgil, when Aristeus descended to his mother's cavern, *Georg.* iv. 365. "*Ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum.*" T. WARTON.

Ver. 158. ———— *monstrous world* ;] The sea, the world of *monsters*, Horace, *Od.* I. iii. 18. "*Qui siccis oculis monstra natantia.*" Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 729. "*Quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub aquare pontus.*"

T. WARTON.

Thus Drummond in one of his Sonnets: "And Proteus' *monstrous* people in the deep." TODD.

Ver. 159. ———— *moist vows* ;] Our *vows* accompanied with

Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old, 160
 Where the great Vision of the guarded Mount
 Looks towards Namancos and Bayona's hold ;
 Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth :
 And, O ye dolphins, waft the hapless youth. 164

tears. As if he had said *vota lachrymosa*. But there may be a quaint allusion to the water. T. WARTON.

Ver. 160. ————— *Bellerus old,*] No such name occurs in the catalogue of the Cornish giants. But the poet coined it from Bellerium before mentioned. [See *Prelim. Notes.*] Bellerus appears in the edition 1638. But at first he had written Corineus, a giant who came into Britain with Brute, and was made lord of Cornwall. Hence Ptolemy, I suppose, calls a promontory near the Land's End, perhaps St. Michael's Mount, *Ocrinum*. From whom also came our author's "*Corineida Loxo*." *Mans.* v. 46. where see the note. And he is mentioned in Spenser's [not Spenser's but Lod. Brysket's] *Mourn. Muse of Thestylis*."

" Vp from the tombe the mightie *Corineus* rose, &c."

See Geoffr. Monm. L. xii. c. i. Milton, who delighted to trace the old fabulous story of Brutus, relates, that to *Corineus* Cornwall fell by lot, "the rather by him liked, for that the hugest giants in rocks and caves were said to lurk there still ; which kind of monsters to deal with was his old exercise." *Hist. Eng.* ubi supr. i. 6. On the south-western shores of Cornwall, I saw a most stupendous pile of rock-work, stretching with immense ragged cliffs and shapeless precipices far into the sea : one of the topmost of these cliffs, hanging over the rest, the people informed me was called the *Giant's Chair*. Near it is a cavern called in Cornish the *Cave with the voice*. T. WARTON.

Ver. 162. ————— *Namancos*] I once thought that this name was designed for the celebrated *Numantia*, and that Milton had adopted the spelling from some romance. In the Monthly Magazine for June 1800, it is observed, that "*Namancos* must have been intended for the ancient *Numantia*, near Tarragona, on the coast of Catalonia, and that Milton has given a Spanish termination to the word." The observer adds, "I am aware that this place was on the opposite side to Bayona ; but let it be remembered, that they are no common eyes which look upon the scene ; that they are no less than those of an arch-angel." Mr. Dunster, noticing the preceding criticism, observes that "Milton scarcely meant to make his arch-angel look two ways at once. Acceding," he says, "to *Namancos* being the ancient *Numantia*, I shall not hesitate to consider '*Bayona's* hold' as the French *Bayonne* with its citadel, a very strong fortress. 'To this, Mount's Bay, or the Guarded Mount, looks I believe more directly than to the Spanish *Bayona* ; and the line of vision directed to it would pass at no great distance from that part of the Spanish coast, which lies nearest to the site of the ancient *Numantia*.'"

It will however appear that the ancient *Numantia*, and the French *Bayonne*, were not the present objects of Milton's consideration. I have been directed by a literary friend to Mercator's Atlas, edit. fol. Amst. 1623, and again in 1636 ; and in the map of Galicia, near the point Cape Finisterre, the desired place occurs thus written, "*Namancos T.*" In this map the castle of *Bayona* makes a very conspicuous figure. Milton most probably recollected this geographical description of the Spanish province.

TODD.

Weep no more, woful Shepherds, weep no more,
 For Lycidas your sorrow is not dead,
 Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor ;
 So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
 And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
 And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore 170
 Flames in the forehead of the morning sky :
 So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,
 Through the dear night of Him that walk'd the waves ;
 Where, other groves and other streams along,

Ver. 165. *Weep no more, &c.*] Milton, in this sudden and beautiful transition from the gloomy and mournful strain into that of hope and comfort, imitates Spenser in his *eleventh Eclogue*, where, bewailing the death of some maiden of great blood in terms of the utmost grief and dejection, he breaks out all at once in the same manner. TYLER.

Ver. 166. ——— *is not dead, &c.*] So in Spenser's *Astrophel*, st. 48.

“ Ah no ! it is not dead, ne can it die,

“ But lives for aye in blissful Paradise.” T. WARTON.

Ver. 169. ——— *repairs his drooping head,*] I have heard it observed, that the use of *repairs* in the following passage of Gray's *Bard* is hard and uncommon.

————— “ Hath quench'd the orb of day ?

“ To-morrow he *repairs* the golden flood.”

But Milton, says Mr. Steevens, was here in Gray's mind. T. WARTON.

See also P. Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* 1633, c. vi. st. 71, where the allusion is also to our Saviour ; as it is here, v. 173.

“ Ah ! never could he hope once to *repair*

“ So great a *wane*, should not the new-born *Sun*

“ Adopt him both his brother and his heir ;

“ Who through base life and death, and hell, would run,

“ To seat him in his lost, now surer cell.

“ *That he may mount to heaven, he sunk to hell ;*

“ That he might live, he died ; that he might rise, he fell.” TODD.

Ver. 171. *Flames in the forehead of the morning sky :*] So, in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* edit. 1621. p. 35.

“ Shall I omit a hundred prodigies

“ Oft seen in *forehead* of the frowning *skies* ? ”

See also Crashaw's *Poems*, ed. Paris, 1651, p. 27, of the *sun* ;

—— “ on *heaven's azure forehead* high to stand.” TODD.

Ver. 173. *Through the dear night &c.*] Of him, over whom the waves of the sea had no power. It is a designation of our Saviour, by a miracle which bears an immediate reference to the subject of the poem.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 174. ——— *other groves and other streams along,*] Drummond, in his *Tears on the death of Moeliades*, thus addresses the spirit of the deceased :

“ *Other hills and forrests, other sumptuous towres,*

“ Amaz'd thou find'st, excelling our poor bowres.” TODD.

With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves, 175
 And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,
 In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.
 There entertain him all the saints above,
 In solemn troops, and sweet societies,
 That sing, and, singing, in their glory move, 180
 And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes.
 Now, Lycidas, the shepherds weep no more ;
 Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
 In thy large recompence, and shalt be good
 To all that wander in that perilous flood. 185

Thus sang the uncouth swain to the oaks and rills,
 While the still morn went out with sandals gray ;
 He touch'd the tender stops of various quills,

Ver. 177. Even here, after Lycidas is received into heaven, Milton does not make him an *Angel*. He makes him, indeed, a being of a higher order, the *Genius of the shore*, as at v. 183. If the poet in finally disclosing this great change of circumstances, and in this prolix and solemn description of his friend's new situation in the realms of bliss after so disastrous a death, had exalted him into an *Angel*, he would not have forestalled that idea, according to Thyer's interpretation, at v. 163.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 179. *In solemn troops, and sweet societies.*] Compare *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 80. See also B. vii. 198, B. x. 86, 460, B. i. 128, 315, 360, B. ii. 11, 310, B. v. 591, 601, 772, 840. Milton's angelick system, containing many whimsical notions of the associations and subordinations of these sons of light, is to be seen at large in Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard. But it was not yet worn out in the common theology of his own times. This doctrine, which makes such a figure in *Paradise Lost*, he very gravely delivers in his *Ch. Government*, B. i. ch. i. "The Angels themselves are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial prince-doms and satrapies." The same system, which afforded so commodious a machinery for modern Christian poetry, is frequent in the Italian poets.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 181. *And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes.*] From Scripture: *Isaiah*, xxv. 8. *Rev.* vii. 17. TODD.

Ver. 184. ———— *and shalt be good &c.*] The same compliment that Virgil pays to his Daphnis, *Ecl.* v. 64.

————— "deus, deus ille, Menalca.
 "Sis bonus ô felixque tuis! &c." THYER.

Ver. 187. ———— *the still morn went out with sandals gray; &c.*] "The gray dawn," *Par. Lost*, B. vii. 373.—*Still*, because all is silent at day-break. But though he began to sing at day-break, he was so *eager*, so intent on his song, that he continued it till the evening. T. WARTON.

Ver. 188. *He touch'd the tender stops of various quills*] Some readers are here puzzled with the idea of such *stops* as belong to the organ. By *stops* he here literally means what we now call the *holes* of a flute or any species of pipe. Thus in Browne, *Britan. Past.* B. ii. S. iii. p. 85. ut *supr.*

With eager thought warbling his Dorick lay :
 And now the sun had stretch'd out all the hills, 190
 And now was dropt into the western bay :
 At last he rose, and twitch'd his mantle blue :
 To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new.

"What musicke is there in a shepherd's quill,
 "If but a *stop* or *two* therein we spie?"

And in *Hamlet*, where the players *Enter with Recorders*. "*Hamlet*. Govern these ventages with your finger and thumb:—Look you these are the *stops*. *Guild*. You would *play upon me*: you would seem to know my *stops*, &c." A. iii. S. ii. And see the *Induction to the Second P. Henry IV.* and our author in *Comus*, v. 345. He mentions the stops of an organ, but in another manner, in *Par. Lost*, B. xi. 561. See also B. vii. 596. T. WARTON.

Ver. 189. *With eager thought warbling his Dorick lay*:] See note on v. 2. This is a *Dorick* lay, because Theocritus and Moschus had respectively written a bucolick on the deaths of Daphnis and Bion. And the name of *Lycidas*, now first imported into English pastoral, was adopted, not from Virgil, but from Theocritus, *Idyll.* vii. 27.

ΛΥΚΙΔΑ φίλε, παντὶ τὸ πάντες
 ἔμμεν ΣΥΡΙΚΤΑΝ μεγ' ὑπείροχον, ἐν τε νομεῦσιν
 ἔν τ' ἀμνητήρεσσι.

His character is afterwards fully justified in the Song of Lycidas. And he is styled "dear to the Muses," v. 95. And our author's shepherd Lycidas could "build the lofty rhyme." A Lycidas is again mentioned by Theocritus, *Idyll.* xxvii. 41. And a Lycidas supports a Sicilian dialogue in one of Bion's Bucolicks, vii. See *Epit. Damon.* v. 132.

T. WARTON.

Mr. Warton is mistaken in asserting that the name of *Lycidas* was first imported into English pastoral by Milton. For Lisle, in his *Pastorall Dedication to the King* of his translation of *Du Bartas*, 1625, 4to, says,

"My former shepheard's song devised was
 "To please great Scotus and his *Lycidas*." TODD.

Ver. 191. — *was dropt into the western bay*:] Lod. Brysket concludes his *Pastoral* on the death of Sir Philip Sydney in the same manner:

"The sun, lo! hastned hath his face to steepe
 "In western waves, &c." TODD.

Ver. 193. *To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new.*] So Ph. Fletcher, *Purp. Isl.* c. vi. st. 77. edit. 1633. "*To-morrow shall ye feast in pastures new.*" T. WARTON.

I will conclude my remarks on this poem with the just observation of Mr. Thyer. "The particular beauties of this charming Pastoral are too striking to need much descanting upon; but what gives the greatest grace to the whole, is that natural and agreeable wildness and irregularity which runs quite through it, than which nothing could be better suited to express the warm affection which Milton had for his friend, and the extreme grief he was in for the loss of him. Grief is eloquent, but not formal."

NEWTON.

I see no extraordinary wildness and irregularity, according to Dr. Newton, [Mr. Thyer,] in the conduct of this little poem. 'Tis true, there is a very original air in it, although it be full of classical imitations: but this, I think is owing, not to any disorder in the plan, nor entirely to the vigour and lustre of the expression, but, in a good degree, to the looseness and variety of the metre. Milton's ear was a good second to his imagination.

HURD.

Addison says, that he who desires to know whether he has a true taste for History or not, should consider, whether he is pleased with Livy's manner of telling a story; so, perhaps it may be said, that he who wishes to know whether he has a true taste for Poetry or not, should consider whether he is highly delighted or not with the perusal of Milton's *Lycidas*. If I might venture to place Milton's Works, according to their degrees of Poetick Excellence, it should be perhaps in the following order: *Paradise Lost*, *Comus*, *Samson Agonistes*, *LYCIDAS*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*. The three last are in such an exquisite strain, says Fenton, that though he had left no other monuments of his genius behind him, his name had been immortal. JOS. WARTON.

Of *Lycidas*, the diction is harsh, the rhymes uncertain, and the numbers unpleasing. What beauty there is we must therefore seek in the sentiments and images. It is not to be considered as the effusion of real passion; for passion runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions. Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Mincius, nor tells of rough *Satyrs* and *Fauns with cloven heel*. Where there is leisure for fiction there is little grief.

In this poem there is no nature, for there is nothing new. Its form is that of a pastoral, easy, vulgar, and therefore disgusting; whatever images it can supply are long ago exhausted; and its inherent improbability always forces dissatisfaction on the mind. When Cowley tells of Harvey, that they studied together, it is easy to suppose how much he must miss the companion of his labours, and the partner of his discoveries; but what image of tenderness can be excited by these lines!

"We drove afield, and both together heard

"What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,

"Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night."

We know that they never drove afield, and that they had no flocks to bat-ten; and, though it be allowed that the representation may be allegorical, the true meaning is so uncertain and remote, that it is never sought because it cannot be known when it is found.

Among the flocks, and copses, and flowers, appear the heathen deities; Jove and Phœbus, Neptune and Æolus, with a long train of mythological imagery, such as a College easily supplies. Nothing can less display knowledge, or less exercise invention, than to tell how a shepherd has lost his companion, and must now feed his flocks alone, without any judge of his skill in piping; and how one god asks another what is become of *Lycidas*, and how neither god can tell. He, who thus grieves, will excite no sympathy; he, who thus praises, will confer no honour.

This poem has yet a grosser fault. With these trifling fictions are mingled the most awful and sacred truths, such as ought never to be polluted with such irreverend combinations. The shepherd likewise is now a feeder of sheep, and afterwards an ecclesiastical pastor, a superintendent of a Christian flock. Such equivocations are always unskillful; but here they are indecent, and at least approach to impiety, of which, however, I believe the writer not to have been conscious. Such is the power of reputation justly acquired, that its blaze drives away the eye from nice examination. Surely no man could have fancied that he read *Lycidas* with pleasure, had he not known its author. JOHNSON.

Dr. Johnson observes, that *Lycidas* is filled with the heathen deities ; and a long train of mythological imagery, such as a College easily supplies. But it is such also, as even the Court itself could now have easily supplied. The publick diversions, and books of all sorts, and from all sorts of writers, more especially compositions in poetry, were at this time overrun with classical pedantries. But what writer, of the same period, has made these obsolete fictions the vehicle of so much fancy and poetical description ? How beautifully has he applied this sort of allusion to the Druidical rocks of Denbighshire, to Mona, and the fabulous books of Deva ! It is objected, that its pastoral form is disgusting. But this was the age of pastoral : and yet *Lycidas* has but little of the bucolick cant now so fashionable. The Satyrs and Fauns are but just mentioned. If any trite rural topicks occur, how are they heightened !

“ Together both, ere the high lawns appear'd

“ Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,

“ We drove afield, and both together heard

“ What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,

“ Battening our flocks with the fresh dew of night.”

Here the day-break is described by the faint appearance of the upland lawns under the first gleams of light : the sun-set by the buzzing of the chaffer* : and the night sheds her *fresh dew* on their flocks. We cannot blame pastoral imagery, and pastoral allegory, which carry with them so much natural painting. In this piece there is perhaps more poetry than sorrow. But let us read it for its poetry. It is true, that passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Mincius, nor tells of *rough Satyrs with cloven heel*. But poetry does this : and in the hands of Milton, does it with a peculiar and irresistible charm. Subordinate poets exercise no invention, when they tell how a shepherd has lost his companion, and must feed his flocks alone, without any judge of his skill in piping : but Milton dignifies and adorns these common artificial incidents with unexpected touches of picturesque beauty, with the graces of sentiment, and with the novelties of original genius. It is objected “ here is no art, for there is nothing new.” To say nothing that there may be art without novelty, as well as novelty without art, I must reply, that this objection will vanish, if we consider the imagery which Milton has raised from local circumstances. Not to repeat the use he has made of the mountains of Wales, the isle of Man, and the river Dee, near which *Lycidas* was shipwrecked ; let us recollect the introduction of the romantick superstition of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, which overlooks the Irish seas, the fatal scene of his friend's disaster.

But the poetry is not always unconnected with passion. The poet lavishly describes an ancient sepulchral rite, but it is made preparatory to a stroke of tenderness. He calls for a variety of flowers to decorate his friend's hearse, supposing that his body was present, and forgetting for a while that it was floating far off in the ocean. If he was drowned, it was some consolation that he was to receive the decencies of burial. This is a pleasing deception : it is natural and pathetick. But the real catastrophe recurs. And this circumstance again opens a new vein of imagination.

Dr. Johnson censures Milton for his allegorical mode of telling that he and *Lycidas* studied together, under the fictitious images of rural employments,

* Mr. Warton here contradicts himself. See the note on ver. 27. I subjoin the ingenious remark of Mr. Scott, “ that the poet meant to point out the process of a whole day from morning, through noon, to evening and night ; marking the first by the appearance of the lawns, the second by the hum of the gray-fly, expressed by the bold epithet “ *sultry horn*,” and the third and fourth by the appearance and descent of the evening-star.” *Critical Essays*, &c. 8vo. 1785, p. 44. Todd.

in which, he says, there can be no tenderness ; and prefers Cowley's lamentation of the loss of Harvey, the companion of his labours, and the partner of his discoveries. I know not if, in this similarity of subject, Cowley has more tenderness ; I am sure he has less poetry. I will allow that he has more wit, and more smart similes. The sense of our author's allegory on this occasion is obvious, and is just as intelligible as if he had used plain terms. It is a fiction, that, when Lycidas died, the woods and caves were deserted and overgrown with wild thyme and luxuriant vines, and that all their echoes mourned ; and that the green copses no longer waved their joyous leaves to his soft strains : but we cannot here be at a loss for a meaning, a meaning which is as clearly perceived as it is elegantly represented. This is the sympathy of a true poet. We know that Milton and King were not *nursed on the same hill* ; that they did not *feed the same flock, by fountain, shade, or rill* : and that *rough Satyrs and Fauns with cloven heel* never danced to their *rural ditties*. But who hesitates a moment for the application ? Nor are such ideas more untrue, certainly not less far-fetched and unnatural, than when Cowley says, that he and Harvey studied together every night with such unremitting diligence, that the twin-stars of Leda, so *fumed for love*, looked down upon the twin-students with wonder *from above*. And where is the tenderness, when he wishes, that, on the melancholy event, the branches of the trees at Cambridge, under which they walked, would *combine* themselves into a *darker* umbrage, *dark as the grave* in which his departed friend was newly laid ? Our author has also been censured for mixing religious disputes with pagan and pastoral ideas. But he had the authority of Mantuan and Spenser, now considered as models in this way of writing. Let me add, that our poetry was not yet purged from its Gothick combinations ; nor had legitimate notions of discrimination and propriety so far prevailed, as sufficiently to influence the growing improvements of English composition. These irregularities and incongruities must not be tried by modern criticism.

T. WARTON.

I wish indeed that the fictions of heathenism had not here been mingled with what is sacred ; particularly that, after the sublime intimation from Scripture of Angels *wiping the tears for ever from the eyes of Lycidas*, Lycidas thus beatified, had not been converted into the classical *Genius of the shore*. My wish has been pronounced a "little rash" by a lady, whose taste and judgement are well known to the publick, and who has thus pleaded in defence of the poet. "Remember," says Mrs. Anna Seward in her obliging letter to me, "how exquisitely the bard excuses the intermixture in the course of the composition. Thus :

O fountain Arethuse, and thou honour'd flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius, cloth'd with vocal reeds !
That strain I heard was of an higher mood.

And again :

Return, Alpheus, the dread voice is past
That shrunk thy streams ; return, Sicilian muse !

In Mr. T. Warton's note on the first of these apologies, I wonder he was not aware that, by 'That strain I heard was of a higher mood,' Milton meant *more* than the superiority of *Phæbus* to the pastoral Muses, since he and they held the same doctrine ; and since judgement and retribution, alluded to in the lines which precede it, are of an higher school than that of *his temple*. Milton, after asserting the more serious origin of *that strain*, proceeds to beguile his sorrow for the loss of his friend yet further, by 'dallying with false surmise ;' and sweetly does he play with it, smiling through his tears, while he interrogates the sea-nymphs, and *replies* for them. Then again, after having left the Heathen, once more, for the

Christian allusions, he re-invokes the fabulous train, and calls it *Alpheus*; asserting that the dread voice is past that shrunk his streams, evidently meaning by the *dread voice* those Christian allusions. Invocations of such spirited beauty had been lost *but* for the mixture of mythology; and had the wish you express prevailed, the classick fables been banished from this monody, its most poetical parts had also been lost. Fiction was invoked by the poet. She came in all her ingenuity, her graces, her charms; and it is entirely sufficient that her repeated introduction has been so finely apologised by her introducer. If I could consider the Genius of the shore into which Milton transforms his drowned friend, as an entirely Pagan idea, I should join you in condemning it as a superfluous dereliction from the final and sublime resumption of *scriptural hopes* and dependencies; but I cannot see any thing repugnant to *them* in supposing the beatified souls of men employed by their Creator as ministrant spirits, averting from shores, countries, and their inhabitants, many an impending peril."

It has been observed, that, "as Dante has made Cato of Utica keeper of the gates of Purgatory, Milton has here, in return, placed St. Peter in company with Apollo, Triton, Æolus, &c. For the intrusion of what follows, respecting the clergy of his time, the earliest Italians have, in pieces of every sort, set plentiful example. Perhaps no better reason can be given for Milton's conduct here, than what some commentator gives for Dante's above mentioned: *Per verità è un gran capriccio, mai in ciò segue suo stile.*" See Cursory Remarks on some of the ancient English poets, particularly Milton, 1789, p. 112. The first part of the Italian commentator's remark, says Mr. Dunster, I readily admit to be applicable in this instance to Milton; but though he sometimes gives into these *capriccie*, it certainly cannot be said of him that *in ciò segue suo stile.*

The rhymes and numbers, which Dr. Johnson condemns, appear to me as eminent proofs of the poet's judgement; exhibiting, in their varied and arbitrary disposition, an ease and gracefulness, which infinitely exceed the formal couplets, or alternate rhymes, of modern Elegy. Lamenting also the prejudice which has pronounced *Lycidas* to be vulgar and disgusting, I shall never cease to consider this monody as the sweet effusion of a most poetick and tender mind; entitled, as well by its beautiful melody, as by the frequent grandeur of its sentiments and language, to the utmost enthusiasm of admiration.

Mr. Hallam observes, "It has been said, and I think very fairly, that *Lycidas* is a good test of a real feeling for what is called good poetry. Many, or perhaps we might say most readers do not taste its excellence; nor does it follow that they may not greatly admire Pope and Dryden, or even Virgil and Homer. It is however somewhat remarkable that Johnson, who has committed his critical reputation by the most contemptuous depreciation of this poem, had in an earlier part of his life selected the tenth eclogue of Virgil for peculiar praise; (*Adventurer*, No. 92;) the tenth eclogue, which, beautiful as it is, belongs to the same class of pastoral and personal allegory, and requires the same sacrifice of reasoning criticism as the *Lycidas* itself. In the age of Milton, the poetical world had been accustomed by the Italian and Spanish writers to a more abundant use of allegory than has been pleasing to their posterity; but *Lycidas* is not so much in the nature of an allegory as of a masque: the characters pass before our eyes in imagination, as on the stage; they are chiefly mythological, but not creations of the poet. Our sympathy with the fate of *Lycidas* may not be much stronger than for the desertion of Gallus by his mistress; but many poems will yield an exquisite pleasure to the imagination that produce no emotion in the heart; or none at least, except through associations independent of the subject. The introduction of St. Peter after the fabulous deities of the sea has appeared an incongruity deserving of censure to some

admirers of this poem. It would be very reluctantly that we could abandon to this criticism the most splendid passage it presents. But the censure rests, I think, on too narrow a principle. In narrative or dramatick poetry, where something like illusion or momentary belief is to be produced, the mind requires an objective possibility, or capacity of real existence, not only in all the separate portions of the imagined story, but in their coherency and relation to a common whole. Whatever is obviously incongruous, whatever shocks our previous knowledge of possibility; destroys to a certain extent the acquiescence in the fiction, which it is the true business of the fiction to produce. But the case is not the same in such poems as *Lycidas*. They pretend to no credibility, they aim at no illusion; they are read with the willing abandonment of the imagination to a waking dream, and require only that general possibility, that combination of images which common experience does not reject as incompatible, without which the fancy of the poet would be only like that of the lunatick. And it had been so usual to blend sacred with mythological personages in allegory, that no one probably in Milton's age would have been struck by the objection." *Introd. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 513. Todd.

ORIGINAL VARIOUS READINGS OF LYCIDAS.

FROM MILTON'S MS. IN HIS OWN HAND.

Examined by the Editor of these Volumes.

Ver. 10. Who would not sing for Lycidas, he *well* knew.

Ver. 22. *To* bid faire peace &c.

Ver. 26. Under the *glimmering* eye-lids &c.

Ver. 30. Oft till the *even-starre* bright

Towards heaven's descent hath sloapt his *burnisht** wheel.

Ver. 47. Or frost to flowres that their gay *buttons* † wear.

Here *bear* had been written, and erased, before *wear*.

Ver. 58. What could the *golden-hayr'd Calliope*

For her inchaunting son,

When *she beheld* (the gods far-sighted bee)

His goaric *scalpe rowle* downe the *Thracian lee*.

Here, after inchaunting son, occurs in the margin

Whome universal Nature might lament,

And heaven and *Hel* deplore,

When his *divine head* downe the streame was sent.

The line *And heaven* &c. is erased; *divine head* is also altered to *divine visage*, and afterwards to *goary visage*.

Ver. 69. *Hid* in the tangles &c.

Ver. 85. Oh fountain Arethuse, and, thou *smooth* flood,

Soft sliding Mincius. †

Smooth is then altered to *fam'd*, and next to *honour'd*: And *soft-sliding* to *smooth-sliding*.

* *Burnish'd* is an epithet, in our elder poetry, often applied to the sun's equipage or residence. Thus, in *The famous history of Tho. Stukeley*, as it hath been acted, 4to. 1605, bl. l.

————— "the sonne of Phœbus,
" Vpon his father's fiery *BURNISH'D* carr,
" Nere sat so glorious." TORD.

† See Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, A. iii. S. i.

————— "O queen Emilia,
" Fresher than May, sweeter
" Than her gold *buttons* on the boughs."

And Shakspeare, *Hamlet*, A. i. S. iii.

"The canker galls the infants of the spring
" Too oft before their *buttons* be disclos'd."

And Browne, *Brit. Past.* B. ii. S. iii. p. 61. edit. 1616.

"Flora's choice *buttons* of a russet dye." T. WARTON.

‡ In Sandys's *Psalms*, published in the same year with *Lycidas*, is the following phrase, Ps. xxiii.

"He fosters me in fragrant meads,
" By *softly-sliding* waters leads."

And in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* there is the other altered compound, "*smooth-sliding waters*," edit. 1621, p. 171. Compare also *ibid.* p. 1177: —

Ver. 105. *Scraul'd ore* with figures dim.

Inwrought is in the margin.

Ver. 129. Daily devours apace, and *little* sed.

Nothing is erased.

Ver. 138. On whose fresh lap the swart star *stintly* looks.

At first *sparely*, as at present.

Ver. 139. *Bring* hither &c.

Ver. 142. Bring the rathe primrose that *unwedded* dies,
Colouring the pale cheek of unjoy'd lore ;
And that sad floure that strove
To write his own woes on the vermeil graine :
Next adde Narcissus that still weeps in raine ;
The woodbine, and the pancie freak't with jet,
The glowing violet,
The cowslip wan that hangs his pensive head,
*And every bud that sorrow's liverie * weares ;*
Let daffadillies fill their cups with teares,
Bid amaranthus all his beautie shed.

Here also the *well-attir'd woodbine* appears, as at present, altered from *garish columbine* ; and *sad embroidery*, and alteration of *sad escocheon*, instead of *sorrow's liverie*.

Ver. 153. Let our *sad* thoughts &c.

Ver. 154. Ay me, whilst thee the *floods* and sounding seas.

Ver. 160. Sleep'st by the fable of *Corineus* old.

But *Bellerus* is a correction.

Ver. 176. *Listening* the unexpressive nuptial song.

" You silver brooks, cleer rivers, crystall fountains,

" Whose *smooth* swift-sliding pase

" Still, still roules down apace."

So, in the second page of *The Tears of Love, or Cupid's Progresse*, by Thomas Collins, 4to. 1615.

" For Nayis, Lady of that louely Lake,

" Did so much pity on the shepherds take,

" That she compeld the *silent-sliding* waues

" To glide apace, &c." TOWN.

* This remarkable expression, *sorrow's liverie*, may allude perhaps to a passage in an elegant poet, with which Milton might have been pleased. See Habington's *Castara*, edit. 1635, p. 88. " Vpon the death of a Ladie :"

—————" sweet flowers —

" Which now adorne her hearse. The violet there

" On her *pale cheek* doth the *sad livery* weare,

" Which heaven's compassion gave her."

See also Wither's *Juvenilia*, 1622, p. 351.

—————" my Muse, as yet vnknowne,

" Should first in *sorrow's livery* be showne." TOWN.

L'ALLEGRO

AND

IL PENSEROSO.

PRELIMINARY NOTES

ON

L'ALLEGRO AND IL PENSEROSO.

It will be no detraction from the powers of Milton's original genius and invention to remark, that he seems to have borrowed the subject of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, together with some particular thoughts, expressions, and rhymes, more especially the idea of a contrast between these two dispositions, from a forgotten poem prefixed to the first edition of Burton's *Anatomie of Melancholy*, entitled "The Author's *Abstract of Melancholy*, or a Dialogue between Pleasure and Pain." Here Pain is Melancholy. It was written, as I conjecture, about the year 1600. I will make no apology for abstracting and citing as much of this poem, as will be sufficient to prove to a discerning reader, how far it had taken possession of Milton's mind. The measure will appear to be the same; and, that our author was at least an attentive reader of Burton's book, will be perhaps concluded from the traces of resemblance which I shall incidentally notice in passing through the *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

" When I goe musing all alone,
" Thinking of diverse things foreknown ;
" When I build castles in the ayre,
" Voide of sorrow, voide of feare :
" Pleasing myself with phantasmes sweet,
" Methinkes the time runnes very fleet.
" All my joyes to this are folly,
" Nought so sweet as Melancholy !
" When to myself I act and smile,
" With pleasing thoughts the time beguile,
" By a brooke side, or wood so greene,
" Vnheard, vnsought for, and vnseene ;
" A thousand pleasures do me blesse, &c.
" Methinkes I hear, methinkes I see,
" Sweet musicke, wondrous melodie ;
" Townes, palaces, and cities fine,
" Rare beauties, gallant ladies shine :
" Whatere is louely or diuine :
" All other joyes to this are folly,
" Nought so sweet as Melancholy !
" Methinkes I heare, methinkes I see,
" Ghostes, goblins, fiendes : my phantasie
" Presents a thousand vgly shapes, —
" Dolefull outcries, fearfull sightes,
" My sad and dismall soul affrightes :
" All my griefes to this are folly,
" Nought so damnde as Melancholy !

As to the very elaborate work to which these visionary verses are no unsuitable introduction, the writer's variety of learning, his quotations from scarce and curious books, his pedantry sparkling with rude wit and shapeless elegance, miscellaneous matter, intermixture of agreeable tales and illustrations, and perhaps, above all, the singularities of his feelings clothed in an uncommon quaintness of style, have contributed to render it, even to modern readers, a valuable repository of amusement and information. But I am here tempted to add a part of Burton's prose, not so much for the purpose of exhibiting a specimen of his manner, as for the sake of showing, at one view, how nearly Milton has sometimes pursued his train of thought, and selection of objects, in various passages of *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*. It is in the chapter entitled, *Exercise rectified both of Body and Minde*. "But the most pleasing of all outward pastimes, is *Deambulatio per amœna loca*, to make a pretty progresse, to see cittes, castles, townes : as Fracastorius,

"*Visere sæpe amnes nitidos, peramœnaque Tempe,*

"*Et placidas summis sectari in montibus auras.*

"To walke amongst orchards, gardens, bowres and artificiall wildernesses, greene thicketts, arches, groves, rillets, fountains, and such like pleasant places, like that Antiochian Daphne, pooles,—betwixt wood and water, in a fair meadow by a riuer side, to disport in some pleasant plaine, to run vp a steepe hill, or sit in a shadie seat, must needes be a delectable recreation.—To see some pageant or sight go by, as at coronations, weddings, and such like solemnities ; to see an ambassadour, or prince, met, receiued, entertained with maskes, shewes, &c.—The country has its recreations, may-games, feasts, wakes, and merry-meetings.—All seasons, almost all places, haue their seuerall pastimes, some in summer, some in winter, some abroad, some within.—The ordinary recreations which we haue in winter, and in most solitary times busy our minds with, are cardes, tables,—musicke, maskes, vlegames, catches, purposes, questions*, merry tales of errant knights, kings, queens, louers, lordes, ladies, dwarfes, theeues, fayries, &c.—Dancing, singing, masking, mumming, stage-plays, howsoeuer they bee heauily censured by some seuerer Catos, yet if opportunely and soberly vsed, may justly be approved.—To read, walke, and see mappes and pictures, statues, old coynes of seuerall sortes, in a fayre gallerie, artificiall workes, &c. Whosoever he is, therefore, that is over-runne with solitarinesse, or carried away with a *pleasing melancholy* and vaine conceits,—I can prescribe him no better remedie than this of study." He winds up his system of studious recreation, with a recommendation of the sciences of morality, astronomy, botany, &c. "To see a well-cut herball, all hearbs, trees, flowers, plants, expressed in their proper colours to the life, &c." P. ii. § 2. p. 224—234. edit. 1624.—In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Nice Valour* or *Passionate Madman*, there is a beautiful Song on Melancholy, some of the sentiments of which, as Sympson long since observed, appear to have been dilated and heightened in the *Il Penseroso*. Milton has more frequently and openly copied the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, than of Shakspeare. One is therefore surprised, that, in his panegyrick on the stage, he did not mention the twin-bards, when he celebrates the learned sock of Jonson, and the wood-notes wild of Shakspeare. But he concealed his love. T. WARTON.

I will add the Song from *Nice Valour*, together with the remarks of an ingenious critick on its application to *Il Penseroso* :—

* *Cross-purposes, Questions and commands*, such as Milton calls "Quipps, and Cranks, and wanton Wiles." *L'Alleg.* v. 27.

1.

"Hence, all you vain delights,
 "As short as are the nights
 "Wherein you spend your folly;
 "There's nought in this life sweet,
 "If wise men were to see't,
 "But only Melancholy!
 "O sweetest Melancholy!

2.

"Welcome folded arms, and fixed eyes,
 "A sigh that, piercing, mortifies;
 "A look that's fasten'd to the ground,
 "A tongue chain'd up without a sound.

3.

"Fountain-heads, and path-less groves,
 "Places which pale passion loves;
 "Noonlight walks, when all the fowls
 "Are warmly hous'd, save bats and owls;
 "A midnight bell, a parting groan,
 "These are the sounds we feed upon:
 "Then stretch our bones in a still gloomy valley,
 "Nothing's so dainty-sweet as lovely Melancholy."

"I would be, doubtless, in the opinion of all readers, going too far to say, that this Song deserves as much notice as the *Penseroso* itself: But it so happens, that very little of the former can remain unnoticed, whenever the latter is praised. Of this Song the construction is, in the first place, to be admired. It divides into three parts. The first part displays the moral of melancholy: the second, the person or figure: the third, the circumstance, that is, such things as encrease or flatter the disposition. Nor is it surprising, that Milton should be struck with the images and sentiments it affords, most of which are somewhere inserted in the *Il Penseroso*. It will not, however, be found to have contributed much to the construction of Milton's poem. The subjects they severally exhibit are very different: they are alike only, as shown under the same disposition of melancholy. Beaumont's is the melancholy of the swain; of the mind that contemplates nature and man, but in the grove and the cottage. Milton's is that of a scholar and philosopher; of the intellect, that has ranged the mazes of science, and that decides upon vanity and happiness, from large intercourse with man, and upon extensive knowledge and experience. To say, therefore, that Milton was indebted to Beaumont's song for his *Penseroso* would be absurd. That it supplied some images to his poem will be readily allowed: and that it would be difficult to find, throughout the *Penseroso*, amidst all its variety, any more striking, than what Beaumont's second stanza affords, may also be granted. Milton's poem is among those happy works of genius, which leave a reader no choice how his mind shall be affected." *Cursory Remarks on some of the ancient English poets, particularly Milton.* Lond. [printed, but not published,] 1789, p. 114.

It has been also observed, that the concluding lines of *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*, and *the Nymph's reply to the Shepherd*,

"If these delights thy mind may move,
 "Then live with me, and be my love,"

seem to have furnished Milton with the hint for the last lines both of his *Allegro* and *Penseroso*. The two poems just mentioned, had been usually ascribed to Shakspeare, till Dr. Percy proved Marlowe to be the

author of *The Passionate Shepherd*, and Sir Walter Raleigh of *The Nymph's Reply*. See Reliques of Anc. Eng. Poetry, third edit. vol. i. p. 128, &c. Marlowe's beautiful poem appears to have been admired by other poets, as well as by Milton; and to have been the parent of several elegant imitations. The first which occurs, in a poem in *England's Helicon*, 1600, written by Sir Walter Raleigh, under his known signature of *Ignoto*, and which is reprinted in *The Muses Library*, 1738. It begins,

"Come, live with me, and be my dear,
 "And we will revel all the year,
 "In plains and groves, &c."

Another imitation may be found in Donne's *Poems*, 1633, p. 190, entitled *The Bait* :

"Come, live with mee, and be my love,
 "And wee will some new pleasures prove
 "Of golden sands, &c."

I meet, in Herrick's *Hesperides*. 1648, p. 223, with a third imitation, which, I believe, has not hitherto been noticed : "*To Phillis, to love and live with him* :

"Live, live with me, and thou shalt see
 "The pleasures I'll prepare for thee ;
 "What sweets the country can afford
 "Shall blesse thy bed, and blesse thy board, &c."

But there is a poet little known. I apprehend, to fame ; whose early imitation both of *The Passionate Shepherd*, and *The Reply*, deserves notice. It may not seem foreign to the subject of this note, and I flatter myself I shall oblige the lovers of ancient poetry, if I exhibit some of these forgotten stanzas : From "*The Amorous Songes, Sonets, and Elegies of M. Alexander Craige, Scoto-Britaine. Imprinted at London by William White, 1606.*" 12mo. not paged. *Alexis to Lesbia*.

"Come, be my loue, and liue with mee, &c.
 "For we shall on the mountains go,
 "In shadie vmbres to and fro :
 "In vallies low, and on the bray ;
 "And with thy feet the flowrs shall play.
 "And I shall make thee pleasant posies
 "Of daisies, gilliflowrs, and roses :
 "My arms shall be a belt to thee ;
 "Thine, if thou wilt, the like to me. —
 "And when Apollo takes his rest,
 "With wearie horses in the West ;
 "And Cynthia begins to shine,
 "Thy poet's tugur * shall be thine.
 "Then shalt thou see my homlie fare,
 "And what poore riches I haue there :
 "And, if those things can moue thy mind,
 "Come, come, and be no more vnkind."

Lesbia her answer to *Alexis*.

"If all were thine that there, I see,
 "Thou paynts to breed content to mee ;
 "Then those delights might moue my mind
 "To yeeld, &c."

She promises, however, to be his "soon or sine ;" and concludes,

* He means by *tugur* his *collage*, from the Latin *tugurium*.

" The christall streames shall backward moue,
 " Ere I forget thy faithful loue."

After this avowal, "*A new persuasion to Lesbia*" is offered by the poet ; from which I will select some pleasing lines ;

" Once more I pray thee, be my loue ;
 " Come, liue with me, and thou shalt proue
 " All pleasures &c. —
 " The louely herald of the spring,
 " The Philomel, to thee shall sing. —
 " And when Apollo's coach agane
 " Giues way vnto Diana's wane,
 " Thy poet, on his pypping reed,
 " Thy fansie with sweet songs shall feed.
 " Thou shalt want no content of mind,
 " Save wealth, which poets seldom find :
 " If pouerty hath power to moue,
 " Come, come sweet heart, and be my loue."

Mr. Warton has cited, in the first Note on *L'Allegro*, some elegant lines from Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, to which, he thinks, Milton is indebted. Of this book it may not be improper to add a few words ; particularly, as it seems to have been read with attention by our immortal poet. Mr. Warton and Mr. Steevens have observed that, in consequence of an order signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, it was burnt, together with *Pigmaliions Image* and *Certaine Satyres*, published also by Marston in 1598, under the signature of W. K., or William Kynsayder, as it is subscribed to a prose address in *The Scourge of Villanie* ; an assumed name, by which, says Mr. Bowle, the editor of these poems in 1764, he was known to his contemporaries ; as appears from a passage in *The Return from Parnassus*, A. i. S. ii. In the same conflagration, by the same order, perished, as I find in the curious and interesting Extracts taken from the Entries belonging to the Stationers' Company by Isaac Reed, Esq., "*Hall's Satires*, *Snarlinge Satires*, *Davies's Epigrams*, &c." and a further order added, "*That no Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter.*"

I take this opportunity of observing, that there is, in the Church Library of Canterbury, a collection of poems in MS. numbered D. 10. entitled *Epigrammasatiron : The times whistle, or, A newe daunce of seven Satires ; whereunto are annexed diuers other poems, &c.*" Probably these Satires were never published, in consequence of the order above mentioned ; but, that they were intended for, if not committed to, the press, is evident from an address "*Ad lectorem*. Reader, if thou expect to find in this booke either affectation or poetical stile, or roughnesse of unbewen invention, &c." And, to the *Satires* are added, "*Certaine Poems, comprising things naturall, morall, and theologicall. Written by R. C. gent.*" Where, in another address, the author tells the reader, his "present kinde acceptation of this wilbe a great animation to his subsequent endeavors." I should observe, that, in the MS., the initials of the author's name are expunged in the first title. The author writes in a very spirited and poetical manner ; and imitates Marston both in sentiment and subject : He openly alludes indeed to Marston's *Scourge* : Thus, in the Introduction ;

" Ffrom y^e Rhamnusian goddesse am I sent,
 " On sinne to' inflict deserved punishment :
 " All-seeing Sunne, lend me thy searching eye,
 " That I may finde and scourge impietie."

Again, in one of the *Certaine Poems*, "In Adulantes Aulicos ;

“ Base sycophants, crumb-catching parasites !—
 “ O how my Muse, armde with Rhamnusia's whip,
 “ Desires to scourge y' hell-bred villanie.”

Marston's *Satires* were attacked in a poem entitled “ The Whipping of the Satyre, Imprinted at London for John Flasket, 1601.” 12^{mo}. The address to the reader is subscribed W. J. Of this book, not generally known, the following lines are a specimen :

“ Thus have I closde with him, and kept my hold ;
 “ Now will I trip him in his owne foule play ;
 “ He scourgeth villanies in yong and old,
 “ As boyes scourge tops, &c. —
 “ But harke, I heare the Cynicke Satyre crie,
 “ *A man, a man, a kingdome for a man.*
 “ Why ; was there not a man to serue his eye ?
 “ No ; all were turn'd to beasts that headlong ran.”

To return to *L'Allegro* and *Penseroso* : The date of these poems has not been ascertained. But Mr. Hayley has observed, “ It seems probable that these two enchanting pictures of rural life, and of the diversified delights arising from a contemplative mind, were composed at Horton ;” to which place Milton went to reside with his father in 1632, and where he continued at least five years. Todd.

L' A L L E G R O.*

HENCE, loathed Melancholy,
Of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born,
In Stygian cave forlorn,
'Mongst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy!

* These are Airs, "that take the prison'd soul, and lap it in Elysium."

HURD.

Ver. 1. *Hence, loathed Melancholy,*

Of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born,] Erebus, not Cerberus, was the legitimate husband of Night. Milton was too universal a scholar to be unacquainted with this mythology. In his Prolusions, or declamatory Preambles to philosophical questions discussed in the schools at Cambridge, he says, "Cæterum nec desunt qui Æthera et Diem itidem Erebo Noctem peperisse tradunt." *Prose-Works*, vol. ii. 585. Again, in the Latin Ode on the Death of Felton bishop of Ely, v. 31.

"Non est, ut arbitraris elusus miser,

"Mors atra Noctis filia,

"Erebove patre creta."

See also *In Quintum Novembris*, v. 69. But as Melancholy is here the creature of Milton's imagination, he had a right to give her what parentage he pleased, and to marry Night, the natural mother of Melancholy, to any ideal husband that would best serve to heighten the allegory. See *Observat.* on Spenser's *Faer. Qu.* i. 73. I have formerly remarked, that in this exordium Milton had an eye on some elegant lines of Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, B. iii. S. 10. edit. 1598.

"Sleepe, grim Reproof! My iocund Muse doth sing

"In other keyes to nimbler fingering;

"Dull-sprighted *Melancholy*, leaue my braine,

"To hell, *Cimmerian* Night. In lively vaine

"I striue to paint; then hence all darke intent,

"And sullen frownes. Come, sporting Merriment,

"Cheeke-dimpling Laughter, crowne my uerie soule

"With iouisance." T. WARTON.

Ver. 4. ————— *unholy !]* Abominable, execrable. Thus, in the epitaph subjoined to an ancient poet, entitled *The Earle of Devonshire deceased*:

"But euermore he tan'd the pride of folly,

"And castigated drifts of slaues *vnholy*." TODD.

Find out some uncouth cell, 5
 Where brooding Darkness spreads his jealous wings,
 And the night-raven sings ;
 There under ebon shades, and low-brow'd rocks,
 As ragged as thy locks,
 In dark Cimmerian desert ever dwell. 10

Ver. 5. ————— uncouth cell,] Such is the magician's residence in *The Valiant Welchman*, 1615, A. iv. S. vi.

————— "thus farre haue my weary steps ———
 "Search't out the *uncouth cell* of thy abode." TODD.

Ver. 6. ————— *jealous*] Alluding to the *watch* which fowls keep when they are sitting. WARBURTON.

Ver. 8. ————— *ebon shades*,] Pistol says, at the conclusion of *K. Hen.* IV. P. ii. "Rouse up revenge from *ebon den*." Sandys, in his *Christ's Passion*, adopts Milton's whole expression: "From th' Istmos, crown'd with *ebon shade*," edit. 1640, p. 23. TODD.

Ver. 9. — ragged] In *Titus Andron.* A. ii. S. iv. "The *ragged* entrails of this pit." *Ragged* is not uncommon in our old writers, applied to *rock*. T. WARTON.

So in the *Tragedy of Locrine*, Shakspeare's Works, 4th edit. 1685, p. 288. "A country full of hills and *ragged rocks*." And the phrase is also in our translation of the Bible, *Isaiah* ii. 19. "The tops of the *ragged rocks*." TODD.

Ver. 10. *In dark Cimmerian desert ever dwell.*] It should be remembered, that *Cimmeriæ tenebræ* were anciently proverbial. But *Cimmerian* darkness and desolation were a common allusion in the poetry that was now written and studied. In Fletcher's *False One*, A. v. S. iv. p. 165. edit. Theob. 1751.

"O giant-like Ambition, married to
 "Cymmerian darkness."

In Spenser's *Tears of the Muses*, we have "*Darknesse* more than *Cymmerians'* daily night." And in his *Virgil's Gnat*, a Cimmerian desert is described, ver. 369, &c. But our author might perhaps have had an immediate allusion to the cave of sleep in Ovid, *Met.* xi. 592.

"Est prope *Cinmerios* longo spelunca recessu,
 "Mons cavus, &c."

Or from Homer, whom Ovid copies, *Odys.* xi. 14. And, in Ovid's *uncouth cell*, there is perpetual darkness; and Sleep reposes on an *ebon couch*, here turned to *ebon shades*. Dreams inhabit Ovid's cave, "*Somnia vana*," who in *L'Allegro* are of the fickle train of Morpheus, or Sleep. See also Statius, *Theb.* x. 84. And Chaucer, *II. Fame*, v. 70, p. 458. edit. Urr. And to all or most of these authors Sylvester has been indebted in his prolix description of the cave of Sleep. *Du Bart.* p. 316. edit. fol. 1621. And in that description we trace Milton, both here, and in the opening of *Il Penseroso*, where see the Note at v. 5. Mr. Bowle remarks, that this line of the text bears a near resemblance to a passage in Sydney's *Arcadia*, B. iii. p. 407. edit. 1725. "Let *Cimmerian darkness* be my only habitation." The excretion in the text is a translation of a passage in one of his own academick *Prolusions*, "Dignus qui *Cinmeriis* oclusus tenebris *longam* et perosam vitam transigat." *Pr. W.* vol. ii. 587. T. WARTON.

But come, thou goddess fair and free,
 In Heaven yclep'd Euphrosyne,
 And by Men, heart-easing Mirth;
 Whom lovely Venus, at a birth,
 With two sister Graces more, 15
 To ivy-crowned Bacchus bore :
 Or whether (as some sager sing)
 The frolick wind, that breathes the spring,
 Zephyr, with Aurora playing,
 As he met her once a-Maying; 20
 There on beds of violets blue,
 And fresh-blown roses wash'd in dew,

Ver. 11. *But come, thou goddess fair and free,*] Compare Drayton, *Ecl.* iv. vol. iv. p. 1401.

“ A daughter cleped Dowsabell,

“ A maiden *fair and free*.”

In the metrical romances, these two words, thus paired together, are a common epithet for a lady. As in *Syr Eglamour*, Bl. Let. Pr. by J. Allde, 4to. Signat. iii.

“ The erles daughter, *fair and free*.”

Jonson makes his beautiful countess of Bedford to be “*fair and free*, and wise.” *Epigram.* lxxvi. T. WARTON.

See also Chaucer, *Knights Tale*, v. 2388, ed. Tyrwhitt.

“ Of *fayre* yong Venus, fresh and *free*.”

Whence Sylvester, *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 81. “*Fair* dainty *Venus*, whose *free* vertues milde &c.” The term *free* is equal to our phrase of *genteel*, of *free* or easy carriage. See Notes to *Anc. Scot. Poems*, vol. ii. 424.

TODD.

Ver. 15. — two sister Graces] *Meat and Drink*, the two sisters of *Mirth*. WARBURTON.

Ver. 17. — *some sager sing*] Because those who give to *Mirth* such gross companions as *Eating and Drinking*, are the *less sage* mythologists. WARBURTON.

Milton certainly wrote *sager*, as in editions 1645, 1673. Tonsen has also *sager*, in his earliest editions. *Sages* is in Tickell's edition, 1720; and thence copied by Fenton. Milton is the mythologist in both these genealogies. T. WARTON.

Ver. 19. *Zephyr, with Aurora playing,*

As he met her once a-Maying;] The rhymes and imagery are from Jonson, in the Mask at Sir William Cornwalleis's House at Highgate. 1604. *Works*, fol. 1616. p. 881.

“ See, who is here come *a-Maying* ?

“ Why left we off our *playing* ?”

This song is sung by *Zephyrus* and *Aurora*, Milton's two paramours, and Flora. T. WARTON.

Ver. 22. *And fresh-blown roses wash'd in dew,*] So Shakspeare, as Mr. Bowle observes, *Tam. Shr.* A. ii. S. i. :—

Fill'd her with thee a daughter fair,
So buxom, blithe, and debonair.

Haste thee, Nymph, and bring with thee 25
Jest, and youthful Jollity,
Quips, and Cranks, and wanton Wiles,

She looks as clear

"As morning roses newly wash'd with dew." T. WARTON.

And in *The Taming of a Shrew*, not Shakspeare's, 4to. 1596, Sign. F. reprinted in 1607,

"As glorious as the morning washt with dew."

Thus also Greene, in his *Arcadia*, 1599.

"Her lips like roses overwasht with dew."

The edition of *The Taming of a Shrew*, in 1596, I should add, appears to have been unknown to the commentators on Shakspeare. TODD.

Ver. 23. *Fill'd her &c.*] Mr. Bowle is of opinion, that this passage is formed from *Gower's Song* in the play of *Pericles Prince of Tyre*, A. i. S. i. See Malone's *Suppl. Sh.* vol. ii. 7.

"This king unto him took a phear,

"Who died and left a female heir

"So buxome, blithe, and full of face,

"As heav'n had lent her all his grace." T. WARTON.

Compare a line in Randolph's *Aristippus*, first printed in 1635, p. 310, edit. 1662.

"A bowl of wine is wonderous boon cheer,

"To make one blithe, buxome, and deboneer."

Debonair is applied to the ladies, as well as to knights, repeatedly by Spenser. TODD.

Ver. 25. *Haste thee, Nymph, &c.*] Mr. Bowle thinks that this passage is copied from Buchanan, *Opp.* edit. 1687. p. 337.

"Vos adeste, rursus,

"Risus, Blanditiæ, Procacitates,

"Lusus, Nequitia, Facetiaque,

"Joci, Deliciaeque, et Illecebræ, &c."

Peck, and after him Doctor Newton, have produced as plausible a parallel from Statius's *Decembris*. T. WARTON.

See the groupe of attendants, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, on "fair dainty Venus," ed. 1621. p. 81.

"Whom wanton Dalliance, Dancing, and Delight,

"Smiles, witty Wiles, Youth, Love, and Beauty bright,

"With soft blind Cupids, evermore consort." DUNSTER.

Ver. 27. *Quips, and Cranks.*] A *Quip* is a satirical joke, a smart repartee. Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, A. ii. S. iv. *Phil.* "How liked you my *Quippe* to Hedon about the garter: was't not wittie?" And Falstaff says, "What in thy *Quips* and thy *Quiddities*?" First P. Hen. IV. A. i. S. ii. And in *Two Gentl. Veron.* A. iv. S. ii. Again, our author, *Apol. Smectymn.* "With *quips* and snapping adagies to vapour them out." *Pr. Works*, vol. i. 105. By *Cranks*, a word yet unexplained, I think, we are here to understand *cross-purposes*, or some other similar conceit of conversation, surprising the company by its intricacy, or embarrassing by its difficulty. Such were the festivities of our simple ancestors! *Cranks*,

Nods, and Becks, and wreathed Smiles,
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,
And love to live in dimple sleek ;
Sport that wrinkled Care derides,
And Laughter holding both his sides.

30

literally taken, in *Coriolanus*, signify the ducts of the human body, A. i. S. i. "through the *cranks* and offices of man." In Spenser, the sudden or frequent involutions of the planets, *Fuer. Qu.* vii. vii. 52. "So many turning *cranks* have they, so many crookes." Our author has *cranks*, which his context explains, *Pr. W.* i. 165. "To shew us the ways of the Lord, straight and faithful as they are, not full of *cranks* and contradictions." T. WARTON.

I will cite the substantive from the ancient *Translations of the Psalms*, attributed to Archbishop Parker, p. 145.

"To God aye offer thanks,
"And pay to God, of lyfe thy vow,
"And seeke none other *crankes*."

Crank the adjective was in use, among the country-people, for *lusty*, *courageous*, *spiritful*, when Milton wrote his early Poems. See Minsheu's *Guide into Tongues*, 1627. So, in Drayton's *Dowsabell*, printed in the first vol. of Dr. Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, of a shepherd :

"Like chanteclere he crowed *cranche*,
"And pip'd full merrilie." TODD.

Ver. 28. Nods, and Becks, and wreathed Smiles,
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,
And love to live in dimple sleek ;] The first of these lines is from a stanza in Burton's *Anatomie of Melancholy*, p. 449, edit. 1628.

"With *becks*, and *nods*, he first beganne
"To try the wenches minde ;
"With *becks*, and *nods*, and *smiles* againe,
"An answer did he finde."

The remainder was probably echoed from Richard Brathwayte's *Shepherd's Tales*, Lond. 1621. p. 201.

—————"a *dimpled* chin
"Made for Love to lodge him in." T. WARTON.

Milton seems to have had a line of Gascoigne here in mind, *Poems*, 1587, p. 67.

"That *dimpled* chin wherein delight did dwell." TODD.

Ver. 32. And Laughter &c.] Ph. Fletcher's *Mirth* is so attended, *Purp. Isl.* Cant. iv. p. 13. edit. 1633 :

"Here *sportful* Laughter dwells, here, ever sitting,
"Defies all lumpish griefs, and *wrinkled* Care ;
"And twentie merrie *Mutes*, *mirth*-causes fitting,
"And *Smiles*, which, *Laughter's* sonnes, yet infants are."

Smiles are *wreathed*, because in a smile the features are *wreathed*, or curl'd, twisted, &c. T. WARTON.

Drummond has a passage much in point with Mr. Warton's explication, *Poems*, 1659, p. 127.

"Whose face with *smiling* curls." TODD.

Come, and trip it, as you go,
 On the light fantastick toe ;
 And in thy right hand lead with thee 35
 The mountain-nymph, sweet Liberty ;
 And, if I give thee honour due,
 Mirth, admit me of thy crew,
 To live with her, and live with thee,
 In unreprieved pleasures free ; 40
 To hear the lark begin his flight,

Ver. 33. *Come, and trip it, as you go*, &c. An imitation of Shakspeare, *Tempest*, A. iv. S. ii. Ariel to the Spirits :

————— “ *Come, and go,*
 “ Each one tripping on his toe.” NEWTON.

Ver. 34. *On the light fantastick toe* :] See *Comus*, v. 144. Drayton, in his *Nymphidia*, had before written

“ My pretty, *light, fantistick* mayde.” TODD.

Ver. 36. *The mountain-nymph, sweet Liberty* :] Doctor Newton supposes, that Liberty is here called the mountain-nymph, “because the people in mountainous countries have generally preserved their liberties longest, as the Britons formerly in Wales, and the inhabitants in the mountains of Switzerland at this day.” Milton’s head was not so political on this occasion. Warmed with the poetry of the Greeks, I rather believe that he thought of the Oreads of the Grecian mythology, whose wild haunts among the romantick mountains of Pisa are so beautifully described in Homer’s Hymn to Pan. The allusion is general, to inaccessible and uncultivated scenes of nature, such as mountainous situations afford, and which were best adapted to the free and uninterrupted range of the Nymph Liberty. He compares Eve to an Oread, certainly without any reference to Wales or to the Swiss Cantons, in *Paradise Lost*, B. ix. 387. See also *El.* v. 127.

“ Atque aliquam cupidus prædatur Oreada Faunus.”

T. WARTON.

Ver. 40. *In unreprieved pleasures free* :] That is, *blameless, innocent*, not subject to *reproof*. See *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 492. And Sandys has “*unreprieved kisses*.” *Solom. Song.* Cant. viii. And Drayton, “I may safely play and *unreprieved*.” *Ecl.* iii. vol. iv. p. 1393. T. WARTON.

But Milton’s complete expression, *unreprieved pleasures*, is from Sannazarius, *De Part. Virg.* lib. iii. “*Sequitur mox inculpata voluptas*.” And see also Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. ii. 43. “*Joying together in unblam’d delight*.”

TODD.

Ver. 41. *To hear the lark begin his flight*, &c.] See an elegant little Song in Lily’s *Alexander and Campaspe*, presented before queen Elizabeth, A. v. S. i.

“ The larke so shrill and cleare,
 “ How at heavens gate she claps her wings,
 “ The morne not waking till she sings.”

See also Drayton, *Polyolb.* S. iii. vol. ii. p. 707. of the lark.

————— “ on her trembling wing
 “ In climbing up to heaven her high-pitch hymn to sing
 “ Unto the springing day.”

And singing startle the dull night,
 From his watch-tower in the skies,
 Till the dappled dawn doth rise ;
 Then to come, in spite of sorrow, 45
 And at my window bid good morrow,
 Through the sweet-briar, or the vine,
 Or the twisted eglantine :
 While the cock, with lively din,
 Scatters the rear of Darkness thin ; 50

And see *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 289. There is a peculiar propriety in *startle* : the Lark's is a sudden shrill burst of song.—Both in *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, there seem to be two parts : the one a day-piece, and the other a night-piece. Here, or with three or four of the preceding lines, our author begins to spend the *day* with *Mirth*. T. WARTON.

Ver. 42. ——— *startle the dull night,*] So in *K. Hen. V. A.* iv. Chorus.

“ Piercing the *night's* dull ear.” STEEVENS.

Ver. 43. *From his watch-tower in the skies,*] So in our author's *Reformation*, &c. Of God. “ From his high *watch-tower* in the *Heavens*.” Pr. W. i. 22. T. WARTON.

Ver. 46. *And at my window bid good morrow,*] Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, in the Cave of Sleep, p. 315. edit. 1621.

—— “ Cease, sweet chanticleere,

“ *To bid good morrow.*”

Again, *ibid.* p. 70.

“ But cheerful birds chirping him sweet *good morrowes*.”

T. WARTON.

The corresponding verse in *Du Bartas*, should be added :

“ With Nature's Musick *do beguile his sorrows* :”

because Doctor Newton has thought the rhymes introduced “ *upon compulsion* ;” yet they are frequent in Chaucer : See the *Rom. of the Rose*, v. 2847, 3027, 4271. See also *Du Bartas* again, p. 1212. We may here compare the *Shepherd's Song* in Heywood's *Pleasant Dialogues* &c. 1637.

“ Our musick from the birdes we borrow,

“ They *bidding* us, we them, *good morrow.*”

Nicols, with much elegance, introduces, in his *Cuckow*, 1607, p. 24, “ Zephyrus, on gentle wings, breathing *good morrowes* to the fair Aurora.” And see Drayton's *Shepheards Garland*, edit. 1593, p. 69.

“ The whistling *lurke*, ymounted on her wings,

“ To the gray morrow *her good morrow sings.*” TODD.

Ver. 47, 48. Sweet-briar and Eglantine are the same plant. By the *twisted* Eglantine he therefore means the Honeysuckle. All three are plants often growing against the side or walls of a house. T. WARTON.

Ver. 50. ——— *the rear of Darkness thin ;*] Darkness is a person above, v. 6. And in *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 712. And in Spenser, *F. Q.* i. vii. 23.

“ Where *Darknesse* he in deepest dongeon drove.”

And in Manilius, i. 126. : —

And to the stack, or the barn-door,
 Stoutly struts his dames before :
 Oft listening how the hounds and horn
 Cheerly rouse the slumbering morn,
 From the side of some hoar hill,
 Through the high wood echoing shrill :
 Some time walking, not unseen,
 By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,

55

———"Mundumque enixa nitentem,
 "Fugit in infernas *Caligo* pulsa tenebras."

But, if we take in the context, he seems to have here personified Darkness from *Romeo and Juliet*, A. ii. S. iii.

"The grey-eyed Morn smiles on the frowning night,
 "Checkering the eastern clouds with streaks of light ;
 "And flecked *Darkness*, like a drunkard, reels
 "From forth day's path-way."

For here too we have by implication Milton's "dappled dawn," v. 44. But more especially, in *Much Ado about Nothing*, A. v. S. iii.

———"And look, the gentle day
 "Dapples the drowsy east with spots of gray."

So also Drummond, *Sonnets*, edit. 1616.

"Sith, winter gone, the sunne in *dappled* skie
 "Now smiles on meadows, &c." T. WARTON.

Ver. 52. Stoutly struts *his dames before* :] Milton here applies to the cock much the same motion as Sylvester does to the peacock, *Du Bart*. 1621, p. 76., which he describes,

"To woo his mistress, *strouting stately* by her."

Again, p. 109.

"Proud, *portly-strouting*, stalking, *stately-grave*,
 "Wheeling his starry trayn." TODD.

Ver. 54. —— *rouse the slumbering morn*,] The same expression, as Mr. Bowle observes, occurs with the same rhymes, in an elegant triplet of an obscure poet, John Habington, *Castara*, edit. 1640, p. 8.

"The Nymphes with quivers shall adorne
 "Their active sides, and *rouse the morne*
 "With the shrill musicke of the horne." T. WARTON.

But Milton was here indebted to Guarini, *Pastor Fido*, where the *slumbering morne* is *roused*, A. i. S. i.

———"Ite voi dunque,
 "E non sol precorrete,
 "Ma *provocate* ancora
 "Col rauco suon *la sonnachiosa Aurora*." TODD.

Ver. 56. *Through the high wood*] As in Browne's *Brit. Past.* from which Milton sometimes selects an image or a phrase : See the note on ver. 62.

"The Hamadryades their hunting ended,
 "And in the *high woods* left the hart, &c. TODD.

Ver. 57. —— *not unseen*,] In the *Penseroso*, he walks

Right against the eastern gate
Where the great sun begins his state,
Robed in flames, and amber light,
The clouds in thousand liveries dight ;

60

unseen, v. 65. Happy men love witnesses of their joy : the splenetick love solitude. HURD.

Ver. 59. *Right against the eastern gate*

Where the great sun begins his state, &c.] Gray has adopted the first of these lines in his *Descent of Odin*. See also *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 542. Here is an allusion to a splendid or royal procession. We have the eastern gate again, in the Latin poem *In Quintum Novembris*, v. 133. And in Drayton, *Polyolb.* S. xiii. vol. iii. p. 915.

"Then from her burnisht *gate* the goodly glittering *East*

"Gilds every lofty top."

Shakspeare has also the eastern gate, which is most poetically opened, *Mids. N. Dr.* A. iii. S. ix.

"Even till the *eastern gate*, all fiery red,

"Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,

"Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams."

Compare also Browne, *Brit. Past.* B. i. S. v. p. 87. edit. 1613.

—— "But when the Morne doth looke

"Out of the *eastern-gates*."

Tasso is still more brilliant, *Gier. Lib.* c. xiv. st. 3.

"Non lunge a l' *auree porte* ond' esce il sole,

"E cristallina porta in oriente, &c." T. WARTON.

Ver. 61. *Robed in flames*, &c.] A sun-rise is described in similar terms by Drayton, *Floures of Sion*, 1623, p. 9.

—— "farre in the east ye doe behold

"Forth from his christall bed the sunne to rise

"With rosie robes, and crowne of flaming gold." TODD.

Ver. 62. *The clouds in thousand liveries dight* ;] Literally from a very puerile poetical description of the Morning in one of his academick Prolusions. "Ipsa quoque tellus, in adventum solis, cultiori se induit vestitu, nubisque juxta variis chlamydata coloribus, pompa solenni, longoque ordine, videntur ancillari surgenti deo." *Prose Works*, vol. ii. 586. And just before we have "The cock with lively din, &c."—"At primus omnium adventantem solem triumphat insonnis gallus." An ingenious critick observes, that this morning landscape of *L'Allegro* has served as a repository of imagery for all succeeding poets on the same subject. But much the same circumstances, among others, are assembled by a poet who wrote above thirty years before, the author of *Britannia's Pastorals*, B. iv. S. iv. p. 75. edit. supr. I give the passage at large,

"By this had chanticlere, the village clocke,

"Bidden the good wife for her maids to knocke :

"And the swart plowman for his breakfast staid,

"That he might till those lands where fallow laid :

"The hills and vallies here and there resound

"With the re-ecchoes of the deepe-mouth'd hound :

"Each sheapheard's daughter with her cleanly peule,

"Was come afield to milke the mornings meale ;

"And ere the sunne had clymb'd the easterne hills,

"To guild the muttring bournes and petty rills ;

While the plowman, near at hand,
Whistles o'er the furrow'd land,
And the milkmaid singeth blithe,
And the mower whets his sithe,
And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.

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"Before the lab'ring bee had left the hive,
"And nimble fishes, which in rivers diue,
"Began to leape, and catch the drowned flie,
"I rose from rest." T. WARTON.

Ver. 67. *And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.*] An image perhaps conveyed
by Shakspeare, *Third P. K. Hen. VI. A. ii. S. v.*

"Gives not the *hawthorn bush* a sweeter shade
"To *shepherds* looking on their silly sheep, &c."

It was suggested to me by the late ingenious Mr. Headley, that the word *tale* does not here imply stories told by shepherds, but that it is a technical term for *numbering* sheep, which is still used in Yorkshire and the distant counties. This interpretation I am inclined to adopt, which I will therefore endeavour to illustrate and enforce. *Tale* and *tell*, in this sense, were not unfamiliar in our poetry, in and about Milton's time. For instance, Dryden's Virgil, *Bucol. iii. 33.*

"And once she takes the *tale* of all my *lambs*."

And in W. Browne's *Shepherd's Pipe, Egl. v.* edit. 1614. 12mo. He is describing the dawn of day.

"When the shepherds from the fold
"All their bleating charges *told*;
"And, full careful, search'd if one
"Of all the flock was hurt, or gone, &c."

But let us analyse the context. The poet is describing a very early period of the morning; and this he describes, by selecting and assembling such picturesque objects as accompany that period, and such as were familiar to an early riser. He is waked by the lark, and goes into the fields. The sun is just emerging, and the clouds are still hovering over the mountains. The cocks are crowing, and with their lively notes *scatter the lingering remains of darkness*. Human labours and employments are renewed, with the dawn of the day. The hunter (formerly much earlier at his sport than at present) is beating the covert, and the *slumbering morn* is *roused* with the cheerful echo of hounds and horns. The mower is whetting his scythe to begin his work. The milk-maid, whose business is of course at day break, comes abroad singing. The Shepherd opens his fold, and takes the *tale* of his sheep, to see if any were lost in the night, as in the passage just quoted from Browne. Now for shepherds to *tell tales*, or to *sing*, is a circumstance trite, common, and general, and belonging only to ideal shepherds: nor do I know, that such shepherds *tell tales*, or *sing*, more in the morning than at any other part of the day. A shepherd taking the *tale* of his sheep which are just unfolded, is a new image, correspondent and appropriated, beautifully descriptive of a period of time, is founded in fact, and is more pleasing as more natural. T. WARTON.

Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
 Whilst the landskip round it measures ; 70
 Russet lawns, and fallows gray,
 Where the nibbling flocks do stray ;
 Mountains, on whose barren breast
 The labouring clouds do often rest ;
 Meadows trim with daisies pide, 75
 Shallow brooks, and rivers wide :
 Towers and battlements it sees
 Bosom'd high in tufted trees,

Ver. 69. *Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,*] There is, in my opinion, great beauty in this abrupt and rapturous start of the poet's imagination, as it is extremely well adapted to the subject, and carries a very pretty allusion to those sudden gleams of vernal delight, which break in upon the mind at the sight of a fine prospect. THYER.

Ver. 72. *Where the nibbling flocks do stray,*] Shakspeare in the *Tempest*, A. iv. S. i.

"The turfy mountains where live *nibbling sheep*."

Doctor Newton remarks, that *stray* is not here in the sense of *wander*. But why should we wish to take away from the freedom and variety of Milton's landscape? The learned commentator produces, in proof, Virgil's "*Ille meos errare boves*," Ecl. i. 9. But there, I apprehend, the more the sheep are supposed to *wander at large*, the more is the shepherd's happiness implied, who had recovered his whole extent of country. T. WARTON.

Ver. 75. *Meadows trim with daisies pide,*] I need not mention Shakspeare's daisies *ped*. In Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, we have "Enamiling with *pide* floures," st. 3. Doctor Newton has improperly printed *ped* for *pide*. Both the two first editions have *pide*, and Tonson's, 1705. So have even Tickell and Fenton. This was so hackneyed an epithet among the pastoral writers for flowers, that Shakspeare has formed from it the substantive *pedness*. Perdita and Polixenes, in the *Winter's Tale*, are conversing about flowers. A. iv. S. iii. She says,

"There is an art, which in their *pedness* shares

"With great creating nature."

That is, "There is an art, which can produce flowers, with *as great a variety of colours* as nature herself." T. WARTON.

Meadow trim is a combination in the old English translation of Boccace's *Amorous Fiametta*, bl. l. 4to. 1587, fol. 2. b. "I went singing vp and downe in this pleasant and *trym meadowe*." I take this opportunity of observing, that Mr. Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, vol. 3. p. 467., speaking of this version, says that it was "translated by an *Italian*, who seems to have borne some office about the court in 1587." The translator, in the title-page, styles himself *B. Giouano del M. Temp.* And the Epistle Dedicatorie informs us that he was *M. Bartholomew Young of the Middle Temple*. His name being Italianized, seems to be the circumstance which has led Mr. Warton into the preceding strange mis-statement. TODD.

Ver. 77. *Towers and battlements it sees
 Bosom'd high in tufted trees,*] This was the great mansion-

Where perhaps some Beauty lies,
 The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes. 80
 Hard by, a cottage chimney smoaks,
 From betwixt two aged oaks,
 Where Corydon and Thyrsis, met,
 Are at their savoury dinner set
 Of herbs, and other country messes, 85
 Which the neat-handed Phillis dresses ;

house in Milton's early days, before the old-fashioned architecture had given way to modern arts and improvements. Turrets and battlements were conspicuous marks of the numerous new buildings of the reign of king Henry the eighth, and of some rather more ancient, many of which yet remained in their original state, unchanged and undecayed: nor was that style, in part at least, quite omitted in Inigo Jones's first manner. Browne, in *Britania's Pastorals*, has a similar image, B. i. S. v. p. 96.

— "Yond pallace, whose brave turret tops
 "Ouer the statelie wood suruay the cospe."

Browne is a poet now forgotten, but must have been well known to Milton.—Where only a little is seen, more is left to the imagination. These symptoms of an old palace, especially when thus disposed, have a greater effect than a discovery of larger parts, and even a full display of the whole edifice. The embosomed battlements, and the spreading top of the tall grove, on which they reflect a reciprocal charm, still further interest the fancy from the novelty of combination: while just enough of the towering structure is shown, to make an accompaniment to the tufted expanse of venerable verdure, and to compose a picturesque association. With respect to their rural residence, there was a coyness in our Gothick ancestors. Modern seats are seldom so deeply ambushed. They disclose all their glories at once: and never excite expectation by concealment, by gradual approaches, and by interrupted appearances. T. WARTON.

I may add the picturesque description at the opening of the xviii. chap. of *Palmerin of England*, old translation, bl. l. s. d. Part I. in which Palmerin is "brought to the place where Leonarda remained enchanted; where he beheld, in a pleasant valley, a company of brave and stately towers among the greene trees, &c." Milton repeats the descriptive epithet in *Comus*, v. 225, "this *tufted grove*." Sylvester describes his plant-trees thus, "the *tufted planes*," *Du Bart.* 1621, p. 444.; and in p. 194. he has "*tufting arbors*." TODD.

Ver. 79. *Where perhaps some Beauty lies,*
The Cynosure of neighbouring eyes.] Most probably from Burton's *Melancholy*, as Peck observes. But in Shakspeare we have "your eyes are *lode-starres*," *Mids. N. Dr.* A. i. S. i. And this was no uncommon compliment in Chaucer, Skelton, Sidney, Spenser, and other old English poets, as Mr. Steevens has abundantly proved. Milton enlivens his prospect by this unexpected circumstance, which gives it a moral charm. T. WARTON.

Ver. 85. *Of herbs and other country messes,*
Which the neat-handed Phillis dresses;] The rhymes were perhaps suggested by Sylvester, *Du Bart.* ed. supr. p. 171.

"Yielding more holesom food than all the *messes*,
 "That now taste-curious wanton Plenty *dresses*." TODD.

And then in haste the bower she leaves,
 With Thestylis to bind the sheaves ;
 Or, if the earlier season lead,
 To the tann'd haycock in the mead. 90
 Sometimes with secure delight
 The upland hamlets will invite,
 When the merry bells ring round,
 And the jocund rebecks sound

Ver. 92. *The upland hamlets*] In opposition to the hay-making scene in the lower lands THYER.

Ver. 93. *When the merry bells ring round,*] The first instance I remember in our poetry of the circumstance of a peal of bells, introduced as descriptive of festivity, is in Morley's *Madrigals*.

"Harke, iolly shepheards,
 "Harke yon lustie ringeing!
 "How cheerfullie the bells do daunce,
 "The whilst the lads are springing!
 "Go then, why sit we here delaying,
 "And all yon merrie wanton lasses playing?"

Here too, as in our author, they are introduced as an accompaniment of the mirth of a village-holiday. *England's Helicon*, 1614. But see Shakespeare, II. P. IIen. IV. A. iv. S. iv.

"And bid the merry bells ring to thine ear." T. WARTON.

Ver. 94. *And the jocund rebecks sound*] The *Rebeck* was a species of fiddle; and is, I believe, the same that is called in Chaucer, Lydgate, and the old French writers, the *Rebible*. It appears from Sylvester's *Du Bartus*, that the Cymbal was furnished with wires, and the *Rebeck* with strings of cat-gut, ed. 1621, p. 221. "But wyerie cymbals, *Rebecks* sinewes twin'd." Du Cange quotes a middle-aged barbarous Latin poet, who mentions many musical instruments, by names now hardly intelligible. *Gloss. Lat. V. Baudosa*. One of them is the *Rebeck*. "Quidam *rebeccam* arcuabant." Where, by *arcuabant*, we are to understand that it was played upon by a *bow*, *arcus*. The word occurs in Drayton's *Eclogues*, vol. iv. p. 1391. "He tun'd his *rebeck* to a mournful note." And see our author's *Liberty of unlicensed Printing*. "The villages also must have their visitors to inquire, what lectures the bagpipe and the *Rebeck* reads even to the gammuth of every municipal [town] *fidler*, &c." *Pr. W.* vol. i. p. 149. In *England's Helicon*, there is "A Shepherd's Song to his *Rebeck*." Edit. 1614. In Shakespeare, a fidler is called *Hugh Rebeck*; see *Rom. Jul.* A. iv. S. iv. and Steevens's Note. If, as I have supposed, it is Chaucer's *Ribible*, the diminutive of *Ribibe* used also by Chaucer, I must agree with Sir John Hawkins, that it originally comes from *Rebeb*, the name of a Moorish musical instrument with two strings, played on by a bow. See Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer*, N. on v. 6959. Sir John adds, that the Moors brought it into Spain, whence it passed into Italy, and obtained the appellation of *Ribeca*. Hist. Mus. ii. 86. Perhaps we have it from the French *Rebec* and *Rebecquin*. In the Percy Household book, 1512, are recited, "Mynstralls in Houshold iij, viz. a Taberett, a Luyte, and a *Rebeck*." It appears below queen Elizabeth's reign, in the musick-establishment of the royal houshold. T. WARTON.

To many a youth, and many a maid, 95
 Dancing in the chequer'd shade ;
 And young and old come forth to play
 On a sun-shine holy-day,
 Till the live-long day-light fail :
 Then to the spicy nut-brown ale, 100
 With stories told of many a feat,
 How faery Mab the junkets eat ;
 She was pinch'd, and pull'd, she sed ;

Ver. 96. ————— chequer'd shade ;] So, in *Titus Andronic.*
 A. ii. S. iii.

"The green leaves quiver with the cooling wind,
 "And make a *chequer'd shadow* on the ground." RICHARDSON.

Ver. 99. *Till the live-long day-light fail :*] Here the poet begins to pass the night with Mirth. And he begins with the night or evening of the *sunshine holy-day*, whose merriments he has just celebrated.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 100. *Then to the spicy nut-brown ale,*] See the play of *Henry the Fifth*, in six *Old Plays*, 1779. p. 336.

"Yet we will have in store a crab i' the fire,
 "With *nut-brown ale*, that is full stale."

This was Shakspeare's "gossip's bowl," *Mids. N. Dr.* A. i. S. i. The composition was ale, nutmeg, sugar, toast, and roasted crabs or apples. It was called *Lambs-wool*. Our old dramas have frequent allusions to this delectable beverage. In Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* it is styled "the spiced wassel bowl." A. v. S. i. vol. iii. p. 177. T. WARTON.

Ver. 103. *She was pinch'd, and pull'd, she sed ;* &c.] *He* and *she* are persons of the company assembled to spend the evening, after a country wake, at a rural junket. All this is a part of the pastoral imagery which now prevailed in our poetry. Compare Drayton's *Nymphidia*, vol. ii. p. 453.

"These make our girles their sluttish rue,
 "By pinching them both black and blue, &c."

And Shakspeare, *Com. Err.* A. ii. S. ii. of the fairies :

"They'll suck our breath, and pinch us black and blue."

And Browne, *Brit. Past.* B. i. S. ii. p. 31. And Heywood's *Hierarchie of Angels*, B. ix. p. 574. edit. 1635, fol. Who also, among the domestick demons, gives what he calls "a strange story of the Spirit of the Buttery." Ibid. p. 577. But almost all that Milton here mentions of these house-fairies appears to be taken from Jonson's *Entertainment at Altroupe*, 1603. *Works*, fol. p. 872. edit. 1616.

"When about the *cream-bowles* sweete,
 "You and all your elves do meet.
 "This is *Mab*, the mistris fairy,
 "That doth nightly rob the dairy.—
 "She that *pinches* country wenches,
 "If they rub not cleane their benches ;—
 "This is she that empties cradles, &c.
 "Traynes forth midwives in their slumbers,—

And he, by friars' lantern led,
Tells how the drudging Goblin swet,
To earn his cream-bowl duly set,

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"And then leads them from their burrowes,
"Home through *ponds* &c." T. WARTON.

So, in Nash's *Terrors of the Night*, 1594, of these "Robbin-good-fel-lowes, elfes, &c. Then *ground they malt*, and had hempen shirts for their labours, daunst in rounds in greene meadowes, *pincht maids* in their sleepe that swept not their houses cleane, and *led poore travellers out of their way* notoriously." See also "The second part of *Robin Good-fellow*, commonly called *Hob-Goblin*; with his mad pranks and merry iests." 4to. 1628. Sign. C. 3. "How Robin Good-fellow led a company of fellowes out of their way." Milton, we see, calls him "the drudging *Goblin*." TODD.

Ver. 104. *And he, by friars' lantern led, &c.*] Thus the edition of 1645. But in the edition 1673, the context stands thus, I know not if under the poet's immediate correction:

"She was pincht and pull'd, she sed,
"And by the friars' lantern led
"Tells how &c."

And in Tsonson's, 1705. This reading at least removes a slight confusion arising from *his*, v. 106. Nor is the general sense much altered. *Friars' lantern*, is the *Jack and lantern*, which led people in the night into marshes and waters. Milton gives the philosophy of this superstition, *Par. Lost*, B. ix. 634—642. In the midst of a solemn and learned enarration, his strong imagination could not resist a romantick tradition consecrated by popular credulity. T. WARTON.

Ver. 105. *Tells how the drudging Goblin swet,*

To earn his cream-bowl duly set, &c.] This goblin is Robin Goodfellow. See note on v. 103. And the commentators on Shakspeare's *Mids. N. Dream*, vol. iii. p. 27. edit. 1778. His cream-bowl was earned, and he paid the punctuality of those by whom it was duly placed for his refection, by the service of threshing with his invisible fairy flail, in one night, and before the dawn of day, a quantity of corn in the barn, which could not have been threshed in so short a time by ten labourers. He then returns into the house, fatigued with his task; and, overcharged with his reward of the cream-bowl, throws himself before the fire, and, stretched along the whole breadth of the fire-place, basks till the morning. Robin Goodfellow, who is here made a gigantick spirit, fond of lying before the fire, and called the *lubbar-fiend*, seems to be confounded with the sleepy giant mentioned in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the burning Pestle*, A. iii. S. i. vol. vi. p. 411. edit. 1751. "There is a pretty tale of a witch that had the devil's mark about her, God bless us, that had a gyaunt to her son that was called Lob-lye-by-the-fire." Jonson introduces Robin Goodfellow as a person of the drama, in *Love restored*, a Masque at court, where more of his services, and a great variety of his gambols, are recited, *Works*, edit. 1616, p. 990. Burton, speaking of these fairies, says that "a bigger kind there is of them, called with us Hob-goblins and Robin Goodfellowes, that would in those superstitious times grind corne for a messe of milke, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery worke." *Melanch.* P. i. § 2. p. 42. edit. 1632. In *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, perhaps printed before 1600, Robin Goodfellow says, "I love a messe of creame as well as they." T. WARTON.

Milton has not confounded the *lubbar fiend* with the *sleepy giant* above

When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
 His shadowy flail hath thresh'd the corn,
 That ten days labourers could not end ;
 Then lies him down the lubbar fiend, 110
 And, stretch'd out all the chimney's length,
 Basks at the fire his hairy strength ;
 And crop-full out of doors he flings,
 Ere the first cock his matin rings.
 Thus done the tales, to bed they creep, 115
 By whispering winds soon lull'd asleep.

mentioned ; but thus distinguishes Robin Goodfellow by a similar phrase with Shakspeare's *Mids. N. Dr.* A. ii. S. i. where he is called "Thou *lob* of spirits." *Lob* is *lubber*, that is, a clown, or stupid heavy fellow. See Minsheu, col. 429. in V. *Lobbe*. In Robin Goodfellow's pranks and jests, cited in my note on ver. 103, the drudging *Goblin* says,

"Had you left me *milke* or *creame*
 "You should haue had a pleasing dreame :
 "Because you left no drop or crum,
 "Robin neuer more will come." TODD.

Ver. 108. We have the flail, an implement here given to Robin Goodfellow, in the exhibition of that favourite character in *Grim the Collier of Croydon*. See A. iv. S. i. Reed's *Old Pl.* xi. 238. "*Enter Robin Goodfellow, in a suit of leather close to his body, his face and hands coloured russet colour, with a FLAIL.*" In which he says, p. 241.

"What, Miller, are you up agin ?
 "Nay, then my *flail* shall never lin." T. WARTON.

Ver. 113. *And crop-full out of doors he flings,*
Ere the first cock his matin rings.] Milton remembered the old Song of Puck or Robin Goodfellow, rescued from oblivion by Peck.

"When larks gin sing
 "Away we fling." T. WARTON.

Ver. 114. Mr. Bowle supposes, that the poet here thought of a passage in the *Faerie Queene*, v. vi. 27.

———— "The native belman of the night,
 "The bird that warned Peter of his fall,
 "First *rings his silver bell*, t' each sleepy wight."

See the same allusion and metaphor, in *Par. Lost*, B. v. 7.

———— "The shrill *matin-song*
 "Of birds on every bough." T. WARTON.

See the note on *Par. Lost*, B. v. 7. And Spenser, *Epithal.* v. 80.

"The merry lark her *matins* sings aloft." TODD.

Ver. 116. *By whispering winds &c.*] See the notes on *Par. Reg* B. ii. 26. And add, from Sylvester's *Du Bart.* ed. supr. p. 809.

"Nor song of birds, nor shade of woods, nor gales
 "Of *whispering winds*, &c." TODD.

Tower'd cities please us then,
 And the busy hum of men,
 Where throngs of knights and barons bold,
 In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold, 120
 With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
 Rain influence, and judge the prize

Ver. 117. *Tower'd cities please us then,*] *Then*, that is at night. The poet returns from his digression, perhaps disproportionately prolix, concerning the feats of fairies and goblins, which protract the conversation over the spicy bowl of a village-supper, to enumerate other pleasures or amusements of the night, or evening. *Then* is in this line a repetition of the first *Then*, ver. 100. Afterwards, we have another *Then*, with the same sense and reference, ver. 131. Here too is a transition from mirth in the country to mirth in the city. T. WARTON.

The *towered cities* is a combination, which Milton's contemporary, Bishop Hall, has also employed in a Sermon preached either before K. James or K. Charles I. "The *towered cities* — are torn down, and turned to rubbish." *Works*, vol. iii. p. 195., ed. 1662. TODD.

Ver. 118. *And the busy hum of men,*] Shakspeare, *Hen. V.*, A. iii. *Chorus* :

——— "Through the foul womb of night
 "The *hum* of either army stilly sounds."

A full 'Change, as Mr. Bowle observes, is the best comment on this line. Sylvester describes the crowded streets of London by "busie-buzzing swarms," *Du Bart.* ed. supr. p. 177. "Hideous *hum*" occurs in the *Ode on Nativ.* st. xix. T. WARTON.

The allusion seems to be to a swarm of bees, which Sylvester describes, *Du Bart.* ed. supr. p. 389, by the repetition of the phrase employed to paint the crowded streets of London :

——— "the *busie-buzzing swarm*,
 "With *humming* threats, *throngs* from the little gates
 "Of their round *tower*, &c. TODD.

Ver. 120. *In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold,*] By *triumphs* we are to understand, shows, such as masks, revels, &c. And here, that is in these exhibitions, there was a rich display of the most splendid dresses, of the *weeds of peace*. See Note on *Samson Agon.* v. 1312. T. WARTON.

But see also Shakspeare, *Troil. and Cress.* A. iii. S. iii. "Great Hector in his *weeds of peace*." TODD.

Ver. 121. *With store of ladies,*] An expression probably caught from Sydney's *Astrophel and Stella*, st. 106. "But here I doe *store of faire ladies* meete." T. WARTON.

See also Matthew Groue's *Songes and Sonettes*, 1587, bl. 1.

——— "in *court* there is
 "Such *store of damsels fayre*."

And in Eluiden's *Hist. of Pesistratus and Catanea*, bl. l. s. d.

——— "Of lusty youthful *knights*,
 "And glittering *dames* such *store*."

And Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* v. iii. 2. "Of lords and *ladies* infinite great *store*." TODD.

Ver. 122. Here Mr. Bowle points out a pertinent passage from *Perceforest*, v. i. c. xii. fol. 109. "*Pris* ne doit ne peult estre donne sans les

Of wit, or arms, while both contend
 To win her grace, whom all commend.
 There let Hymen oft appear
 In saffron robe, with taper clear,

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dames : car pour elles sont toutes les prouesses faictes, et par elles en doit estre le *pris donne*." See also, c. cxxviii. Among the articles of the *Justes* at Westminster, 1509, is the following. "Item, yf yt is the pleasure of the Kyng, the Queenes Grace and the *Ladies*, with the advice of the noble and dyscret juges, to give *pryses*, after thir deservings unto both the parties." The Antiquarian Society have given a print of this ceremony from a Roll in the College of Arms. See also Hardyng's *Chron.* c. clv. And Robert of Gloucester, of the tournaments of K. Arthur's Coronation, vol. i. 190.

"Vpe the alures of the castles the *ladyes* there stode,

"And byhulde thys noble game, and wyche knyztz were gode, &c."

The whole description is literally from Geoff. of Monmouth, B. ix. chap. xiv. T. WARTON.

And, immediately to the point of the ladies being *judges* in these cases, compare Groue's *Hist. of Pelops and Hippodamia*, where a tournament is described, 1587. Sign. C. v.

"Those *ladyes* that attend her traync, &c.

"Where they appoynted are to stand

"As *judges* of the case." TODD.

Ver. 123. ——— both contend

To win her grace, whom all commend.] See *The Period of Mourning*, by H. Peacham, a writer familiar to Milton, edit. 1613. *Nupt. Hymn.* iv. of Venus's temple.

—————"where art and cost with each contend

"For which the eye the frame should most commend." T. WARTON.

Ver. 125. *There let Hymen oft appear*

In saffron robe, with taper clear, &c.] For, according to Shakspeare, *Love's Lab. Lost*, A. iv. S. iii.

"For revels, dances, masks, and merry hours,

"Fore-run fair Love, strewing her way with flowers."

Among these *triumphs*, were the masks, pageantries, spectacles, and revelries, exhibited with great splendour, and a waste of allegorick invention, at the nuptials of noble personages. Here, of course, the classical *Hymen* was introduced as an actor, properly habited, and distinguished by his characteristic symbols. Thus in Jonson's "*Hymenai*, or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage," there is this stage-direction. "On the other hand entered *Hymen*, the god of marriage, in a *saffron-coloured* robe, his undervestures white, his sockes yellow, a yellow veile of silke on his left arme, his head crowned with roses and majoram, in his right hand a *torch*." Works, edit. 1616. *Masques*, p. 912. We have the same representation of *Hymen* in an Epithalamium, the usual indispensable accompaniment of a wedding, and often a part of the nuptial mask, in the *Poetical Miscellanies* of Phineas Fletcher, Camb. 1633. 4to. p. 58.

"See where he goes how all the troop he cheereth,

"Clad with a *saffron* coat, in's hand a *light*."

And see Spenser's *Epithalamion*, where *Hymen's Mask* is also mentioned, st. ii. See also Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*, A. v. S. i. vol. i.

And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
 With mask, and antique pageantry ;
 Such sights as youthful poets dream
 On summer eves by haunted stream.
 Then to the well-trod stage anon,
 If Jonson's learned sock be on,

130

p. 158, 159. edit. ut supr. And *Hymen's Mask*, in the beginning of the *Two Noble Kinsmen* of Fletcher, A. i. S. i. And our author's *El.* v. 107.

T. WARTON.

Marston, in his *Malecontent*, 1604, gives Hymen the robe, A. iii. S. ii. "Hymen begins to put off his *saffron robe*." Sylvester gives the god "*saffron robes*," Epithal. *Du Bart.* ed. sup. p. 1213. See also Randolph's *Poems*, 1640, p. 43. "Hymen came behind in *saffron robes*." The "taper clear" is used in opposition to the dim and inauspicious one of Ovid, *Met.* x. i. to which he again alludes in his Odes.

"Inde per immensum, croceo velatus amictu,
 "Æthera digreditur, Ciconumque Hymenæus ad oras
 "Tendit ; et Orpheia nequicquam voce vocatur :
 "Affuit ille quidem ; sed nec solennia verba,
 "Nec lætos vultus, nec felix attulit omen :
 "Fax quoque, quam tenuit, lacrymoso stridula fumo
 "Usque fuit, nullosque invenit motibus ignes." TODD.

Ver. 127. And pomp, and feast, and revelry,

With mask, and antique pageantry ;] See Mr. Warton's note on *Sams. Agon.* v. 1312, in which the peculiar signification of *pomp* in these pageantries is explained. *Revelry* occurs again in *Comus*, v. 103. It means the *revells*, which, according to Minsheu, were "sports of dauncing, masking, comedies, tragedies, and such like, used in the king's house, the houses of court, or of other great personages." Thus, in *Twelfth Night*, A. i. S. iii. Sir Andrew says, "I delight in *masks* and *revells*." And, in Shirley's *Mask, The Triumph of Peace*, 1633, "the *Masquers* are encouraged by a Song, to their *revells* with the Ladies," p. 24. The *master of the revells* was an officer in the Percy household, 1512 ; and, afterwards, in the Royal household. The "*antique pageants*" were, at first, merely processions and emblematic spectacles at the public reception of distinguished personages. See Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. ii. 204. They were afterwards distinguished by speaking characters. Drummond has left us a specimen of the *pageants*, thus enlivened in his poetical "Speeches to the High and excellent Prince Charles, King of Great Britain, &c., at his entering his city of Edinburgh, delivered from the *pageants* the 15th of June, 1633." Caledonia, representing the kingdom, first addresses the monarch ; then the Muses ; and, lastly, the Planets. See also *Two Gent. of Verona.* A. iv. S. iii. where Julia says,

"at Pentecost,
 "When all our *pageants* of delight were play'd,
 "Our youth got me to play the woman's part."

From these the poet proceeds to the "*well-trod stage* ;" on which expression Mr. Warton remarks that Milton had not yet gone such extravagant lengths in puritanism, as to join with his reforming brethren in condemning the stage. TODD.

Ver. 132. *If Jonson's learned sock be on,*] This expression occurs in

Or sweetest Shakspeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild.

And ever, against eating cares, 135
Lap me in soft Lydian airs,
Married to immortal verse ;
Such as the meeting soul may pierce,

Jonson's recommendatory verses, prefixed to the first folio edition of Shakspeare's plays in 1623.

————— "Or when thy *socks* were on." T. WARTON.

Ver. 133. *Or sweetest Shakspeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild.*] Mr. Bowle adds to the obvious parallel from Shakspeare, "This *child of Fancy*, that Armado hight," the following line from *Jul. Cæs.*

"Oh hateful Errour, Melancholy's *child*!"

There is good reason to suppose, that Milton threw many additions and corrections into the *Theatrum Poetarum*, a book published by his nephew, Edward Phillips, in 1675. It contains criticisms far above the taste of that period: Among these is the following judgment on Shakspeare, which was not then, I believe, the general opinion, and which perfectly coincides both with the sentiment and words of the text. "In tragedy, never any expressed a more lofty and tragic height, never any represented nature more purely to the life: and where the polishments of art are most wanting, as probably his learning was not extraordinary, he pleases with a certain *wild* and *native* elegance, &c." *Mod. Poets*, p. 194.

T. WARTON.

Milton shows his judgement here in celebrating Shakspeare's *Comedies*, rather than his *Tragedies*. But for models of the latter, he refers us rightly, in his *Penseroso*, to the Grecian scene, verse 97. HURD.

Ver. 134. ———— *his native wood-notes wild.*] Tasso, *Gier. Lib.* C. vii. 6. "boscarecce inculte avene." See Cursory Remarks on some of the ancient English poets, p. 126. TODD.

Ver. 137. Married to *immortal verse* ;] So in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, of a shepherd, B. i. S. v. p. 93.

"*Marrying* his sweet noates with the siluer sound."

And in our author's Poem at a solemn *Musick*, v. 1.

"Blest pair of Syrens, pledges of heaven's joy,

"Sphere-born harmonious sisters, Voice and Verse,

"Wed your divine sounds, &c."

And Sylvester, of the birds in Paradise, *Du Bart.* p. 172. edit. fol. 1621.

"*Marrying* their sweet notes to the angels lays."

Again, of the birds, p. 105. ut supr.

"To *marrie* myne immortal layes to theirs."

Phillips, Milton's nephew, says in the Preface to his *Theatrum Poetarum*, that "the *Lydian* mood is now most in request." See Note on v. 133.

T. WARTON.

The same Edward Phillips, in his encomiastick verses prefixed to the first Book of *Henry Lawes's Ayres*, 1653, notices the musician's skill both in

"The Dorick sage, and the *mild Lydian*."

In notes, with many a winding bout
 Of linked sweetness long drawn out, 140
 With wanton heed and giddy cunning ;
 The melting voice through mazes running,
 Untwisting all the chains that tie
 The hidden soul of harmony ;
 That Orpheus' self may heave his head 145
 From golden slumber on a bed

But a satirist of the preceding century censures the "*Lydian airs*," Skiaetheia or Satires, 1598.

"Fie on these Lydian tunes, which blunt our sprights, &c." TODD.

Ver. 139. ————— bout] *Bout* is a *fold* or *twist*, and often used in this sense by Spenser. See *F. Q.* i. xi. 3. "Whose wreathed *boughtes* whenever he unfolds." See also *F. Q.* i. i. 15, and *Virgil's Gnat*, st. 32. TODD.

Ver. 141. *With wanton heed and giddy cunning ;*
The melting voice through mazes running,] The rhymes occur in P. Fletcher's *Poetic. Miscell.* 1633, p. 80.

"While the speedie woods came *running*,

"And rivers stood to hear his *cunning*."

And in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* 1621. p. 610.

"Though it have such curious *cunning*,

"Gentle touch, and nimble *running*."

Cunning is used in the same sense, in our *Translation of the Psalms*: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her *cunning*," Ps. cxxxvii. 5. Which Sandys rightly paraphrases, "Let my fingers their *melodious skill* forget," Ps. ed. 1648, p. 210. TODD.

Ver. 142. *The melting voice through mazes running,*
Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony ;] Mr. Malone thinks that Milton has here copied Marston's comedy, *What you will*, 1607. *Suppl.* Shaksp. vol. i. 588.

"Cannot your trembling wires throw a *chain*

"Of powerful rapture bout our *mazed* sense?"

But the poet is not displaying the effect of musick on the senses, but of a skilful musician on musick. Milton's meaning is not, that the senses are *in chained* or *amazed* by musick, but that, as the voice of the singer runs through the manifold *mazes* or intricacies of sound, all the *chains* are *untwisted* which imprison and entangle the *hidden soul*, the essence or perfection, of *harmony*. In common sense, let musick be made to show all, even her most *hidden* powers. T. WARTON.

The *melting* voice is noticed in P. Fletcher's *Pisc. Eclogues*, edit. 1633, Ecl. iii. st. 14.

"Who taught thy honied *tongue* the *cunning* slight,

"To *melt* the ravish't care with musick's strains?" TODD.

Ver. 146. *From golden slumber on a bed]* Thus in a *Song* of Drummonds, ed. 1616. Edinb.

"My senses, one by one, gaue place to Sleepe ;

"Who, follow'd with a troupe of *golden slumbers*,

"Thrust from my quiet braine all base encombers."

Of heap'd Elysian flowers, and hear
 Such strains as would have won the ear
 Of Pluto, to have quite set free
 His half-regain'd Eurydice.

150

These delights if thou canst give,
 Mirth, with thee I mean to live.

Again, in a Song in the Comedy of *Patient Grissell*, 4to. 1603.

"*Golden slumbers* kisse your eyes."

See also Milton's "*Aurea quies*," El. iii. 66. TODD.

Ver. 147. *Of heap'd Elysian flowers*,] See *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 359. Mr. Warton adds, that Milton's florid style has this distinction from that of most other poets, that it is marked with a degree of dignity. Pope has borrowed Milton's *Elysian flowers*, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's day.

TODD.

IL PENSEROSO.

HENCE, vain deluding Joys,
 The brood of Folly without father bred !
 How little you bested,
 Or fill the fixed mind with all your toys !
 Dwell in some idle brain, 5
 And fancies fond with gaudy shapes possess,
 As thick and numberless
 As the gay motes that people the sun-beams ;
 Or likest hovering dreams,

Ver. 1. *Hence, vain deluding Joys, &c.*] The opening of this poem is formed from a distich in Sylvester, the translator of Du Bartas, *Workes*, edit. fol. 1621, p. 1084.

“ Hence, hence, false pleasures, momentary joys,
 “ Mocke us no more with your illuding toyes !” BOWLE.

Ver. 4. ——— *the fixed mind*] See *Par. L. B.* i. 97. And Milton’s favourite, Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iv. vii. 16.

“ Yet nothing could my *fixed mind* remove.” TODD.

Ver. 7. *As thick &c.*] This innagery is immediately from Sylvester’s Cave of Sleep in *Du Bartas*, p. 316. edit fol. 1621. See note on *L’Alleg.* v. 10. He there mentions *Morpheus*, and speaks of his “*fantasticke swarms of Dreames that hovered,*” and swarms of dreams

“ Green, red, and yellow, tawny, black and blew :”

And these resemble,

“ Th’ *unnumbred mouts* which in the *sun* do play.”

And these dreams, from their various colours, are afterwards called the “*gaudy swarme of dreames.*” Hence Milton’s *fancies fond, gaudy shapes, numberlese gay motes in the sun-beams*, and the *hovering* dreams of *Morpheus*. T. WARTON.

Ver. 8. *As the gay motes that people the sun-beams ;*] I have formerly observed, that this line is from Chaucer, *Wife of Bathes Tale*, v. 868.

“ As thick as motes in the sunne-beams.”

As probably from Drayton, *Mus. Elys. Nymph.* vi. vol. iv. p. 1494. edit. ut supra.

“ As thick as ye discern the atoms in the beams.”

But it was now a common illustration. See Randolph’s *Poems*, edit. 1640. p. 97. Mr. Bowle adds the following parallel, from Caxton’s *Golden Legend*, in the *Lyf of S. Mychel*, edit. 1483. fol. 306. b. “ This ayre also is full of devils and of wycked spyrytes, as the *sonne-beames* ben full of

The fickle pensioners of Morpheus' train.

10

But hail, thou goddess, sage and holy,

Hail, divinest Melancholy!

Whose saintly visage is too bright

To hit the sense of human sight,

smaller notes." To which he subjoins a passage from Pulci's *Morg.* c. xxv. st. 137.

"Sappi che tutto questo aere e denso

"Di spiriti."

Sylvester certainly suggested the idea. T. WARTON.

Ver. 10. *The fickle pensioners &c.*] *Fickle* is *transitory*, *perpetually shifting*, &c. As in Shakspeare, *Sonn.* cxxvi.

"O thou, my lovely Boy, who in thy power

"Doth hold Time's *fickle* glass."

Time's glass is *fickle*, because its contents are always stealing away. *Pensioners* became a common appellation in our poetry, for train, attendants, retinue, &c. As in the *Mids. N. Dr.* A. ii. S. i. of the Faery Queen.

"The cowslips tall her *pensioners* be."

This was in consequence of queen Elizabeth's fashionable establishment of a band of military courtiers by that name. They were some of the handsomest and tallest young men, of the best families and fortune, that could be found. Hence says Quickly, in the *Merry Wives*, A. ii. S. ii. "And yet there had been earls, nay, which is more, *Pensioners*." They gave the mode in dress and diversions. They accompanied the Queen in her progress to Cambridge, where they held torches at a play on a Sunday in King's College chapel. T. WARTON.

Ver. 11. ——— *sage and holy.*] Melancholy is called *sage*, as night was termed by the Greeks *Εὐφρόνη*, and for the like reason; both being favourable to wisdom and contemplation. "Τὴν νύκτα προσεῖπον ΕΥΦΡΟΝΗΝ, μέγα πρὸς εὖρευν τῶν ζητουμένων καὶ σκέψιν ἡγουμένοι τὴν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τὸ ἀπερίσπαστον." Plutarch, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΛΥΠΡΑΓΜ. *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 521. edit. fol. Francof. 1599. HURD.

See also *The Scourge of Villanie*, ut supr. lib. i. *Proem*.

"Thou nursing mother of fair *wisdom's* lore,

"Ingenuous *Melancholy*." T. WARTON.

Ver. 12. *Hail, divinest Melancholy!*] Milton, says Mr. Bowle, has here some traces of Albert Durer's *Melancholia*. Particularly in the *black visage*, the *looks commencing with the skies*, and the *stole drawn over her decent shoulders*. The painter, he adds, gave her wings, which the poet has transferred to *Contemplation*, v. 52. I think it is highly probable, that Milton had this personification in his eye; and by making two figures out of one, and by giving Melancholy a kindred companion, to whom wings may be properly attributed, and who is distantly implied in Durer's idea, he has removed the violence, and cleared the obscurity, of the allegory, preserving at the same time the whole of the original conception. Mr. Steevens subjoins, "Mr. Bowle might have added, that in Durer's design, a winged Cherub, perhaps designed for Contemplation, is the satellite of Melancholy. All transfer of plumage is therefore needless. The poet indeed has taken the wings from his goddess, and, I think, with judgement: for although Contemplation is excursive, Melancholy is attached to its object." T. WARTON.

And therefore to our weaker view 15
 O'erlaid with black, staid Wisdom's hue ;
 Black, but such as in esteem
 Prince Memnon's sister might beseem,
 Or that starr'd Ethiop queen that strove
 To set her beauty's praise above 20
 The Sea-Nymphs, and their powers offended :
 Yet thou art higher far descended :
 Thee bright-hair'd Vesta, long of yore,
 To solitary Saturn bore ;
 His daughter she ; in Saturn's reign, 25
 Such mixture was not held a stain :

Ver. 16. *O'erlaid with black, fair Wisdom's hue ;*] Her countenance appears dark to the grossness of human vision, although in reality of excessive lustre. The *bright visage* was therefore *overlaid* with black, according to its visible appearance, by Durer in his portrait of *Melancholy*. It is the same general idea in *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 377, &c. But this imagery is there extended and enriched with new sublimity : for God, even thus concealed, says the poet, dazzles heaven, and forces the most exalted Seraphim to retire, and cover their eyes with both their wings. And God is said to dwell "in *unapproached light*," *ibid.* iii. 4. Which, as Mr. Stevens observes, is literally from his favourite Euripides, *Phæniss.* edit. Musgr. v. 837. *Φέρεν αἰθέρος εἰς ΑΒΑΤΟΝ ΦΩΣ γένναν.* "As likely from St. Paul, *Tim.* i. vi. 16. "Dwelling in the *light* which no man can *approach*." See also our author, *Of Reformat.* "Thou therefore that sittest in *light* and glory *unapproachable*." T. WARTON.

Ver. 18. *Prince Memnon's sister*] That is, an Ethiopian princess, or sable beauty. Memnon, king of Ethiopia, being an auxiliary of the Trojans, was slain by Achilles. See Virg. *Æn.* i. 493. "*Nigri Memnonis arma.*" It does not however appear that Memnon had any sister. Tithonus, according to Hesiod, had by Aurora only two sons, Memnon and Emathion, *Theog.* 984. This lady is a creation of the poet. DUNSTER.

Ver. 19. *Or that starr'd Ethiop queen*] Cassiope, as we learn from Apollodorus, was the wife of Cepheus king of Ethiopia. She boasted herself to be more beautiful than the Nereids, and challenged them to a trial ; who in revenge persuaded Neptune to send a prodigious whale into Ethiopia. To appease them, she was directed to expose her daughter Andromeda to the monster : but Perseus delivered Andromeda of whom he was enamoured, and transported Cassiope into heaven, where she became a constellation. *Bibl.* ii. c. iv. § iii. Hence she is called *that starred Ethiop queen*. See Aratus, *Phaenom.* v. 189. seq. But Milton seems to have been struck with an old Gothick print of the constellations, which I have seen in early editions of the Astronomers, where this queen is represented with a black body marked with white stars. T. WARTON.

Lovelace seems to allude to the same print, in his *Lucasta*, ed. 1659, p. 9.

"Methought she look'd all ore *bepatch'd with stars*,
 "Like the *dark* front of some Ethiopian queen." TONN.

Ver. 25. Mr. Bowle thinks, that this genealogy, but without the poetry,

Oft in glimmering bowers and glades
 He met her, and in secret shades
 Of woody Ida's inmost grove,
 Whilst yet there was no fear of Jove. 30
 Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,
 Sober, stedfast, and demure,
 All in a robe of darkest grain,
 Flowing with majestick train,
 And sable stole of cyprus lawn, 35
 Over thy decent shoulders drawn.

is from Gower's Song, in *Pericles Prince of Tyre*. More especially as the verses immediately follow those quoted from the same song, *L'Allegr.* v. 25. See edit. Malone, *Suppl. Sh.* vol. ii. 7. "With whom the father liking took, &c." The meaning of Milton's allegory is, that Melancholy is the daughter of Genius, which is typified by the *bright-haired* goddess of the eternal fire. Saturn, the father, is the god of *Saturnine* dispositions, of pensive and gloomy minds. T. WARTON.

Ver. 32. Sober, stedfast, and demure,] Two of these epithets occur together, to express chastity, in Skelton's *Philip Sparrow*, edit. 1736. p. 249:

"Goodly maistres Jane,
 "Sober, demure, Diane!" T. WARTON.

So also, in the *True Chronicle Hist. of K. Leir*, &c. 1605, A. i. of Cordella:

—— "She is so nice, and so demure;
 "So sober, courteous, modest, and precise, &c."

And in *The pleasante Pathwaye leadynge to an honest life*, 4to. bl. l. no date,

"Modest, demure, and sadde she appeared."

Where *saddle* means *sober* or *serious*. But Milton's *Nun* corresponds with a description in the Romish work, addressed particularly to Nuns, entitled *Partheneia Sacra*, ed. 1638. p. 209. "Most *sober* and *demure* Virgin, &c." Sir Thomas More, in his *Life of King Edward V.* speaking of Jane Shore's doing penance, also says, "in which she went in countenance and pace *demure so womanly*;" which expression, while it points to the etymology of *demure*, seems to be the Gallicism "*de mœurs si féminins*." TODD.

Ver. 35. And sable stole] Here is a character and propriety in the use of the *stole*, which, in the poetical phraseology of the present day, is not only perpetually misapplied, but misrepresented. It was a veil which covered the head and shoulders; and, as Mr. Bowle observes, was worn only by such of the Roman matrons as were distinguished for the strictness of their modesty. He refers us to *Le Imagini delle Donne, di Enea Vico*, Vineg. 1557. p. 77. See also Albert Durer's *Melancholia*, where this description is exactly answered. T. WARTON.

Possibly Milton might have in mind G. Fletcher's description of the Prophets, *Christ's Tr.* 1611. st. 17.

"After them flew the Prophets, brightly *stol'd*
 "In shining lawn." TODD.

Come, but keep thy wonted state,
With even step, and musing gait ;

Ver. 35. ——— of cyprus lawn,] Cyprus is a thin transparent texture. So Shakspeare, *Twelfth Night*, A. iii. S. i.

——— “ a cyprus, not a bosom,
“ Hides my poor heart.”

And, what is more immediately to our purpose, in Autolycus's Song in the *Wint. Tale*, we have black cyprus, A. iv. S. iii.

“ Lawn as white as driven snow,
“ *Cyprus* black as e'er was crow.”

And Donne, *Poems*, edit. 4to. 1633. p. 130.

“ As men which through a *cipres* see
“ The rising sun, do think it two.”

Dryden, by a most ridiculous misapprehension, in his translation of the first Georgick, has “ *shroud-like cypress*,” v. 25. Here, says Milbourne, “ Did not Mr. D. think of that kind of cypress used often for the scarfs and hatbands at funerals formerly, or for *widow's vails* ? ” The last sense seems to explain Milton. See the *Puritan*, Stage-direction, A. i. S. i.

T. WARTON.

Sandys says that the Egyptian Moorish women “ couer their faces with *blacke cypress* bespotted with red ; ” *Travels*, ed. 1615, p. 109. In Erondelle's *French Garden*, &c. 1605, *cypress* is *crape* : “ How sell you that piece of white *cipresse* ? Combien vendez-vous cette pièce de *crespe* ? ” TONN.

Ver. 36. ——— *decent shoulders*] Not exposed, therefore *decent* ; more especially, as so covered. There is an old treatise on “ Naked Breasts and Shoulders,” to which Baxter wrote a preface. T. WARTON.

Ver. 37. *Come, but keep thy wonted state,*
With even step, and musing gait ;] So Drayton, evidently one of Milton's favourites, in the *Muses Elysium*, Nymph. vii. vol. iv. p. 1466.

——— “ so goddess-like a *gait*,
“ Each step so full of majesty and *state*.”

And Jonson in *Cynthia's Revels*, A. v. S. vi.

“ Seated in thy silver chaire,
“ *State* in *wonted* manner *keep*.”

It may be observed, that to *keep state* seems to have been anciently a familiar phrase and combination. As in *Albumazar*, 1614. Reed's *Old Pl.* vii. 239.

“ They come, *Keep state, keep state*, or all's discover'd.”

Again, in B. and Fletcher's *Wild-Goose Chase*, A. v. S. vi. vol. v. p. 259. “ What a *state* she *keeps* ! How far off they sit from her ! ” Jonson, in his verses to Selden, “ The Monarch of Letters,” *Underw.* vol. vi. 366.

“ I first salute thee so, and gratulate
“ With that thy stile, and *keeping* of thy *state*.”

In *Macbeth*, A. iii. S. iv. “ Our hostess *keeps* her *state*.” Where, in the passage from Holinshed cited by Mr. Steevens, in which the king is said to cause the queen to *kepe* the *estate*, we are to understand, *not to quit her throne or chair under the canopy*, while the king walked about. See Note on *Arcad.* v. 81. Jonson has “ But *kept* an *even gait*,” vol. vii. 32.

T. WARTON.

And looks commercing with the skies,
 Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes : 40
 There, held in holy passion still,
 Forget thyself to marble, till
 With a sad leaden downward cast
 Thou fix them on the earth as fast :
 And join with thee calm Peace, and Quiet, 45
 Spare Fast, that oft with gods doth diet,
 And hears the Muses in a ring
 Aye round about Jove's altar sing :

Ver. 39. ——— commercing] *Commercing* with the accent on the second syllable, as in Sylvester's *Du Bart.* p. 421.

"For, with her sheath, the soul *commérce* frequents."

And see Habington's *Castara*, 1635. p. 156. The accent was now also as common on the first syllable. TODD.

Ver. 40. *Thy rapt soul*] *Thy ravished soul.* So in *Comus*, v. 794. "Kindle my *rapt* spirits." Browne, in his *Pastorals*, has the verb, to *rape*, often. And Drayton, *Ecl.* v. "To *rape* the field with touches of his string." Compare Spenser, *Faer. Qu.* iv. ix. 6.

"That with the sweetnesse of her rare delight

"The prince half *rapt*," &c.

Rapt is sometimes, but less frequently, found in its literal sense; as in Drayton, *Legend of P. Gaveston*, vol. ii. p. 569.

"Like sportfull Jove with his *rapt* Phrygian page."

See *Par. Lost*, B. iii. 522.

"*Rapt* in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds."

And *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 40. And compare Berni, *Orl. Innam.* L. i. c. xxv. st. 42. "*Rapito* in Paradiso." T. WARTON.

"My *rapt soul*" is a phrase in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Island*, 1633, C. xii. st. 73. TODD.

Ver. 42. *Forget thyself to marble*,] It is the same sort of petrification in our author's epitaph on Shakspeare.

"There thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,

"Dost make us *marble by too much conceiving*."

In both instances excess of thought is the cause. T. WARTON.

Ver. 43. *With a sad leaden downward cast*] Hence, says Mr. Warton, Gray's expressive phraseology, of the same personage, in his *Hymn to Adversity*.

"With *leaden eye* that loves the ground."

Mr. Thyer cites *Love's Lab. Lost*, A. iv. S. iii. "In *leaden* contemplation." I observe that P. Fletcher gives "*leaden eyes*" to Fornication personified, *Purp. Isl.* c. vii. st. 19, and also to Despair, c. xli. st. 32. Sidney also says, "Who have so *leaden eyes* as not to see sweet beauties show," *Astr. & Stella*, Song 7. But Milton's beloved Spenser seems to have suggested the formation of this expressive line. *Epithalam.* v. 234.

"But her *sad eyes*, still *fastened on the ground*,

"Are governed with goodly modesty,

"That suffers not one look to glance awry." TODD.

And add to these retired Leisure,
 That in trim gardens takes his pleasure : 50
 But first and chiefest with thee bring,
 Him that yon soars on golden wing,
 Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne,
 The Cherub Contemplation ;

Ver. 50. ——— *trim gardens*] Mr. Warton here observes, that affectation and false elegance were now carried to the most elaborate and absurd excess in gardening ; and he notices, among similar monuments of extravagance in other countries, “the Garden at Hampton-Court, where in privet are figured various animals, the royal arms of England, and many other things :” from Lauremburgius, *Horticultura*, lib. i. cap. 29. p. 125. Francof. ad Moen. 1631. 4to. The *architecture du jardinage*, he thinks, may be also discovered in the “*spruce Spring*, the *cedarn alleys*, the *crisped shades* and *bowers*,” in *Comus* ; and the *trim garden*” in *Arca-
 cades*, v. 46. I will add some account of these fashionable gardens from Sylvester’s *Du Bartas*, 1621, p. 181.

“ Musing, anon through *crooked walks* he wanders,
 “ Round-winding *rings*, and intricate *meanders*,
 “ Fals-guiding *paths*, doubtfull beguiling *strays*,
 “ And right-wrong errors of an endless *maze* :
 “ Not simply *hedged* with a single *border*
 “ Of rosemary, cut out with *curious order*
 “ In Satyrs, Centaurs, Whales, and half-men-Horses, &c.”

This *trim garden*, gentle reader, is *Du Bartas’s Garden of Eden* ! It is Adam, who is described walking in it, “musing ;” whom we afterwards find near, “gurgling streams *frizadoed* on the gravel !” p. 231. TODD.

Ver. 52. *Him that yon soars on golden wing,
 Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne,*

The Cherub Contemplation ;] By contemplation, is here meant that stretch of thought, by which the mind ascends “To the first good, first perfect, and first fair ;” and is therefore very properly said to *soar* on *golden wing*, *guiding the fiery-wheeled throne* ; that is, to take a high and glorious flight, carrying bright ideas of deity along with it. But the whole imagery alludes to the cherubick forms that conveyed the *fiery-wheeled* car in *Ezekiel*, x. 2. seq. See also Milton himself, *Par. Lost*, B. vi. 750. So that nothing can be greater or juster than this idea of *Divine Contemplation*, of a more sedate turn, and intent only on human things, is more fitly described, as by Spenser, under the figure of an *old man* ; time and experience qualifying men best for this office. Spenser might then be right in his imagery ; and yet Milton might be right in his, without being supposed to ramble after some *fantiful Italian*. HURD.

I cannot agree with Doctor Newton, that this representation of *Contemplation* has the gaiety of a Cupid. I know not that Cupid is ever feigned to *soar on golden wing* amid the brightness of the empyreum ; nor that a Cherub is an infantine angel, except in the ideas of a dauber for a country-church. To say nothing, that gaiety cannot very properly belong to the notion of a being, who is “guiding the fiery-wheeled throne.” Shakespeare has indeed given us the vulgar Cherub, in *K. Hen. VIII. A. i. S. i.*

——— “ Their dwarfish pages were
 “ As Cherubims, all gilt.”

And the mute Silence hist along, 55
 'Less Philomel will deign a song,
 In her sweetest saddest plight,
 Smoothing the rugged brow of night,
 While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke,
 Gently o'er the accustom'd oak : 60
 Sweet bird, that shunn'st the noise of folly,
 Most musical, most melancholy !

But, that Milton's uniform conception of this species of angel was very different, appears from various passages of the *Paradise Lost*. Satan calls Beelzebub "fallen Cherub," B. i. 57. Cherub and Seraph, part of the rebel warriour-angels, are "rolling in the flood with scattered arms and ensigns," *ibid.* 324. Again "millions of *flaming* swords are drawn from the *thighs* of *mighty* Cherubim," B. i. 665. The Cherub Zephon is a leader of the *radiant files* of heaven ; and, in the figure of a graceful young man, "severe in youthful beauty," rebukes Satan, B. v. 797, 845. "A cherubick watch, a cohort bright of watchful Cherubim," is stationed on the eastern verge of Paradise, B. xi. 120, 128. Other examples are obvious. As Milton's Satan is not a monster with cloven feet, horns, and a tail, so neither are his Cherubs Cupids. Mr. Reed thinks that Milton is here indebted to Nabbes's Mask *Microcosmus*, now recently published, Reed's *Old Pl.* vol. ix. p. 126.

"Mount thy thoughts upon the *wings*
 "Of *Contemplation*, and aspire, &c."

And it may be observed, that Melancholy, clothed in black, is a personage in the same Mask. Contemplation is personified in Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* C. ix. st. 12. "Still musing *Contemplation*." In English poetry, it is first personified by Spenser. T. WARTON.

Contemplation had been personified before by Sir Philip Sidney : See the *Arcadia*, 13th edit. p. 229. G. Wither seems to have supplied Nabbes with the phrase just cited : See Wither's *Juvenilia*, 1623, p. 21. "*Mounted aloft on Contemplation's wings*." But Milton possibly adverted to a passage in Machin's *Dumb Knight*, 1608, A. iii. S. i.

' my ;
 "With *golden wings of thought* shall mount the sky."

I must however observe an expression of Petrarch, *Son.* lxxxiii.

"Volo con l' *ali de' pensieri* al cielo." TODD.

Ver. 58. Smoothing the rugged brow of night,] So in Spenser's Sonnet to Sir C. Hatton, prefixed to the *Faerie Queene* :

"With like delights sometimes may eke delay
 "The *rugged brow* of carefull policy :"

Where *delay* signifies to *smooth*. See the note on the passage, Spenser's Works, ed. 1805. Crashaw, in his *Verses on a foul morning*, thus addressed fogs :

—"it is for you
 "To sit and scowl upon *night's heavy brow*,
 "Not on the fresh cheeks of the virgin morn." TODD.

Ver. 62. *Most musical, most melancholy* !] *L'Allegro* began with the morning of the day, and the lively salutations of the lark. *Il Penseroso*,

Thee, chauntress, oft, the woods among,
 I woo, to hear thy even-song ;
 And, missing thee, I walk unseen 65
 On the dry smooth-shaven green,
 To behold the wandering moon,
 Riding near her highest noon,
 Like one that had been led astray
 Through the heaven's wide pathless way ; 70
 And oft, as if her head she bow'd,
 Stooping through a fleecy cloud.
 Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
 I hear the far-off Curfeu sound,
 Over some wide-water'd shore, 75
 Swinging slow with sullen roar :
 Or, if the air will not permit,
 Some still removed place will fit,

with equal propriety, after a general exordium, opens with the night :
 with moonshine, and the melancholy musick of the nightingale.

T. WARTON.

Euripides thus beautifully describes the *melancholy musick* of this sweet
 bird, *Helen*. 1115. ed. Barnes.

Σὲ τὰν ἀοιδάτην ὄρνιθα μελωδὸν
 Ἀηδόνα δακρυόεσσαν. TODD.

Ver. 66. ——— *smooth-shaven green*.] There is a similar com-
 pound in Sylvester's *Du Bart*. 1621, p. 432. "New-shaven fields." So,
 of the mower, *ibid*. p. 13.

"Sheaves, with keen sythe, the glory and delight
 "Of motley meadows." TODD.

Ver. 67. ——— *the wandering moon*,
Riding near her highest noon.] So in an elegant couplet in
 the *Translation of the Psalms* assigned to Abp. Parker, p. 199.

"Sweet peace shalbe on euery side,
 "As long as moone her sphere doth ryde." TODD.

Ver. 68. ——— *her highest noon*.] See *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 564. B.
 v. 174. And *Sams. Agon*. v. 683, v. 1612. So, in Harrison's *Description*
of Britaine, prefixed to Holinshed, B. iii. C. vi. f. 171. "The husband-
 men dine at *high noone*, as they call it." T. WARTON.

Ver. 71. *And oft*, &c.] Here follows a description at once poetically
 picturesque, and strictly natural ; the moon having that appearance of
 positive descent, as the kind of clouds here described break and disperse
 around her. DUNSTER.

Ver. 76. ——— *with sullen roar*.] This finely descriptive
 epithet is adopted from the "*sullen bell*" in Shakspeare's K. Hen. IV.
 P. II. or "the surly *sullen bell*" in his 71st Sonnet. TODD.

Ver. 78. *Some still removed place will fit*.] That is "some quiet, *remote*,
 or unfrequented, place, will suit my purpose." *Removed* is the ancient

English participle passive for the Latin *remote*. So Shakspeare, *Haml.* A. iv. S. iv. of the Ghost.

——— "Look with what a courteous action
" It waves you to a more *removed* ground."

So, in the manuscript of the *Spirit's* Prologue to *Comus*.

——— "I was not sent to court your wonder
" With distant worlds, and strange *removed* climes."

These instances will illustrate another passage in Shakspeare, which is also apposite to our text, *Meas. for Meas.* A. i. S. iv.

"How I have ever lov'd the life *remov'd*;
" And held in idle price to haunt assemblies,
" Where youth, and cost, and witless bravery keeps."

Compare Shakspeare's *Sonn.* xcvi. Shakspeare has somewhere *removedness* for *solitude*." T. WARTON.

Ver. 79. *Where glowing embers through the room
Teach light to counterfeit a gloom;*] I wonder that Statius's
"pallet mala lucis imago," was never here applied, *Theb.* iv. 424. Shakspeare has much the same image of a half-extinguished fire. *Mids. N. Dr.* A. v. S. ii. Oberon speaks,

"Through this house give glimmering light
" By the dead and drowsy fire."

It is the same sort of subdued light in Spenser, *F. Q.* i. i. 14.

"A little glooming light, much like a shade." T. WARTON.

Milton might have had Shakspeare's *Lucrece* also in view:

"And dying eyes gleam'd forth their *ashy lights*,
" Like *dying coals burnt out* in tedious nights." MALONE.

Ver. 83. *Or the belman's drowsy charm,
To bless the doors from nightly harm.*] A superstition, as Mr. Bowle observes, contained in those lines of Chaucer, *Can. T.* v. 3479. edit. Tyrwh.

"I crouche thee from elves and from wightes;
" Therewith the night spel said he anon rightes,
" On four halves of the hous aboute,
" And on the threswold of the dore withoute:
" Jesu Crist, and saint Benedight,
" Blisse this house from every wicked wight."

See also Cartwright's *Ordinary*, A. iii. S. i. *Works*, p. 36, 1651. Such are the nocturnal evils deprecated by Imogen, going to rest. *Cymbeline*, A. ii. S. ii.

"From fairies, and the *tempters* of the night,
" Guard me, beseech ye!"

In Robert Herrick's *Hesperides*, there is a little poem called the *Bellman*, which contains this charm, p. 139. edit. 1647. It begins thus:—

Or let my lamp at midnight hour, 85
 Be seen in some high lonely tower,
 Where I may oft out-watch the Bear,
 With thrice-great Hermes, or unsphere
 The spirit of Plato, to unfold
 What worlds or what vast regions hold 90
 The immortal mind, that hath forsook
 Her mansion in this fleshly nook :
 And of those demons that are found
 In fire, air, flood, or under ground,

“ From noise of scare-fires rest ye free,
 “ From murder, *Benedicite* !
 “ From all mischances, that may fright
 “ Your pleasing slumbers in the night,
 “ Mercie secure ye all, and keep
 “ The goblin from ye while ye sleep, &c.”

Anciently the watchman, which cried the hours, used these or the like benedictions. T. WARTON.

Ver. 86. *Be seen in some high lonely tower.*] The extraneous circumstance *be seen*, gives poetry to a passage, the simple sense of which is only, “ Let me study at midnight by a lamp in a lofty tower.” Hence a picture is created which strikes the imagination. T. WARTON.

Ver. 89. *The spirit of Plato.*] This shows what sort of *contemplation* he was most fond of. Milton’s imagination made him as much a mystick, as his good sense would give leave. HURD.

Ver. 93. *And of those demons &c.*] Undoubtedly these notions are from Plato’s *Timæus* and *Phædon*, and the reveries of his old commentators ; yet with some reference to the Gothick system of demons, which is a mixture of Platonism, school-divinity, and Christian superstition. The doctrine of these Spirits has been thus delivered. “ There are sixe kinds of Spirits between heaven and hell. The first, who are those that remained in the *highest* region of the *ayre*, he calleth Angels of *fire*, because they are neere vnto that region, and perchance within it. The second kind is from the *middle* region of the *ayre* downward towards the earth. The third on the *earth* itselfe. The fourth in the *waters*. The fifth in the *caues* or *hollow vauces* of the earth, &c.” The *Spanish Mandevile of Myracles*, &c. A translation from the Spanish, Lond. 1618. Disc. iii. p. 126. 4to. It is one of the visions of Thomas Aquinas, that God permitted some of the fallen Angels, less guilty than the rest, in their descent or precipitation from heaven, to remain in the air, fire, water, and earth, till the day of judgement. Drayton has the same doctrine, *Polyolb.* Song 5, vol. ii. p. 757. In conformity to this theory, Milton’s Satan, seated in “ the middle region of thick air, convokes his potentates or counsellors,” *Par. Reg.* B. ii. 121, &c. And hence another passage in the same poem is to be interpreted, B. iv. 201, where Satan means to prove the extent of his dominion, and his pretensions to the name and power of a god. See also B. i. 39, 44. A Chorus in Andreini’s *Adamo*, 1617, consists of Spirits of fire, air, water, and hell, or subterraneous, being the exiled Angels, “ Choro di Spiriti ignei, aerei, acquatlici, ed infernali, &c.” These Spirits are supposed to controll the elements in which they respectively

Whose power hath a true consent
 With planet, or with element.
 Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy
 In scepter'd pall come sweeping by,

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resided; and, when formerly invoked or commanded by a magician, to produce tempests, conflagrations, floods, and earthquakes. See the *Spanish Mandeville*, just quoted, p. 126, 127, [and Burton's *Anat. Melancholy*, 1624, p. 41.] Of this school was therefore Shakspeare's Prospero in the *Tempest*, who, by the help or agency of demons, assigned to various parts of nature, boasts to have "*bedimm'd the noontide sun, call'd forth the mutinous winds, &c.*" A. iv. S. i. The Spirits which the necromancer Ismeno invokes, to take possession of the enchanted forest, are fallen Angels, who now controul the different elements which they inhabit, *Gier. Lib.* c. xiii. st. 7.

"Udite, udite, o voi, che da le stelle
 "Precipitate giù fulgor tonanti;
 "E voi, che le tempeste e la procelle
 "Mouete habitator de l' aria erranti, &c."

It is to a magick performed by the same agency that Fletcher refers in the *Faithful Shepherdess*, A. iv. S. i.

"O you great working Powers of earth and air,
 "Water and forming fire, why have ye lent
 "Your hidden virtue to so ill intent?"

I must add, that the notion of the fallen Angels having a controul of the elements, seems to have suggested to Milton the idea in *Par. Lost*, that Angels, in an unfallen state, had the same sort of power, B. vi. 221, &c. B. x. 660, B. iv. 940. T. WARTON.

Ver. 97. *Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy*

In scepter'd pall come sweeping by,] By *scepter'd pall*, Doctor Newton understands the *palla honesta* of Horace, *Art. Poet.* v. 278. But Horace, I humbly apprehend, only means that *Æschylus* introduced masks and better dresses. *Palla honesta* is simply a *decent robe*. Milton means something more. By clothing Tragedy in her *scepter'd pall*, he intended specifically to point out *regal stories* as the proper arguments of the higher drama. And this more expressly appears, from the subjects immediately mentioned in the subsequent couplet. Our author has also personified Tragedy, in the same meaning, where he gives her a bloody scepter, implying the distresses of kings, *El.* i. 37.

"Sive *cruentatum furiosa Tragedia sceptrum*
 "Quassat, et effusus crinibus ora rotat."

He then illustrates or exemplifies his personification :

"Seu mæret *Pelopeia* domus, seu nobilis *Ili*,
 "Seu luit incestos *aula Creontis* avos."

These four Latin verses form the context now before us. In *Paradise Regained*, he particularises the *lofty grave tragedians* of Athens, B. iv. 266. And these are they who display the vicissitudes of human life by examples of *Great Misfortune*,

"*High actions and high passions best describing.*"

To sum up all of what our author has said on this subject in the *Tractate of Education*, where he is speaking of heroick and tragick poetry, he recommends "*Attick Tragedies of stateliest and most regal argument.*" Edit. 1673. p. 109. It may be further observed, that Ovid, whom Milton in

Presenting Thebes, or Pelops' line,
Or the tale of Troy divine ; 100
Or what (though rare) of later age
Ennobled hath the buskin'd stage.

But, O sad Virgin, that thy power
Might raise Musæus from his bower !
Or bid the soul of Orpheus sing 105
Such notes, as, warbled to the string,
Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek,
And made Hell grant what love did seek !

some of his prose pieces prefers to all the Roman poets besides, has also marked the truc, at least original, province of tragedy, by giving her a Scepter, *Amor*. L. iii. ii. 13.

"*Læva manus sceptrum late regale tenebat.*"

Shakspeare has well expressed the regal drama, in the Prologue to *Henry the Eighth*, which he styles,

"Sad, high, and working, full of *state and woe*,

"Such *noble* scenes as draw the eye to flow."

I fear in this Note, I have been feebly, and perhaps unnecessarily, attempting to explain Horace's Art of Poetry, after Mr. Colman's masterly Commentary : in which, that valuable remain of ancient dramattick criticism is placed in a new light, and recalled to its proper and primary point of view.

T. WARTON.

Ver. 101. ——— (though rare)] Just glancing at Shakspeare.

HURD.

Ver. 102. ——— buskin'd] Drayton calls a song on Sir Bevis, "*a buskin'd straine*," but not in Milton's literal sense of *cothurnatus*, Polyolb. S. ii. vol. ii. p. 693. T. WARTON.

Buskin'd is used, in Milton's sense, in the *Return from Parnassus*, 1606. "Marlowe was happy in his *buskin'd* Muse." And (which is still more to the purpose) in P. Fletcher's *Purp. Isl.* C. i. st. 12. edit. 1633.

"Who has not seen upon the mourning *stage*

"Dire *Atræus'* feast, and wrong'd *Medea's* rage,

"Marching in tragick state, and *buskin'd* equipage." TODD.

Ver. 104. *Might raise Musæus from his bower!*

Or bid the soul of Orpheus sing &c.] Musæus and Orpheus are mentioned together in Plato's *Republick*, as two of the genuine Greek poets. Edit. Serran. vol. ii. 364. To Orpheus or his harp our author has frequent allusions. The harp is mentioned twice in the two poems with which we are at present concerned. In the *Tractate on Education*, p. 102. ut supr. "Melodious sounds on every side, that the *harp of Orpheus* was not more charming." And see *Paradise Lost*, B. iii. 17. But I must not here pass over the Preface to Phillips's *Theatrum Poetarum*, already cited, in which are more manifest marks of Milton's hand than in the book itself. "Education is that *harp of Orpheus*, &c." p. 3. T. WARTON.

Ver. 107. ——— iron tears] In Spenser we find "*iron eyes*," *Faer. Qu.* v. x. 28.

"That any *iron eyes* to see it would agrize." T. WARTON.

Or call up him that left half-told
 The story of Cambuscan bold, 110
 Of Camball, and of Algarsife,
 And who had Canace to wife,
 That own'd the virtuous ring and glass ;
 And of the wonderous horse of brass,
 On which the Tartar king did ride : 115
 And if aught else great bards beside

Ver. 109. *Or call up him that left half-told*

The story of Cambuscan bold, &c.] Hence it appears, that Milton, among Chaucer's pieces, was most struck with his *Squire's Tale*. It best suited our author's predilection for romantick poetry. Chaucer is here ranked with the sublime poets: his comick vein is forgotten and overlooked. See *Hist. Engl. Poetr.* vol. i. 398. T. WARTON.

Mr. Tyrwhitt, the very learned editor of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, wishes, in his Introductory Discourse, that the MSS. which furnished the *Squire's Prologue*, had supplied the deficient part of his *Tale*; but he fears the judgement of Milton was too true, that this story was left *half-told* by the author. For the outline of the unfinished part of this tale (*Cambuscan*), see Mr. Tyrwhitt's Notes, vol. ii. p. 466, edit. 1798. TODD.

Ver. 113. *That own'd the virtuous ring and glass ;]* So Boiardo, *Orl. Inam.* L. i. c. xiv. st. 49. Of Angelica's magick ring.

"In bocca avea quell anel vertuoso."

And, in the *Faerie Queene*, a sword tempered by Merlin is called "the *vertuous steele*," B. ii. viii. 22. And the Palmer has a "*vertuous staffe*," B. ii. xii. 86. T. WARTON.

Ver. 114. *And of the wonderous horse of brass,]* Among the manuscripts at Oriel college in Oxford, is an old Latin treatise entitled *Fabula de aeneo caballo*. Here I imagined I had discovered the origin of Chaucer's *Squiers Tale*, so replete with marvellous imagery, and evidently an Arabian fiction of the middle ages. But I was disappointed; for on examination, it appeared to have not even a distant connection with Chaucer's story. I mention this, that others, on seeing such a title in the Catalogue, might not be flattered with the same specious expectations of so curious a discovery, and misled like myself by a fruitless inquiry. T. WARTON.

I have never been able to discover the probable original of this tale; and yet I should be very hardly brought to believe that the whole, or even any considerable part of it, was of Chaucer's invention. TYRWHITT.

Ver. 116. *And if aught else great bards beside &c.]* From Chaucer, the father of English poetry, and who is here distinguished by a story remarkable for the wildness of its invention, our author seems to make a very pertinent and natural transition to Spenser; whose *Faerie Queene*, although it externally professes to treat of tournaments and the trophies of knightly valour, of fictitious forests, and terrific enchantments, is yet allegorical, and contains a remote meaning concealed under the veil of a fabulous action, and of a typical narrative, which is not immediately perceived. Spenser sings in *sage and solemn tunes*, with respect to his morality, and the dignity of his stanza. In the mean time it is to be remembered, that there were other *great bards*, and of the romantick class, who sung in such tunes, and who *mean more than meets the ear*. Both Tasso and Ariosto pretend to an allegorical and mysterious meaning. And Tasso's

In sage and solemn tunes have sung,
Of turneys, and of trophies hung,
Of forests and enchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear. 120

Thus, Night, oft see me in thy pale career,
Till civil-suited Morn appear,
Not trick'd and frounc'd as she was wont
With the Attick boy to hunt,

enchanted forest, the most conspicuous fiction of the kind, might have been here intended. Berni allows, that his incantations, giants, magick gardens, monsters, and other romantick imageries, may amuse the ignorant; but that the intelligent have more penetration, *Orl. Innam. L. i. c. xxv.*

“Ma voi, ch' avete gl' intelletti sani,

“Mirate la dottrine, che s' asconde

“Sotte queste coperte alte e profonde.”

One is surprised, that Milton should have delighted in romances. The images of feudal and royal life which those books afford, agreed not at all with his system. A passage should here be cited from our author's *Apology for Smectymnuus*. “I may tell you whither my younger feet wandered: I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in *solemn cantos* the deeds of knighthood, &c.” T. WARTON.

Ver. 119. *Of forests, &c.*] Mr. Bowle here cites the title of a chapter in Perceforest, “Comment le rois d'Angleterre entra en la forest, et des enchantements quil y trouua,” vol. i. C. xxiv. f. 27. He adds other notices of enchanted forests, from *Comedias* de Cervantes, T. i. 121. And *Batalla de Roncesvalles*, C. 31. st. ult. There are fine strokes of imagination in Lucan's enchanted grove. In Boyardo's *Orlando*, the forest of Arden is the scene of many of Merlin's enchantments. T. WARTON.

Ver. 120. *Where more is meant than meets the ear.*] Seneca, *Epist.* 114. “In quibus plus intelligendum est quam audiendum.” BOWLE.

Ver. 121. *Thus, Night, oft see me in thy pale career,*] Hitherto we have seen the *night* of the melancholy man. Here his *day* commences. Accordingly, this second part or division of the poem is ushered in with a long verse. T. WARTON.

Ver. 122. *Till civil-suited Morn appear,*] Plainly from Shakspeare, as Doctor Newton and Mr. Bowle have separately observed, *Rom. and Jul.* A. iii. S. iv.

— “Come, *civil Night*,

“Thou *sober-suited* matron, all in black.”

Where *civil* is *grave, decent, solemn*. As in *Twelfth Night*, A. iii. S. iv. “Where is Malvolio?—he is *sad* and *civil*.” An use of *civil* in Beaumont and Fletcher, where it is applied to the colour of dress, is still more illustrative of the text, *Woman's Prize*, A. iii. S. iii.

“That fourteen yard of sattin give my woman,

“I do not like the colour, 'tis too *civil*.” T. WARTON.

Ver. 123. *Not trick'd and frounc'd*] The meaning of *frounc'd*, which seems most commonly to signify an excessive or affected dressing of the hair, may be perhaps more fully illustrated from Drayton, *Mus. Elys. Nymph.* ii. vol. iv. p. 146.

“With dressing, braiding, *frowning*, flowering,

“All your jewels on me pouring.”

But kercheft in a comely cloud, 125
 While rocking winds are piping loud,
 Or usher'd with a shower still,
 When the gust hath blown his fill,
 Ending on the rustling leaves,
 With minute drops from off the eaves. 130

And from Spenser, *Faer. Qu. i. iv. 14.*

"Some frounce their curled haire in courtly guise,

"Some pranke their ruffes."

It is from the French *froncer*, to curl. T. WARTON.

Trick'd also should be explained, which means *dressed out*, as in *A woman kill'd with kindness*, 4to. 1617.

"Brother, why have you *trick'd* me like a bride,

"Brought me this gay attire, these ornaments?"

And, in Sandys's *Travels*, of a Turkish bride: "They *tricke* her in her richest ornaments," p. 66. edit. 1615. TODD.

Ver. 125. — *kercheft*] Wrapped up as with a handkerchief. Sickness is characterised by G. Fletcher, "with his *kercheft'd* head upwound." Christ's Vict. in Heaven, st. xii. DUNSTER.

Ver. 126. *While rocking winds are piping loud,*] So Shakspeare, yet not in so absolute a sense, *Mids. N. Dr. A. i. S. i.*

"Therefore the winds *piping* to us in vain." T. WARTON.

Ver. 127. Doctor Johnson, from this to the hundred and fifty-fourth verse inclusively, thus abridges our author's ideas. "When the morning comes, a morning gloomy with rain and wind, he walks into the dark trackless woods, falls asleep by some murmuring water, and, with melancholy enthusiasm, expects some dream of prognostication, or some musick played by aerial performers." Never were fine imagery and fine imagination so marred, mutilated, and impoverished, by a cold, unfeeling, and imperfect representation! To say nothing, that he confounds two descriptions. T. WARTON.

Ibid. ————— still,] *Gentle.* Its application, says Mr. Warton, is not often so found. See note *On the Passion*, ver. 28. But, I may observe, the word must thus have once been commonly understood. See the solemn procession in Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, 4to. 1575. Sign. L. i. b. "First the *stil* pypes sounded a very mournfull melody." And Shakspeare, *Mids. N. Dr. A. iv. S. i.* where Oberon says, "Sound musick," and the direction follows of "*still* musick." TODD.

Ver. 130. *With minute drops*] A natural little circumstance calculated to impress a pleasing melancholy; and which reminds one of a similar image in a poet that abounds in natural little circumstances. Speaking of a gentle Spring-Shower, "'Tis scarce to patter heard," says Thomson, *Seas. Spring*, ver. 176. JOS. WARTON.

He means, by *minute drops from off the eaves*, not *small* drops, but *minute*-drops, such as drop at intervals, by minutes, for the shower was now over: as we say, minute-guns, and minute-bells. In *L'Allegro*, the lark bade good-morrow at the poet's window, through sweet-briers, honeysuckles, and vines, spreading, as we have seen, over the walls of the house. Now, their leaves are dropping-wet with a morning-shower.

T. WARTON.

And, when the sun begins to fling
 His flaring beams, me, goddess, bring
 To arched walks of twilight groves,
 And shadows brown, that Sylvan loves,
 Of pine, or monumental oak, 135
 Where the rude axe, with heaved stroke,
 Was never heard the Nymphs to daunt,
 Or fright them from their hallow'd haunt.
 There in close covert by some brook,
 Where no profaner eye may look, 140
 Hide me from day's garish eye,

Perhaps Milton remembered these lines in the *Tempest*, says Mr. Malone :

" His tears run down his beard, like *winter's drops*,
 " *From eaves of reeds :*"

But see also Cicero, to whom Mr. John Warton refers, *Epistolæ ad Atticum*, Lib. ii. Ep. vii. edit. Verburg. Todd.

Ver 131. *And, when the sun begins to fling*
His flaring beams,] So Drayton, *Nymphid.* vol. i. p. 1449.

" When Phebus with a face of mirth
 " Had *flong* abroad his *beames*." T. WARTON.

See also P. Fletcher, *Purp. Isl.* c. vi. st. 29, of the sun :

" Soon back he *flings* the too bold-venturing gleam."

And Walkingham's *Optick Glasse of Humors*, 1607,

" As *flaring* Phebus with his radiant face."

And Chapman and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, ed. 1637.

" And with his *flaring beames* mockt ugly night." Todd.

Ver. 133. *To arched walks*] 'Thus in Browne's *Britannia's Pastorals*, now in high reputation, B. ii. S. iv. p. 104.

" Now wanders Pan the *arched* groves and hills."

Again, *ibid.* S. ii. p. 44.

" Downe through the *arched* wood the shepherds wend."

See also *Comus*, in the manuscript, v. 181, *Pur. Regained*, B. ii. 294, and *Par. Lost*, B. i. 304, B. ix. 1107. T. WARTON.

Ver. 141. ————— day's garish eye,] See *Par. Lost*, B. v. 171. And Spenser, *Faer. Q.* i. iii. 4.

" As the great *eye* of heaven shyned bright."

But, to come more closely to the text, see Milton's *Sonn.* i. 5, and *Comus*, v. 978. Mr. Bowle adds from Sylvester, p. 84. edit. ut supra, *Daye's* glorious *eye*." The old play of *Lingua*, A. v. S. vi. " Heaven's bright sun, the *day's* most glorious *eye*." Browne, *Brit. Past.* B. i. i. p. 3.

" Whilst that the *daye's* sole *eye* doth guild the seas."

And Shakspeare, *Rich. II.* A. iii. S. ii. " When the searching *eye* of heaven is hid." T. WARTON.

The *garish* eye is the *glaring* eye of Day. So, in *Rom. and Jul.* A. iii. S. iv. as Doctor Newton has observed, " the *garish* sun." It is a favourite

While the bee with honied thigh,
 That at her flowery work doth sing,
 And the waters murmuring,
 With such consort as they keep, 145
 Entice the dewy-feather'd Sleep;
 And let some strange mysterious Dream
 Wave at his wings in aery stream
 Of lively portraiture display'd,
 Softly on my eye-lids laid. 150

word with Drayton, who applies it, in the sense of *fine, gaudy*, to "fields," in his *Owle*, 1604, and to "flowers," in his *Nymph*. 5. 1630; whence perhaps "the *garish columbine*" of Milton. See note on *Lycidas*, v. 143. But I find Milton's complete expression here, in B. Richc's *Adventures of Simonides*, 4to. 1584. tome 1. Sign. Q. ij. b. "a woman's *garish eye*." TODD.

Ver. 142. *While the bee &c.*] So Virgil, *Ecl.* i. 56.

"Hyblæis apibus florem depasta salicti,
 Sæpe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro."

On the hill Hymettus, the haunt of learning, the bee is made to invite to meditation, with great elegance and propriety, *Pur. Reg.* iv. 247, &c. Compare also Drayton's *Owle*, 1604.

"See the small *brookes* as through these groves they travel,

"With the smooth cadence of their *murmuring*;

"Each *bee* with *honie* laden to the *thye*." T. WARTON.

Compare also Nash's *Summer's Last Will and Test*. 1600. "*Murmuring* springs, *musicians* of sweet *sleep*." And Randolph's *Poems*, edit. 1640, p. 30.

"And gentle springs a gentle *murmure keepe*,

"To lull him to a quiet sleep." TODD.

Ver. 147. *And let some strange mysterious Dream*

Wave at his wings in aery stream

Of lively portraiture display'd,

Softly on my eye-lids laid.]

I do not exactly understand the whole of the context. Is the Dream to wave at Sleep's wings? Doctor Newton will have *wave* to be a verb neuter: and very justly, as the passage now stands. But let us strike out *at*, and make *wave* active.

— "Let some strange mysterious Dream

"Wave his wings, in aery stream &c."

"Let some fantastick *Dream* put the wings of *Sleep* in motion, which shall be *displayed*, or expanded, in an *airy* or soft *stream* of visionary imagery, gently falling or settling on my eye-lids." Or, *his* may refer to *Dream*, and not to *Sleep*, with much the same sense. In the mean time, supposing *lively* adverbial, as was now common, *displayed* will connect with *portraiture*, that is, "portraiture lively displayed," with this sense, "Wave his wings, in an airy stream of rich pictures so *strongly displayed* in vision as to resemble real *Life*." Or, if *lively* remain as an adjective, much in the same sense, *displayed* will signify *displaying* itself. On the whole, we must not here seek for precise meaning of parts, but acquiesce

And, as I wake, sweet musick breathe
Above, about, or underneath,

in a general idea resulting from the whole, which I think is sufficiently seen. The expression *on my eye-lids laid*, is from Shakspeare, *Mids. N. Dr.* A. ii. S. ii. "The juice of it *on sleeping eye-lids laid*." In the same strain, Fletcher in the *Faithful Shepherdess*, A. ii. S. i. vol. iii. p. 126,

—— "Sweetest slumbers,
"And soft silence, fall in numbers
"On your eye-lids."

Nor must I forget an exquisite passage in *Par. Lost*, B. iv. 614.

—— "The timely dew of sleep,
"Now falling with soft slumbrous weight, inclines
"Our eye-lids."

Where the language would insensibly lull us asleep, did not the imagery keep us awake. T. WARTON.

The reviewer of Mr. Warton's edition of Milton's smaller Poems, in the Critical Review, ingeniously proposes "Wave at his wings *an acry stream*, &c." P. Fletcher, in his *Locusts*, uses the expression of "*winged dreames*."

TODD.

Vcr. 151. *And, as I wake, sweet musick breathe*

Above, about, or underneath,] This wonderful musick, particularly the subterraneous, proceeding from an invisible cause, and whispered to the pious ear alone, by some guardian spirit, or the genius of the wood, was probably suggested to Milton's imagination by some of the machineries of the masks under the contrivance of Inigo Jones. Holinshed, describing a very curious device or spectacle presented before queen Elizabeth, insists particularly on the secret or mysterious musick of some fictitious Nymphs, "which," he adds, "surely had been a noble hearing, and the more melodious for the varietie [novelty] thereof, because it should come secretlie and strangelic out of the earth." *Hist.* iii. f. 1297. Perhaps the poet's whole idea was from one of these representations, in which the chief aim of the inventor was to surprise. Jonson, in a Masque called a *Particular Entertainement of the Queene and Prince at Altrope*, 1603, has this stage-direction. "To the sound of excellent soft musique, that was there concealed in the thicket, there came tripping up the lawne a beavy of faeries," &c. p. 871. edit. 1616. And the Satyr hearing it says,

"Here, and there, and every where?
"Some solemnities are nere,
"That these *changes* strike mine eare."

And Shakspeare drew from the same source, although the general idea is from Plutarch, *Anton. Cleopatr.* A. iv. S. iii. The soldiers are watching before the palace. "*Musicke of hautboys under the stage*.—2. *Sold.* Peace, what noise? 1. *Sold.* List, List! Musick i' th' air. 3. *Sold.* Under the earth &c." Sandys, in the Notes to his English Ovid, says, that "In the garden of the Tuilleries at Paris, by an artificial device *underground* invented for musicke, I have known an echo repeat a verse." Edit. Oxon. 1632, p. 103. Psyche in Apuleius, sleeping on a green and flowery bank near a romantick grove, is awakened by invisible singers and unseen harps, *Aur. Asin.* l. v. p. 87. b. edit. Beroald. By the way, the whole of this fiction in Apuleius, where Psyche, wafted by the zephyrs into a delicious valley, sees a forest of huge trees, containing a superb palace richly constructed of ivory, gold, and precious stones, in which a sumptuous banquet

Sent by some Spirit to mortals good,
Or the unsœn Genius of the wood.

But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloysters pale,
And love the high-embowed roof,
With antick pillars massy proof,

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accompanied with musicke is most luxuriously displayed, no person in the mean time appearing, has been adopted by the Gothick romance-writers. Rinaldo, in Tasso's Enchanted Forest, hears unseen harps and singers, C. xxvi. st. 67. T. WARTON.

Ver. 152. *Above, about, or underneath,*] This romantick passage has been imitated by an author of a strong imagination, an admirer and follower of our poet, Thomson, in *Summer*, first Edit. p. 39. The context is altered rather for the worse in the later editions :

"And, frequent, in the middle watch of night,
"Or, all day long, in desarts still, are heard,
"Now here, now there, now wheeling in mid sky,
"Around, or underneath, aerial sounds,
"Sent from angelick harps, and voices join'd ;
"A happiness bestow'd by us alone,
"On Contemplation, or the hallow'd ear
"Of poet, swelling to seraphick strain." JOS. WARTON.

Adam speaks, with transport, of the "*aerial* musick of cherubick songs, heard by night from the neighbouring hills." *Par. Lost*, B. v. 547. See also *Tempest*, A. i. S. ii.

"Where should this musick be, i' the air, or the earth ?

"It sounds no more !——

———— "I hear it now above me." T. WARTON.

Ver. 156. ——— cloysters *pale*,] Perhaps, "The studious cloyster's *pale*." *Pale*, enclosure. Milton is fond of the *singular* number. In the next line follows as in apposition "*the high-embowed roof*." T. WARTON.

I believe this passage is seldom printed so as to convey the meaning of the poet, viz. the *pale* or enclosure of the cloyster. DUNSTER.

Dr. Symmons, in his account of Milton's Life, violently objects to this interpretation, which he considers to be very tame and unpoetical. In an elegant little poem, by Dr. T. Percy, I find the proposed alteration thus adopted :

"Once more as wont yon cloister's pale

"Invites my solitary tread."

See Poet. Register, vol. 5. p. 20. TORD.

Ver. 157. ——— high-embowed] *Highly-vaulted*, arcuatus, arched. It is the same word in *Comus*, v. 1015. "The bow'd welkin." See Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, A. i. S. ii. fol. 78. a. edit. 4to. 1587.

"The gilted roofes *embowed* with curious worke."

That is, "*vaulted* with curious work." See more instances in *Observ. F. Qu.* ii. 134. And Sylvester, edit. 1605. p. 70, 246. Old saint Paul's cathedral, from Hollar's valuable plates in Dugdale, appears to have been a most stately and venerable pattern of the Gothick style. Milton was educated at saint Paul's school, contiguous to the church ; and thus became impressed with an early reverence for the solemnities of the ancient

And storied windows richly dight,
 Casting a dim religious light :
 There let the pealing organ blow,
 To the full-voic'd quire below,

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ecclesiastical architecture, its vaults, shrines, iles, pillars, and painted glass; rendered yet more awful by the accompaniment of the choral service.

T. WARTON.

Milton here perhaps remembered also the *storied windows* of King's College Chapel; with the beauty, richness, and sacred subjects of which, he must have been struck, while a student at Cambridge. TONN.

Ver. 159. — storied] *Storied, or painted with stories, that is, histories.* That this is precisely the meaning of the word *storied*, we may learn from Harrison's *Description of England*, written about the year 1580, and prefixed to the first volume of Holinshed. "As for our churches, all images, shrines, tabernacles, roodlofts, and monuments of idolatry, are removed, taken downe, and defaced: onelie the *stories* in the glasswindowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extream charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into *white panes* throughout the realme, are not altogether abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that *white glasse* may be provided and set up in their roomes." B. ii. c. i. p. 138. col. 2. 30. These *stories*, from whence came Milton's epithet *storied*, Harrison, who appears to have been a puritan, ranks among the monuments of *idolatry*, as being representations or images. In *Comus*, we find the verb *story*, v. 525. In Chaucer, *storial* occurs for historical, *Leg. Cleopatr.* v. 123. p. 343. edit. Urr. "And this is *storial* sothe, it is no fable." In barbarous latinity, *storia* is sometimes used for *historia*." "Item volo et ordino, quod liber meus *Chronicarum et storiarum* Franciæ, scriptarum in Gallico, &c." Prolog. ad Chron. Franc. tom. iii. *Collect. Historic.* Franc. p. 152. Again, of a benefactor to a monastery, "Fecit aliam vestem cum *storiis* crucifixi Domini." *S. Anastas. in S. Leon.* iii. Apud Murator. p. 200, tom. iii. To this extract many others from monastick records might be easily added, which are particularly applicable to the text, as they prove the frequent use of the word *storia* for scriptural history. One of the arguments used by the puritans for breaking the painted-glass in church windows, was because, by darkening the church, it obscured the new light of the gospel. T. WARTON.

It may be added, that they also proposed to the Parliament "that the walls of the churches should be *coloured black*, to putt men in minde of that blacknesse and darknesse that is within them." See Nickolls's *State Papers*, p. 99. TONN.

Ver. 159. ————richly dight.] A frequent phrase in our elder poetry. Thus, in Drayton's *Owle*, 1604.

"Into a chamber very *richly dight*."

And after him, Sylvester, in his *Du Bartas*, ed. 1621, p. 1198. "And Aurora *richly dight*." So also Browne, *Brit. Past.* B. ii. S. iii. "The Morning now in colours *richly dight*." And, in Bishop Hall's *Satires*: "In rhimes all *richly dight*." TONN.

Ver. 161. *There let the pealing organ &c.*] Of this species of pensive pleasure, he speaks in a very different tone in the *Answer* to the *Eikon Bas.* § xxiv. In his Prayer he "[the king] remembered what voices of joy and gladness there were in his Chapel, God's house in his opinion, between the singing men and the organs: the vanity, super-

In service high, and anthems clear,
 As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
 Dissolve me into ecstasies, 165
 And bring all heaven before mine eyes.

And may at last my weary age
 Find out the peaceful hermitage,
 The hairy gown and mossy cell,
 Where I may sit and rightly spell 170
 Of every star that heaven doth shew,
 And every herb that sips the dew ;
 Till old experience do attain
 To something like prophetick strain.

These pleasures, Melancholy, give, 175
 And I with thee will choose to live.*

stition, and misdevotion of which place was a scandal far and near ; wherein so many things were sung and prayed in those songs which were not understood, &c." Again, with similar contempt, § xxv. "His *glory* in the gaudy copes and *painted* windows, and *chaunted* service-book, &c." *Pr. W.* i. 429, 531. T. WARTON.

Ver. 163. ————— anthems clear,] As in T. Jordan's *Muses Melody*, 12mo. s. d.

"The Cherubims in *anthems cleere* and even

"Create a consort, &c." TODD.

Ver. 167. *And may at last my weary age*

Find out the peaceful hermitage,] So, in the *Legend of Humph. Duke of Gloucester*, by Middleton, 1600, st. 26.

"So fares it with this Duke, &c.

"To spend his *weary age* in quietnesse."

And see Lodge's translation of Seneca, 1620.

"Where sicknesse pale and *wearie age* doe keepe:"

Keepe is inhabit; and is a Cambridge phrase, as in Spenser's *Shep. Cal.* Dec. ver. 72. TODD.

Ver. 168. It should be remarked, that Milton wishes to die in the character of the *melancholy* man. T. WARTON.

Ver. 169. *The hairy gown*] In the manuscript of Milton's *Mask*, the hermit's hairy gown is mentioned v. 390.

"His bookes, or his *haire-gowne*, &c." T. WARTON.

Ver. 172. *And every herb that sips the dew* ;] It seems probable that Milton was a student in botany. For he speaks with great pleasure of the hopes he had formed of being assisted in this study by his friend Charles Deodate, who was a physician. See *Epitaph. Damon*. v. 150.

T. WARTON.

* Of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, I believe, opinion is uniform ; every man that reads them, reads them with pleasure. The author's design is

not, what Theobald has remarked, merely to show how objects derive their colours from the mind, by representing the operation of the same things upon the gay and the melancholy temper, or upon the same man as he is differently disposed; but rather how, among the successive variety of appearances, every disposition of mind takes hold on those by which it may be gratified.

The *cheerful* man hears the lark in the morning; the *pensive* man hears the nightingale in the evening. The *cheerful* man sees the cock strut, and hears the horn and hounds echo in the wood; then walks, *not unseen*, to observe the glory of the rising sun, or listen to the singing milk-maid, and view the labours of the plowman and the mower; then casts his eyes about him over scenes of smiling plenty, and looks up to the distant tower, the residence of some fair inhabitant; thus he pursues rural gaiety through a day of labour or of play, and delights himself at night with the fanciful narratives of superstitious ignorance.

The *pensive* man, at one time, walks *unseen* to muse at midnight: and, at another, hears the solemn curfew. If the weather drives him home, he sits in a room lighted only by *glowing embers*; or by a lonely lamp out-watches the North Star; to discover the habitation of separate souls; and varies the shades of meditation, by contemplating the magnificent or pathetick scenes of tragick and epick poetry. When the morning comes, a morning gloomy with rain and wind, he falls asleep by some murmuring water, and with melancholy enthusiasm expects some dream of prognostication, or some music played by aerial performers.

Both Mirth and Melancholy are solitary, silent, inhabitants of the breast, that neither receive nor transmit communication; no mention is therefore made of a philosophical friend, or of a pleasant companion. The seriousness does not arise from any participation of calamity, nor the gaiety from the pleasures of the bottle. The man of *cheerfulness*, having exhausted the country, tries what *towered cities* will afford, and mingles with scenes of splendour, gay assemblies, and nuptial festivities; but he mingles a mere spectator, as, when the learned comedies of Jonson, or the wild dramas of Shakspeare, are exhibited, he attends the theatre. The *pensive* man never loses himself in crowds, but walks the cloister, or frequents the cathedral. Milton probably had not yet forsaken the Church.

Both his characters delight in music; but he seems to think that cheerful notes would have obtained from Pluto a complete dismissal of Eurydice, of whom solemn sounds procured only a conditional release. For the old age of Cheerfulness he makes no provision; but Melancholy he conducts with great dignity to the close of life. His Cheerfulness is without levity, and his Pensiveness without asperity. Through these two poems the images are properly selected, and nicely distinguished; but the colours of the diction seem not sufficiently discriminated. I know not whether the characters are kept sufficiently apart. No mirth can, indeed, be found in his melancholy; but I am afraid that I always meet some melancholy in his mirth. They are two noble efforts of imagination.

JOHNSON.

Of these two exquisite little poems, I think it clear that the last is the most taking; which is owing to the subject. The mind delights most in these solemn images, and a genius delights most to paint them. HURD.

Hughes, after "prophetick strain," added the following Supplement and Conclusion to "Mr. Milton's incomparable Poem, entitled *Il Penseroso*, or the *Pensive Man*." See Hughes's *Poems*, edit. 12mo. Lond. 1735. vol. i. Pref. p. lviii.*

* This little introduction was written by the Rev. W. Duncomb, of Canterbury, Hughes's editor; who, in his Preface, has quoted Milton's *Lycidas* with feeling and judgement, p. iii.

"There let Time's creeping Winter shed
 "His hoary snow around my head :
 "And while I feel, by fast degrees,
 "My sluggard blood wax chill and freeze,
 "Let thought unveil to my fix'd eye
 "The scenes of deep eternity :
 "Till, life dissolving at the view,
 "I wake, and find those visions true."

But this addition was not made by Hughes, as I apprehend, from any peculiar predilection for Milton's Poem. Hughes was a frequent and professed writer of cantatas, masks, operas, odes, and songs for musick. In particular, before the introduction of Italian operas on the English stage, he wrote six cantatas, composed by Popusch, which were designed as an essay or specimen, the first in its kind, for compositions in English after the Italian manner. He was also employed in fitting old pieces for musick. In the year 1711, sir Richard Steele, and Mr. Clayton a composer, established concerts in York-Buildings; and there is a letter dated that year, written by Steele to Hughes, in which they desire him, to "alter this poem, [*Dryden's Alexander's Feast*] for musick, preserving as many of Dryden's verses as you can. It is to be performed by a voice well skilled in Recitative: but you understand all these matters much better than Yours, &c." See *Ibid.* p. xv. xvii. And p. 127. And vol. ii. p. 71. The two projectors, we may probably suppose, were busy in examining collections of published poetry for words to be set to musick, for their concerts; and stumbled in their search on one or both of Milton's two poems. These they requested Hughes, an old and skilful practitioner in that sort of business, to alter and adapt for musical composition. What he had done for Dryden, he might be desired to do for Milton. This seems to be the history of Hughes's supplemental lines. Hughes, however, has an expression from *Comus*, in his *Thought on a Garden*, written 1704. *Poems*, vol. i. p. 171. v. 3.

"Here Contemplation prunes her wings."

See *Com.* v. 377, 378. And the note.

L'Allegro and *Il Penseroso* may be called the two first descriptive poems in the English language. It is perhaps true, that the characters are not sufficiently kept apart. But this circumstance has been productive of greater excellencies. It has been remarked, "No mirth indeed can be found in his melancholy, but I am afraid I always meet some melancholy in his mirth." Milton's is the dignity of mirth. His cheerfulness is the cheerfulness of gravity. The objects he selects in his *L'Allegro* are so far gay, as they do not naturally excite sadness. Laughter and jollity are named only as personifications, and never exemplified. *Quips* and *cranks*, and *wanton wiles*, are enumerated only in general terms. There is specifically no mirth in contemplating a fine landscape. And even his landscape, although it has flowery meads and flocks, wears a shade of pensiveness; and contains *russet* lawns, *fallows gray*, and *barren* mountains, overhung with *labouring* clouds. Its old turreted mansion, peeping from the trees, awakens only a train of solemn and romantick, perhaps melancholy, reflection. Many a pensive man listens with delight to the milk-maid *singing blithe*, to the mower *whetting his scythe*, and to a distant peal of village-bells. He chose such illustrations as minister matter for new poetry, and genuine description. Even his most brilliant imagery is mellowed with the sober hues of philosophick meditation. It was impossible for the author of *Il Penseroso* to be more cheerful, or to paint mirth with levity; that is, otherwise than in the colours of the higher poetry. Both poems are the result of the same feelings, and the same habits of thought.

Doctor Johnson has remarked, that, in *L'Allegro*, "no part of the gaiety is made to arise from the pleasures of the bottle." The truth is, that Milton means to describe the cheerfulness of the philosopher or the student, the amusements of a contemplative mind. And on this principle he seems unwilling to allow, that *Mirth* is the offspring of *Bacchus* and *Venus*, deities, who preside over sensual gratifications; but rather adopts the fiction of those more serious and sapient fablers, who suppose that her proper parents are *Zephyr* and *Aurora*: intimating, that his cheerful enjoyments are those of the temperate and innocent kind, of early hours and rural pleasures. That critick does not appear to have entered into the spirit, or to have comprehended the meaning, of our author's *Allegro*.

No man was ever so disqualified to turn puritan as Milton. In both these poems, he professes himself to be highly pleased with the choral church-musick, with Gothick cloysters, the painted windows and vaulted iles of a venerable cathedral, with tilts and tournaments, and with masques and pageantries. What very repugnant and unpoetical principles did he afterwards adopt! He helped to subvert monarchy, to destroy subordination, and to level all distinctions of rank. But this scheme was totally inconsistent with the splendours of society, with *throngs of knights and barons bold*, with *store of ladies*, and *high triumphs*, which belonged to a court. *Pomp*, and *feast*, and *revelry*, the show of *Hymen*, with *mask and antique pageantry*, were among the state and trappings of nobility, which as an advocate for republicanism he detested. His system of worship, which renounced all outward solemnity, all that had ever any connection with popery, tended to overthrow the *studious cloisters pale*, and the *high-embowed roof*; to remove the *storied windows richly dight*, and to silence the *pealing organ* and the *full-voiced quire*. The delights arising from these objects were to be sacrificed to the cold and philosophical spirit of Calvinism, which furnished no pleasures to the imagination.

T. WARTON.

The *Allegro* and *Penseroso* are, perhaps, more familiar to us than any part of the writings of Milton. They satisfy the criticks, and they delight mankind. The choice of images is so judicious, their succession so rapid, the allusions are so various and pleasing, the leading distinction of the poems is so felicitously maintained, the versification is so animated, that we may place them at the head of that long series of descriptive poems which our language has to boast. It may be added, as in the greater part of Milton's writings, that they are sustained at an uniform pitch, with few blemishes of expression, and scarce any feebleness; a striking contrast, in this respect, to all the contemporaneous poetry, except, perhaps, that of Waller. Johnson* has thought, that, while there is no mirth in his melancholy, he can detect some melancholy in his mirth. This seems to be too strongly put; but it may be said, that his *Allegro* is rather cheerful than gay, and that even his cheerfulness is not always without effort. In these poems he is indebted to Fletcher, to Burton, to Browne, to Withers, and, probably, to more of our early versifiers; for he was a great collector of sweets from those wild flowers. HALLAM, *Introduct. to the Literature of Europe*, vol. iii. p. 514.

* See before, p. 429.

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